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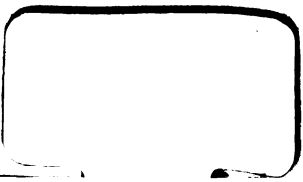
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"As the campaign proceeds, the issue is seen to be joined, not between the relative personal qualities of the candidates, but between the principles, history, and spirit of the two great parties."—*Harper's Weekly*, Sept., 1880.

THE

REPUBLICAN

CAMPAIGN TEXT BOOK

FOR

1880.

PUBLISHED BY THE
REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1880.

THE TWO VOICES.

THE NORTH.

From President Lincoln's Second Inaugural.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans—to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

From a Speech of Gen. Garfield.

"I hope my public life has given proof that I do not cherish a spirit of malice or bitterness toward the South."

From a Speech of Hon. Mr. Horr.

"We of the North do not seek sectional strife. * * * What you really need is to go to work. [Great laughter.] You should have more schools, more enterprise and thrift, and less recklessness of life, less hatred of what you call carpet-baggers—damned Yankees! Your business enterprise should be conducted more with piety and less with pistols! What Mississippi needs to-day is more corn and cotton and less cussedness, [laughter and applause]; more mills, more manliness; less murders, less moonshiners. What would improve South Carolina is more hams and fewer Ham-burghs. She should raise more horses and hogs and less hell. [Great applause.]"—Congressional Record.

THE SOUTH.

Speech at Kizer Hill, Alabama, July 31st, 1880.

"The Confederacy still exists, my friends, and Jeff Davis, the best friend we ever had, is yet our President and devoted to our interests, and if Hancock is elected, * * * you will be paid for all the property you have lost through Radical rule; * * * a solid South will now give us entire control of the general Government, and we can redress all our wrongs."

From a Speech of Hon. Mr. Blackburn, of Ky., 1879.

"We do not intend to stop until we have stricken the last vestige of your war measures from the statute book."

Robert Toombs to a Friend in Washington.

"But what are we to do? We cannot put in one of our own men this time, and have to take a 'Yank.' That being the case, let us take one who is less 'blue-bellied' than the most of them. You may depend upon it, sir, that, 'Yank' or no 'Yank,' if elected, the old boys of the South will see that 'Hancock' does the fair thing by them. In other words, he will run the machine to suit them, or they will run the thing themselves. They are not going to be played with any longer. If you hear any man say that 'Hancock' can not carry all of the South, you may put him down as a d— fool."

THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN TEXT BOOK FOR 1880.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

1880.

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CHAPTER I.

The Impending Crisis.

PART I.

The Paramount Issue of the Hour!—The Democratic Leaders preparing for Violence—If Fraud fails, then Force!

Just as religiously as all Republicans believe that Rutherford B. Hayes was legally elected President of the United States, do the mass of Democrats believe that Samuel J. Tilden was duly elected to the same high office. Herein lies the great danger that is in the coming Presidential election. Herein lies the necessity, at this time, of securing the election of the Republican candidate by so large an electoral majority, that it will carry absolute conviction to the Democratic masses, and frighten their leaders so thoroughly, that a Democratic Congress will not dare to count him out, and the Democratic candidate will not dare to strive to overturn by force the lawfully expressed will of the people. The work of the campaign is not so much to elect Garfield—for that is already assured—but to elect him by an immense electoral majority. That will insure peace and the preservation of the liberties of the people, and the institutions of the Republic. A close vote threatens civil war, with all its hitherto unknown horrors, ANARCHY, and RUIN.

Democratic belief that Tilden is the "legally elected President"—"President" Tilden cheered in New York in 1880!

If it is doubted that the Democratic masses believe that Tilden was elected, and defrauded of his rights, the proceedings, July 28, 1880, at the "New York Democratic Rally," in the Academy of Music, would set that doubt at rest. The New York Herald (independent) says:

"The great event of the evening was the coming in of ex-Governor Samuel J. Tilden. His appearance was looked forward to with the most intense interest. Women holding children by the hand and babies in their arms hung around the entrances with no other object than to catch a glimpse of the man of whom they have heard so much. The whole body of men forgot Hancock and English for the moment and centred their attention on Mr. Tilden. Never did a man meet a more thrilling reception. Every inch of room within the spacious interior of the Academy was occupied, and a lively feeling of expectancy filled the minds of all present when John McKeon entered on the left of the stage, followed by Mr. Tilden and a string of prominent Democrats. The moment the ex-Governor emerged from the wings the cheering broke forth like a tornado, and by the time he had

reached the middle of the stage the great multitude was on its feet applauding by voice and hands and with hats and handkerchiefs in the most enthusiastic and extravagant manner. * * * When the wild, tumultuous outburst of cheering that greeted the old gentleman's appearance was beginning to subside, a sturdy voice from the gallery cried, 'Three cheers for President Tilden!' and the cheers were given with a ring that fairly shook the building. 'Three cheers more!' exclaimed another voice, and the demonstration was repeated with even greater vigor than before. When John McKeon came forward and said, 'I nominate for chairman the legally elected President of the United States,' the excitement reached its climax and a great shout went up. * * * His name, whenever mentioned by the orators of the evening, drew a terrific burst of applause."

The Democratic Leaders teach this belief on all occasions for their own infernal ends—They begin to believe it themselves!—Peace or civil war?

The Democratic leaders have instilled and worked up this belief among the Democratic masses, so that their own devilish purposes may be subserved. The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th resolutions of the Democratic platform of 1880 were adopted solely to intensify that feeling. They declare President Hayes to be a "representative of conspiracy only;" that he was declared President "upon a false count;" that he was a "defeated candidate," who "bribed his way to the seat of a usurper;" and that Tilden was "elected" President by "a majority of his countrymen"—the latter clause evidently inserted with the intention of making the Democratic masses believe that instead of being elected by a majority of the electoral vote, an American President is elected by a majority of the popular vote! In his address to Mr. Tilden, when presenting to him a copy of the 9th resolution of the Cincinnati Convention, Governor Stevenson, President of that Convention, in the presence of the Democratic National and Congressional Committees and other Democratic magnates, tendered "the homage of the entire American people to him who in 1876 was by a large majority elected President of the United States," and talked of "the base fraud committed for the first time in our past history, in refusing to permit the President legally chosen by them to exercise the duties of that exalted position." By constant repetition of an untruth, those who utter, as well as those who hear it, in course of time come to believe it is truth. It is quite likely, therefore, that not alone the Democratic masses, but the leaders also of the Democracy have come to believe that Tilden really was "legally elected," and was "hoocus-pocussed" out of his seat! This belief—which all Republicans are

as firmly convinced is unfounded—must none the less be respected to the extent of making it an element in future calculations. If with the close vote at the election of President Hayes, when the doubt in the case was resolved in his favor under an electoral commission bill devised by Democrats, and assented to by a great majority of the Democratic party in Congress, while it was opposed by a majority of the Republican party in Congress, the Democrats still insist that Tilden was legally elected, how will it be in the event of a close election of General Garfield? Of course the Democratic leaders as they did before, will inflame the Democratic masses again to a belief that their candidate is elected. What will be the result? Either an arbitration in some form or—Civil War!

The Democratic leaders burning their bridges behind them!—No arbitrations over a close vote!—Revolutionary chicanery and violence.

But the Democratic leaders, foreseeing these two only alternatives of a close election, appear to be burning their bridges behind them. They declare, in advance, that they will not submit to arbitration in such a case, and their reliance is first upon a Democratic House to declare Hancock elected, whether or not; and second upon seizing the Presidency by violence. The recent utterances of Democratic leaders exhibit this very clearly. Here are a few of them:

Representative Hill's declaration that the Democrats will inaugurate Hancock, "Whether they elect him or not!"

A serenade was given to Ohioans at Willard's hotel at Washington, D. C., February 23, 1880, at which speeches were made by Senator Pendleton and other prominent Democrats. Among them was the Hon. William D. Hill, M. C., of Ohio, who, in the course of his remarks, is reported by the papers of next day as declaring that "*the Democrats will inaugurate the candidate to be made at Cincinnati, WHETHER THEY ELECT HIM OR NOT!*" This statement has not been and cannot be denied.

Hancock to fight his way in!—He must not resign.

A recent issue of the *Washington Post* (Democratic organ) suggestively says:

"It will not be a wise act in General Hancock to resign his Major-Generalship in the Army."

Senator Wallace shrieks, "Aggression! Aggression! Aggression!"

At the Cincinnati Convention Senator Wallace in his address, with carefully selected words, but with that emphasis which declared the true meaning, said of Hancock:

"* * * In this great city of Cincinnati the Democrats of the nation named their last President, and to-day they name their next. [Cheers.] * * * He will lead us to victory. His name is invincible. The word rings out, 'Advance the column, move on the enemy's works!' Let there be no defence, but aggression, aggression, aggression, and victory is ours." [Cheers.]

Speaker Randall's meaning declaration as to inauguration by force.

At the same Convention, Speaker Randall, who, in the event of a close election, will play no insignificant part in the Democratic Revolutionary programme, said:

"* * * Not only is your nomination strong, but it is one which will bring us victory. [Applause.] * * * You will find me in the front rank of this conflict, second to none. * * * There is a great mission ahead of the Democratic party, and you have selected a standard-bearer whose very nomination means that if the people ratify your choice he will be inaugurated." [Applause.]

Governor Stevenson, President of the Democratic National Convention, declares that "Hancock is elected!"

The manner and language also in which Governor Stevenson, of Kentucky, the chairman of the Convention, its very organ and mouthpiece for expressing the real revolutionary sentiments of the Democratic party in National Convention assembled, put the motion to nominate General Hancock, is significant of the treasonable purpose to "seat" Hancock (as Representative Hill had declared), "whether elected or not." Here is the report of those words:

Mr. Stephenson, the Chairman, then said:
"The motion has been made that Winfield Scott Hancock be declared unanimously elected the Democratic President of these United States. [Great applause.] Those in favor will say aye [shouts of aye], you who opposed will say no—the motion is unanimously adopted, AND HANCOCK IS ELECTED." [Applause and cheers.]

John Kelly's Declaration -- If Tammany Thinks Hancock Elected, "There will be no more Electoral Commissions; he will take his Seat!"

Said John Kelly, at the Tammany meeting of July 1, 1880, New York city:

"Never since the history of this country was begun, or in the history of any other country, were such outrageous proceedings carried out as by the Republican party in 1876. There can be no question but that the Democratic nominee was elected by the people and by the electoral vote. But the Republicans deliberately counted out the Democratic party and counted in the man who is now looked upon as the President of the United States. Now you have a candidate with whom, if elected, there can be no question as to what he will do. There will be no more Electoral Commissions, NO MORE 7 TO 8 BUSINESS."

Thus John Kelly, its leader, announces the deliberate purpose of Tammany, in case of a close election, to refuse all legal arbitration, and if General Hancock thinks he has been elected he will take his seat. Said he, continuing:

"The simple question for the consideration of our people at the coming election will be: Has General Hancock been fairly and honestly elected by the people of this country? And if so, I know that the gallant soldier, Winfield Scott Hancock, will take his seat."

This is a revolutionary declaration in more than one sense. "Elected by the people" is the language used; not by the "electoral vote," but the "popular vote," the vote of "the people."

Barnes, of Georgia, says the South "will get" Restoration under Hancock.

George J. Barnes, of Georgia, in an address to the Irving Hall Democrats, New York, July 28, 1880, said:

"The South yearns for restoration. It will get it under Hancock and English."

Senator Jonas of Louisiana—"The vote will be counted right this time!"—"We will do the counting ourselves!"

At the same meeting U. S. Senator Jonas of Louisiana declared that the people of the South were as loyal to the Constitution as the people of any State in the Union, and denied that there is any intimidation of Republican voters in the South! and added:

"Louisiana has always been a Democratic State since the war. We voted for Seymour in 1868, and they counted our vote for Grant; we voted for Greeley in 1872, and they counted our vote for Grant; and in 1876 we voted for Samuel J. Tilden, the great statesman who has left his couch to preside at this monster meeting, and they stole our vote for Hayes. But this will be done no more. The vote will be counted right this time, for we will do the counting ourselves."

General Preston of Ky. advises that every Republican supposed to be stealing an electoral vote be killed where he stands!—Hancock "a hungry tiger."—Violence to inaugurate him!

In a speech recently made at Louisville, by General Wm. Preston of Lexington, Kentucky, before a Democratic ratification meeting, he tells the fierce Kentucky Democrats that he is tired of hearing them call themselves "Conservatives"; that when he first heard the name "unterrified Democracy" it made his blood run cold; and that they must adopt that name and act it out to the letter. Said he:

"You must stand up and tell every Republican that if they ever attempt to steal another electoral vote from you, you will kill him where he stands. Tell them to the devil with their bonds, but that you propose that another electoral vote shall never be stolen from you. * * * Before God, I would as soon dare to take the meat from under the paw of a hungry tiger as to let the visiting statesmen steal Hancock's victory. * * * Yes, we will vote for Hancock; and yes, before God, if he is elected, we will, man and boy, the last one of us, assist in seating him."

Montgomery Blair and the Democratic party "mean to elect" Hancock.

Montgomery Blair in a speech at Washington, as reported in the *Washington Post* (Democratic organ,) referred to the Democratic Party as:

"* * the party that * * elected Tilden in 1876, and now means to elect the hero who broke the back of the rebellion at Gettysburg."

Col. Williams of Baltimore, Md., says the Democrats "intend to make" Hancock's future "great."

Col. McWilliams, of Baltimore, in a speech at Washington, Aug. 26, is represented by the *Washington Post* (Democratic) as saying:

"* * What did Lincoln say of Hancock? He said that he had a great future before him, and we intend to make that prediction true."

H. O. Claughton on "the present movement."

H. O. Claughton, at the Hancock ratification meeting at Washington, Aug. 26, 1880, as

reported by the Democratic *Washington Post* said:

"The present movement would end in restoring the administration of the country to the hands where it was in its earlier days. The chair once filled by Washington and Jefferson, and now occupied by Hayes, should never again be obtained by fraud."

Col. McDaniel quotes Dan Dougherty: "If he is Elected he will take his seat." "That's the kind of a man Hancock is!"

In the Democratic *Washington Post* of August 27, 1880, in its report of the speech of Colonel John W. Daniel, of Virginia, to the ratifying Democrats, occurs the following passage:

"* * * There was another idea which led up to Hancock. It was what Dan Dougherty, of Philadelphia, said when he nominated him. It is in one short, sharp, and decisive sentence. Let me see how you like it: 'If he is elected he will take his seat.' [Applause.] You all seem to like that pretty well. [Laughter.] That is just the kind of a man Hancock is." * * *

What they all point at—Civil war,

Can there be any doubt what all these expressions mean? They can mean but one thing—that the Democratic leaders are already preparing the minds of their followers for a close election, and accustoming them to their programme of violence. If General Garfield is elected by a close vote—if fraud fails—they propose to seat Hancock by violence. Out of this evil state of things grows the necessity of a large electoral majority for the Republican candidate.

PART II.

The Power Behind the Throne— Who nominated Hancock—The Spolid South!

It is now well known why General Hancock was nominated by the Democratic party. It was largely because the delegates believed the story circulated there by Senator Eaton, General Wm. F. Smith and others sympathizing with the Tammany fight against Tilden or any Tilden man, that General Hancock had written a letter prior to the inauguration of President Hayes, to the effect that he would obey orders from Tilden and head the revolutionists with his command! Believing this Democratic story to be true, and supposing that what he would thus do for another he certainly would do for himself, they nominated Hancock under the supposition that he would be a fit tool for their contemplated revolutionary work. It was this that made the South a unit for him—this, and the memory of past favors to the Southern White Liners and White League and Klu Klux Klan, rendered during the brief months of his Department Rule in Louisiana and Texas. The South demanded of the North, in the Democratic National Convention, the nomination of a man like Hancock, who would be "available" for Southern purposes, and the Conven-

tion, yielding to Southern domination, nominated Hancock. It was emphatically the work of the Confederate brigadiers. We have both Northern and Southern testimony to this.

Testimony of Senator Wallace, of Pennsylvania, that the Confederate Brigadiers captured the Convention.

Senator Wallace telegraphed to General Hancock from Cincinnati, after congratulating him upon his nomination:

"General Buell tells me that Murat Halsted says Hancock's nomination by Confederate Brigadiers sets the old Rebel yell to the music of the Union. How is that for the key-note of the campaign? It will be solemn music for the Republicans to face."

General Joseph E. Johnson telegraphs the Confederate joy.

Lee's great coadjutor, General Joseph E. Johnson, telegraphed:

"The nomination makes me much gladder than you."

Wade Hampton tells how the Confederate Brigadiers did the business.

Senator Wade Hampton, in his famous speech at Staunton, Virginia—which has been "proved up" (in spite of all pretended denials) by the highest local Democratic as well as Republican witnesses—said:

"The Democratic party is the party of peace and of union, that would blot out all sectional difference forever, and it has proved this in the nomination of General Hancock at Cincinnati. *There was but one feeling among the Southern delegates. That feeling was expressed, when we said to our Northern Democratic brethren 'Give us an available man.' They gave us that man.'*"

Further internal evidence showing that Hancock was the Confederate Brigadiers' candidate — Wade Hampton's pledge to the Convention of the "Solid South" — His cool reference to the results of balloting, &c.,

In the convention itself Wade Hampton being loudly called for, in response came up to the platform on his crutches and said:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the 'Solid South,' that South which once was arrayed against the great soldier of Pennsylvania, I stand here to pledge you its solid vote. [Cheer.] We will prove no lagards in this great race for Constitutional government, for home rule, and for freedom all over this great land. There is no name which is held in higher respect among the people of the South than that of the man whom you have given to us as our standard-bearer. * * * And in the name of South Carolina, that State which has so lately returned and come into the sisterhood of States, that State which was so overwhelmingly Republican that we scarcely dared to count the Democratic vote, in behalf of that State, I here pledge myself, if work, if zeal, if energy can do anything, that the people of South Carolina will give as large a Democratic majority as any other State in this Union."

CHAPTER II.

Spirit of the "Solid South."

PART I.

Wade Hampton's Speech at Staunton, Virginia.

Following is the speech of Senator Wade Hampton at Staunton, Virginia, July 26, 1880, as reported by the Staunton Valley *Virginian*:

"The largest political meeting ever held in Staunton was that on Monday last. The Opera house was crowded with an audience variously estimated at from fifteen hundred to two thousand people. Some three or four hundred were ladies, and about an equal number boys, while the men comprised voters of every political creed and color. Captain John H. Crawford was called to the chair, and Major Elder offered the resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. Captain Baumgardner, in his usually happy manner, then introduced Senator Wade Hampton of South Carolina. General Hampton is a man of fine physique and splendid appearance, and as he stepped forward to the stage round after round of applause greeted him."

The indissoluble bonds of the Confederacy—The "glorious heritage of hate and lust of power"—"Turn back the hands."

"After alluding to the fact that his ancestry were Virginians, and had fought side by side with the sons of the old State, and to his own services during the late war, he said: 'So it is that I am bound to you by bonds which death alone can sever. So it is that I, like so many of the veterans of the Confederacy, am jealous of the honor and proud of the glorious heritage bequeathed to her

by her Lee and her Stonewall Jackson. Do not understand that I come here to dictate a policy to you, or to advise you what you must do; rather am I here to consult with you as a Democrat, as a man, and as a Southern soldier; as one who looks back to the time when he shared with you privations and suffering and defeat in the Army of Northern Virginia.'"

He adjures Virginia by her Confederate traditions to stand with the "Solid South!"

"I am here to voice the earnest hope that I feel, to utter the fervent prayer of my heart, that Virginia, the Mother of States, will not prove recreant to all her high traditions. We have always looked to her to lead, and we know that she has the right to do so. We know her history, and we know that in seeking the path of duty she has ever found the way to glory. I adjure you by your traditions, by all that you hold sacred, to lead again Virginia, as you have done heretofore, not always to victory, but always to honor."

With 138 votes from the "Solid South," only New York and Indiana needed—Will Virginia "Sacrifice the South?"

"What is Virginia's duty now! You hardly realize, my friends, how much depends on the action of your State. With a united South, casting 138 electoral votes, we need only New York and Indiana, and I believe we shall have them. Will Virginia, when we have success within our very grasp, sacrifice the Democratic party? Will she sacrifice the South? Will she sacrifice the National Government by adding, indirectly though it be, to elect a Republican President? I will not believe it."

By the "exalted teachings," the "ennobling inspirations" of our "glorious" four years of rebellion, be not "recreant" now!—The "one great object" of the South, Hancock's election, "Fight for it, and Win."

"I stood for four years by the side of Virginians, and I know the stuff of which they are made. In those four years I never saw them falter. At this crisis I can not, I will not, think that you will prove false to your traditions—that you can prove recreant to the exalted teachings, the ennobling inspirations of your glorious past. Put by everything that can distract your attention from our ONE GREAT OBJECT. Look only to that, fight for it, and win the fight."

He attacks the Republican party—Bewails a loss of State rights and "the fate of the South"—This election the "Last Ditch" of Confederate Democratic rule.

"I have nothing to say to you about your local differences; we have them in our own State, but we have resolutely put them behind us. Realize, if you can, what will follow a Republican triumph in November. You have all seen what strides that party has made toward centralization; you have seen your Judge stricken down by the mailed hands of the National Government; you have seen the Republican party mass troops at the polls to overawe your free suffrage; you have seen their Deputy Marshals, their Supervisors, their Returning Boards—the instruments of an overthrow of the last vestige of State rights. I tell you, my countrymen, the fate of the South will be harder than ever if the Republican party is successful in this campaign. We shall behold no more free elections, no more untrammelled expressions of political sentiment, and no one of us now living will ever again see a restoration of Democratic rule and principles."

Elect Hancock and the Republican vote North (as in the bull-dozed South) shall disappear—"Peace and Union" when the South can dictate.

"If we elect the Democratic nominee the Republican party will go to pieces like a rope of sand. Their mission is ended if they ever had a mission. There is nothing that holds them together to-day save 'the cohesive power of public plunder.' The Democratic party is the party of peace and of union that would blot out all sectional differences forever, and it has proved this in the nomination of General Hancock at Cincinnati. There was but one feeling there among the Southern delegates. That feeling was expressed when we said to our Northern Democratic brethren, 'Give us an available man.' They gave us that man, and we have put it in the power of the people to elect the ticket. They can elect it if they will."

The "Solid South" again—"Consider what Lee and Jackson would do"—

"These are the same principles for which they fought"—Do not abandon them now!

"You will hear from one to-day who can speak for North Carolina. Governor Vance will confirm my words that we can carry the South if you will only carry Virginia. He has come, like me, to appeal to you not to forsake us in the hour of need. CONSIDER WHAT LEE AND JACKSON WOULD DO WERE THEY ALIVE. THERE ARE THE SAME PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH THEY FOUGHT FOR FOUR YEARS. REMEMBER THE MEN WHO POURED FORTH THEIR LIFE-BLOOD ON VIRGINIA'S SOIL, AND DO NOT ABANDON THEM NOW. REMEMBER THAT UPON YOUR VOTE DEPENDS THE SUCCESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET."

The denial that he made that speech—The convincing proofs of the fact.

The above speech created such a deep feeling in the Northern mind, that the Southern as well as Northern leaders of the Democracy

feared it would solidify the North for General Garfield. To break its force, they made haste to deny that Wade Hampton had used the language thus attributed to him, and Wade Hampton wrote a letter in which he admits that he "appealed to the Virginians present to consider before they voted how Lee and Jackson would vote were they now alive," but says:

"I have not the slightest recollection of having used the language attributed to me in the closing sentences of your report, and I certainly never intended to convey the idea embodied in them. Your reporter misconceived my language."

But the evidence is overwhelming that he did use it, whatever his "recollection" or "intention" may have been. The New York Tribune at once investigated the matter fully, and published more than two columns of proofs. Of these it is enough to say that four of the best known leading Democrats of Staunton joined in the following card:

"We, the undersigned, heard the speech of General Wade Hampton, delivered in Staunton, on the 26th of July. We have also read the report thereof published in *The Valley Virginian* on the 29th of July, and hereby certify that that report was substantially correct.

ARCHIBALD G. STUART,
H. C. TINSLEY,
A. C. GORDON,
HUGH F. LYLE."

And that the report of the passage in question in the Democratic paper of Staunton, made by Mr. H. C. Tinsley himself, is essentially the same as that given by the Republican paper, as will be seen by the following:

From *The Valley Virginian*, (Rep.)

"Consider what Lee and Jackson would do were they alive. These are the same principles for which they fought for four years. Remember the men who poured forth their life blood on Virginia's soil, and do not abandon them now. Remember that upon your vote depends the success of the Democratic ticket."

From *The Vindicator* (Dem.)

"Pause before you cast your vote. Think how Lee would have voted. Think what Jackson would have done before he would have cast a vote calculated to divide his beloved Virginia. I ask you to remember those who have died on your soil, and to remember that the principles they died for are again on trial to-day. I say nothing of your differences."

The Staunton Valley *Virginian* also repeats, in the most positive manner, that—

"General Hampton declared that the Democratic party, under Hancock's lead, was fighting for the same principles that Lee and Jackson fought for, and for which the Southern soldiers died. THERE WAS NO QUALIFICATION IN THE TERMS USED. His appeal was for harmony in the Democratic party in Virginia, and to make it effective he brought up the war remembrance to touch the feelings of the audience."

PART II.

Confederate Brigadiers in the Senate—They eulogize Jeff. Davis, and would Pension him and the Confederate Soldiers—Democratic Votes—Zach. Chandler denounces them.

The proceedings in the United States Senate, March 3, 1879, exhibit, more than any other one thing, the love and devotion of the South-

ern and even the Northern Democratic leaders to Jefferson Davis. The bill making appropriations for Pension Arrears was up that evening, and a pending amendment to grant pensions to the soldiers of the Mexican War was sought to be guarded by the following addition to it:

"Provided further, That no pension shall ever be paid under this act to Jefferson Davis, the late president of the so-called Confederacy."

Thereupon Democratic Senators rose to vindicate and eulogize the arch-rebel.

Senator Garland, of Arkansas, roundly declared that Jefferson Davis

"Would scorn it (the pension), if tendered grudgingly."

"His services are upon the record of this country, and while they may not surpass, yet they will equal in history all Grecian fame and all Roman glory."

Senator Thurman, of Ohio, a Northern Democrat, could see no difference between repentant rebels, now honored with office in the Republican party, and the unrepentant Jefferson Davis! and added:

*"The American people want not only that there shall be amnesty * * * but that as soon as possible there may be oblivion."*

Senator Gordon, of Georgia, also could not see any difference except, because

"One is radical and the other is not; that is all."

Senator Lamar, of Mississippi, expressed surprise and regret that the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Hoar) should have wantonly, without provocation, flung this insult!" said he, continuing:

" * * There was no distinction between insult to him and the Southern people, except that he was their chosen leader and they his enthusiastic followers; and there has been no difference since. The Senator, it pains me to say, coupled that honored name with treason; for, sir, he is honored among the Southern people. He did only what they sought to do; he was simply chosen to lead them in a cause which we all cherished, and his name will continue to be honored for his participation in that great movement which inspired an entire people, the people who were animated by motives as sacred and noble as ever inspired the breast of a Hampden or a Washington. I say this as a Union man to-day. The people of the South drank their inspiration from the fountain of devotion to liberty and to constitutional government. We believed that we were fighting for it, and the Senator cannot put his finger upon one distinction between the people of the South and the man whom the Senator has to-day selected for dishonor as the representative of the South."*

Senator Gordon again rose to declare that—

"Whatever poison is carried in the breast of Mr. Davis by this Partisan arrow, sent back from recently defeated Republican ranks, must of necessity find lodgment in the breast of every man of the South whose sensibilities are capable of wound."

Senator Morgan, of Alabama, eulogized him as *"a man of high character, of great courage, of established abilities, a man whom we could trust."*

Senator Coke, of Texas, said:

"I tell you, candidly and sincerely, that we love Jefferson Davis because he represented us in a struggle in which our young men and our old men went down to their graves and by which our women were made widows and our children were made orphans. He represents us and we love him, we respect and revere him."

Senator Ransom, of North Carolina, replying to a question, said:

*"I tell him (Mr. Hoar) that if I were in his place as I am now in my place—and I speak deliberately—and I believed Mr. Davis was an enemy to this country, I not only would not pension him, but I would have for him feelings of unutterable aversion. But it is impossible that Mr. Davis can be an enemy to this country. * * * He never was an enemy of this country. * * * He belongs to history as does that cause to which he gave all the ability and devotion of his great nature. There I trust both. * * * I hope we all will vote upon this amendment, and vote our sentiments."*

Most of those Democratic senators who were not paired did vote for these Confederate "sentiments." No Democrat voted against those "sentiments." The Democrats who voted "nay" in the adoption of Mr. Hoar's amendment were:

Messrs. Bailey, Barnum, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Davis, of W. Va., Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Jones, of Fla., Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Mazy, Morgan, Ransom, Thurman.

In spite of their vote, Mr. Hoar's amendment was adopted, and the pending amendment as thus amended, was lost—the Democrats having previously voted down a proviso offered by Mr. Mitchell, to the following effect:

"Provided further, That no person who served in the Confederate army during the late war of the rebellion or held any office, civil or military, in the late Confederacy, shall be entitled to receive any pension under this act."

A sharp contrast.—How Jefferson Davis is regarded by the North—Senator Chandler's scathing reply to these Southern eulogies!

It was after listening to these eulogies of Jefferson Davis till forbearance ceased to be a virtue, that the lamented Zachariah Chandler rose, pale with long-suppressed wrath, and, with impressive vehemence, uttered the voice of the North as follows:

"Mr. President, twenty-two years ago to-morrow, in the old hall of the Senate, now occupied by the Supreme Court of the United States, in company with Mr. Jefferson Davis, I stood up and swore before Almighty God that I would support the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Jefferson Davis came from the Cabinet of Franklin Pierce into the Senate of the United States and took the oath with me to be faithful to this Government. During forty years I sat in this body with Mr. Jefferson Davis and saw the preparations going on from day to day for the overthrow of this Government. With treason in his heart and perjury upon his lips he took the oath to sustain the Government that he meant to overthrow."

"Sir, there was method in that madness. He, in co-operation with other men from his section and in the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan, made careful preparations for the event that was to follow. Your armies were scattered all over this broad land where they could not be used in an emergency; your fleets were scattered wherever the winds blow and water was found to float them, where they could not be used to put down rebellion; your Treasury was depleted until your bonds bearing six per cent. principal and interest payable in coin, were sold for eighty-eight cents on the dollar for current expenses and no buyers. Preparations were carefully made. Your arms were sold under an apparently innocent clause in an Army bill providing that the Secretary of War might, at his discretion, sell such arms as he deemed it for the interest of the Government to sell."

"Sir, eighteen years ago last month, I sat in these halls and listened to Jefferson Davis delivering his farewell address, informing us what our constitutional

duties to this Government were, and then he left and entered into the rebellion to overthrow the Government that he had sworn to support! I remained here, sir, during the whole of that terrible rebellion. I saw our brave soldiers by thousands and hundreds of thousands, *sic*, I might say millions, pass through the theatre of war, and I saw their shattered ranks return; I saw steamboat after steamboat and railroad train after railroad train arrive with the maimed and the wounded; I was with my friend from Rhode Island [Mr. Burnside] when he commanded the army of the Potomac, and saw piles of legs and arms that made humanity shudder; I saw the widow and the orphan in their homes, and heard the weeping and wailing of those who had lost their dearest and their best. Mr. President, I little thought at that time that I should live to hear in the Senate or the United States eulogies upon Jefferson Davis, living—a living rebel eulogized on the floor of the Senate of the United States! Sir, I am amazed to hear it; and I can tell the gentlemen on the other side that they little know the spirit of the North when they come here at this day and with bravado on their lips utter eulogies upon a man whom every man, woman, and child in the North believes to have been a double-dyed traitor to his Government." [Applause in the galleries.]

PART III.

Jefferson Davis' Last Set Speech.

Let it be remembered that the preceding eulogies of the unrepentant and unreconstructed Jefferson Davis were delivered March 3, 1879, seven months after he had made the following address, which is taken from the *Democratic N. Y. World*, July 12, 1878:

MOBILE, Ala., July 11.—A Mississippi City (Miss.) dispatch of the 11th says: "The following is a brief synopsis of the address made to-day by Jefferson Davis on the occasion of the presentation to him of a gold badge and certificate of membership of the Association of the Army of the Tennessee. Colonel James Lingen made the presentation address. Mr. Davis, after expressing gratitude for the kindness and honor conferred, recapitulating the stirring events of the war and the hardships endured, said:

The "right of secession" once "debatable" now "vindicated" as "a necessity" for the "safety and freedom of the Southern States!"

"The question of the State's right of secession in 1861 was at least debatable; but the course pursued by the Federal Government after the war had ceased was a vindication of the judgment of those who held separation to be necessary for the safety and freedom of the Southern States. The unsuccessful attempt to separate left those in power to work their will as it had been manifested when they first got control of the Government. The events are too recent to require recapitulation, and the ruin they have developed requires no other memorial than the material and moral wreck which the country presents."

He reasserts the "right of secession" and "the duty" to fight for it—He glorifies Albert Sydney Johnston above all men.

"The speaker reasserted his unshaken belief in the right of secession and the duty of the citizen to battle in the cause of the State after secession. He reviewed the campaigns from Fort Henry to Shiloh, and, speaking of Albert Sydney Johnston, he said: 'Was it that his grand presence inspired you with unmeasured confidence and the hope of happier days, when opportunity should offer, or was it that your judgment told you that you followed, as I verily believe you did, the greatest soldier, the ablest man, civil or military, Confederate or Federal?'"

He wouldn't disturb "such peace as we have"—The South "agreed to return to the Union and abide by the Constitution and laws made in conformity with it," according to Southern construction.

Mr. Davis then reviewed the operations about Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and spoke in glowing terms of their defenders. He said:

"Let no one suppose that in thus vindicating our cause, in paying due tribute to your gallant deeds, I am seeking to disturb such peace as we have or to avoid the logic of events. You have done your duty in the past, and I would ask no more than that you should fulfill equally well the duties of the present and the future. The bravest are, as a rule the gentlest, and they are also the truest to every obligation assumed. You struck for independence, and were unsuccessful. You agreed to return to the Union and abide by the Constitution and laws made in conformity with it. Thus far, and no further, do I understand your promise to extend."

We would repudiate all "contracts with bondholders, merchants and shipowners" as "palpable wrongs"—"The best assurance of full triumph" to the South.

Referring to the legislation of the Congress which followed the war, he said:

"The tax-payers know that an increased burden was imposed on them by contracts made with bondholders, merchants, and shipowners. They know that we have lost the carrying trade, and to what will they assign a policy which prevents the registration of American ships that had changed flags during the war, which imposes such duties on raw material as to interfere with ship building, and prohibits the registration of a foreign built ship, though it be by purchase the property of citizens of the United States. Will the people—if worthy—the source of all power, allow a long continuance of such palpable wrongs to the masses, such ruin to interests which have been equally our pride and means of prosperity? A form of government must correspond to the character of the people for which it is appropriate. Republics have failed whenever corruption has entered the body politic and rendered the people unworthy to rule. Then they become the fit subjects of despotism, and a despot is always at hand to respond to the call. A Caesar could not subject a people who were fit to be free, nor could a Brutus save them if they were fit for subjugation. The fortitude with which our people have borne oppression imposed on them since the war has closed, the resolute will with which they have struggled against poverty and official pillage, is their highest glory, and give the best assurance of full triumph."

The "great victory" already gained—Another promised as "the sequence to it"—Renewal of State Sovereignty.

"Well may we rejoice in the regained possession of local self-government, in the power of the people to choose their own representatives and to legislate uncontrolled by bayonets. This is the great victory, and promises another as the sequence of it—a total non-interference by the Federal Government with the domestic affairs of the States. The renewal of the time-honored doctrine of States sovereignty and the supremacy of law will secure permanent peace, freedom and prosperity."

"The Constitution as it was."

"The Constitution of the United States, interpreted as it was by those who made it, is the Prophet's rod sweetening the bitter water from which followed the strife, the carnage, the misery, and the shame of the past as well as the evils of the present."

Perversion of the Federal "compact"—Usurpations—The Missouri compromise.

Every evil which has befallen our institutions is directly traceable to the perversion of the compact of union and the usurpation of the Federal Government

of undelegated powers. Let one memorable example suffice for illustration. When Missouri asked for admission as a State into the Union, to which she had a two-fold right under the Constitution and usages of the United States, and also under the terms of the treaty by which the Territory was acquired, her application was resisted, and her admission was finally purchased by the constitutional concession misnamed "Missouri Compromise." When that establishment of a politico-geographical line was announced to the apostle of Democracy, who, full of years and honors, in retirement watched with profound solicitude the course of the Government he had so mainly contributed to inaugurate, his prophetic vision saw the end of which this was the beginning. The news fell upon his ear like a fire-bell at night."

The Pandora box-lid opened—Fraternity destroyed.

"Men had differed and would differ about measures and public policy according to their circumstances or mental characteristics. Such differences tended to an elucidation of truth, a triumph of reason over error. Parties so founded would not be sectional; but when the Federal Government made a parallel of latitude a political line a sectional party could not fulfill the ends for which the Union was ordained and established. If the limitations of the Constitution had been observed and its purposes had directed Federal legislation, no such act could have been passed. The lid of the Pandora box might have remained closed and the country have escaped the long train of similar aggressions which aggrandized one section and impoverished the other, and, adding insult to injury, finally destroyed the fraternity which had bound them together."

"Restoration of the Government to the principles and practices of the earlier period."

"It was no part of my purpose, as has been already shown, to discuss the politics of the day, though the deep interest I must ever feel in the affairs of the country has not allowed me to ignore them, and will not permit me to be unobservant of passing events or indifferent to the humiliating exposures to which the Federal Government has of late been subjected. Separated from any active participation in public affairs, I may not properly judge of those who have to bear the heat and burden of the day. Representing no one, it would be quite unreasonable to hold any other responsible for opinions which I may entertain. *How or when a restoration of the Government to the principles and practices of the earlier period may be accomplished, it is not given us to foresee.*"

He believes that that "restoration will come"—That those principles, etc., will prevail.

"For me, it remains only earnestly to hope and hopefully to believe, though I may not see it, that the restoration will come. To disbelieve this is to discredit the popular intelligence and integrity on which self-government must necessarily depend. Though severely tried, my faith in the people is not lost; and I prayerfully trust, though I should not live to see the hope realized, that it will be permitted me to die believing the principles on which our fathers founded their Government will finally prevail throughout the land and the ends for which it was instituted yet be attained and rendered as perpetual as human institutions may be. I have said we could not foresee how or when this may be brought to pass; but it is not so difficult to determine what means are needful to secure the result."

The "means" of restoration—"The elective franchise must be intelligently and honestly exercised," under the Mississippi shot-gun system, of course.

"First in order and importance—for it is the corner stone of the edifice—the elective franchise must be intelligently and honestly exercised. Let there be no class legislation, low taxes, low salaries, no perquisites, and let the official be held to a strict accountability to his constituents. Nepotism and gift-taking

by a public agent deserve the severest censure, and the bestowal of the people's offices as a reward for partisan service should be treated as a gross breach of trust. Let no such offences be condoned; for in a government of the people there can be no abuses permissible as usefully counteracting each other. Truth and justice and honor presided at the birth of our Federal Union, and its mission can only be performed by their continued attendance upon it. For this there is not needed a condition of human perfectibility, but only so much of virtue as will control vice and teach the mercenary and self-seeking that power and distinction and honor will be awarded to patriotism, capacity, and integrity."

Mississippi shot-guns and rebel rifles will do it all.

"To your self-sacrificing, self-denying defenders of imperishable truths and inalienable rights I look for the performance of whatever man can do for the welfare and happiness of his country."

The spirit which animated the crowd.

During the delivery of the address Mr. Davis was frequently applauded.—*N. Y. World*, July 12, 1878.

* *Note.*—It is a significant fact, as showing the spirit of the South, that of the 100 Democratic newspapers published in Mississippi, only five have taken the slightest exception to Jefferson Davis' remarks above given.

PART IV.

Further Testimony from Southern Democratic, Greenback, and other sources.

Senator Morgan declares the voice of Alabama at the recent election shows "conclusively the spirit of the South."

Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama, in his speech at the Hancock Ratification Meeting at Washington, Aug. 26, 1880, reported by the *Washington Post* (Democratic), said:

"The voice of his State in the election just closed, in which a 60,000 vote was cast for Hancock and Engleah, showed conclusively the spirit of the South at present. * * *

"The voice which has just started in that State would sweep through the South and many a Northern State."

A Greenback Stamp-speaker astounded in Alabama—"The Confederacy still exists —A Solid South will gain control and redress all our wrongs."

J. H. Randall, a Greenback orator in the recent Alabama campaign, writes to the *Washington National View*, August 14, 1880, touching "the spirit of the South," as exhibited in that State. He attended a Democratic meeting at Kizer Hill, and says:

"The first one of the speakers, from our standpoint, indicated that he was very ignorant and a fool, or that he thought the people present were all ignorant and fools. * * * To us it was very strange that the people listened to him, but they did, and many of them, in comments we overheard, seemed to think him telling the truth, and that he was very wise. In the course of his speech he said: '*The Confederacy still exists, my friends, and Jeff. Davis, the best friend we ever had, is yet our President and devoted to our interests; and if Hancock is elected (and we have no doubt he will be), you will be paid for all the property you have lost through Radical rule; and you must stand by the great Democratic party, for a solid South will now give us entire control of the General Government, and we can redress all our wrongs.*'"

Randall, thinking this pretty extraordinary doctrine, attempted to reply, when a man in the crowd yelled out: "We don't want no d—n Yankee to come here and talk to us; we had better shut him up." Then a brass band from Shubuta, Mississippi, struck up to prevent his being heard!

The hour at last has come to take the Presidency "and resume the record of glory, &c., where in 1860 it unhappily closed."

The regular Democratic committee of Virginia in its address says:

"For fifteen years the Democracy of the Union have longed for this hour, when, their internal discords healed, Federal interference with elections measurably prohibited, and a Congress, Democratic in both houses, securing an honest count, they might take up the burden of executive administration, and resume the record of glory, peace, prosperity, and fraternity, where in 1860 it was unhappily closed."

Colored Republicans dare not take the stump in the South. They would be shot down like dogs!

A delegation of colored Republicans, appointed by a convention of colored men, called July 30 upon the Republican National Committee to urge the sending of our most prominent white men to canvass and try and break up the "Solid South," and in their address said:

"Not a hair on the heads of these men would be touched for fear of awakening the ire of the loyal men of the North; but if this committee should send (for we believe it is your province so to do) canvassers of our race South they would be shot down like dogs, and nothing more heard or said about it. We cannot sit idly down and see our speakers and our race decimated by the rebel rifle or the knife, or see them taken in the still hours of the night and scourged and hung from the nearest sapling, simply for advocating the principles of that party which claims our support, without uttering to you our solemn protest."

Governor Wiltz of Louisiana says the "South is Solid" for Hancock—"There is no occasion now for Bulldozing."

Governor Wiltz of Louisiana was recently in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. A Milwaukee Sentinel reporter "interviewed" him, with this result:

"In your opinion, General Hancock may figure on a Solid South?"

"Yes, sir; and from what I have seen during my travels I believe there is not a doubt of his election."

"Will there be any intimidation of voters attempted?"

"No, sir"—(excitedly).

"In the dispatches this morning, General Weaver, the Greenback candidate for President, is credited with saying that the stories of bulldozing and frauds in elections in the South have not half been told?"

"That is false" (again excitedly.) "As regards our State," the Governor added.

"Is it true as regards any State in the South?"

"I do not think there has been intimidation in any part of the South. I think the colored people have opened their eyes, and it would be difficult for the Republican party to re-organize them, and without their aid the Republicans cannot hope to carry any Southern State."

"But these reports of Southern outrages are specific as to places, dates, and all that would seem to give the character of reliability."

"How can dates and places be given? There is no political excitement in the South now. THERE IS NO OCCASION FOR BULLDOZING."

The Negro "passing out" of Politics—He must side with the Democrats or "go to the wall altogether!"

Says the New Orleans *Picayune* (Democratic):

The negro is passing out of politics. He can never figure again in that arena as a Republican, for the simple reason that the Republican party has no longer any use for him—or rather, any opportunity to use him. The Southern States are all hopelessly Democratic, and it would be a waste of money sorely needed in more promising quarters, to canvass this section in the interest of the Chicago nominee. We understand that it is not the intention of the Republican party managers to attempt to organize a campaign in this State, and they have equally good reasons to abandon the struggle in all the other Southern States. If the negro is wise he must begin to see that he has now as little to hope from the Republican party, as that party has to expect from him. He will see that in his own section he must side with the dominant party or, politically speaking, go to the wall altogether.

A Dialogue between North and South—The South's declared purpose "to revive the memories of the war" and chant the glorious achievements of the rebels!

The New Orleans *Democrat* prints this:

"Southerner (to Northerner)—Why do you shake at us the bloody shirt? Why do you aim continually to revive the hateful memories of inglorious war? Shall bygones be or be bygones?"

"Northerner (to Southerner)—Why do you, by ever making your rebellious deeds the glorious apotheosis of treason, provoke us to do it?"

"The New Orleans *Organist*—The superb heroism of such men deserve to be perpetuated in song and story, and their bright examples of patriotism and duty to be held up before our young men, to whom the memories of the war are as vague as the images of a dream."

"* * * It is the purpose of the *Democrat* to revive those memories * * * with the design of teaching the growing generation of young Louisianians what an imperishable heritage of glory they have in the achievements of their fathers."

White Republicans to be branded as enemies — White Republican candidates "should be saturated with stench!" — 1000 Democratic votes equal to 5000 Republican votes! — "We have the count!"

A letter signed "Southern Democrat," in the *Memphis Avalanche*, says:

"White men who dare to avow themselves here as Republicans should be promptly branded as the bitter and malignant enemies of the South. The name of every Northern man who presumes in this community to aspire to office through Republican votes should be saturated with stench. As for the negroes, let them amuse themselves, if they will, by voting the Radical ticket. We have the count. We have a thousand good and true men whose brave ballots will be found equal to those of five thousand vile Radicals."

The Democrats control South Carolina, and they intend to retain it at every hazard!

Says the Barnwell (S. C.) *People*:

"The Democrats have obtained control of the State of South Carolina, and they intend to retain it at every hazard, and in spite of the utmost efforts of local enemies and their Northern allies."

"Heroic deeds" of rebellious sires to be held up for the "emulation and admiration" of the sons.

Speaking of the "dreadful strife which made the South a ruin, but which has, at least, left her a *legacy of glorious memories*," and of the men who have since grown to control the destinies of the South, the New Orleans *Democrat* says:

"For our young men, therefore, citizens of Louisiana and of the Republic, we propose to hold up *for their emulation and admiration* the heroic deeds of their fathers," &c.

"We have no excuses to make for being a solid South."

At a Hancock ratification meeting, July 17, at Floyd, Ga., as quoted from New Orleans *Democrat*, July 24, 1880, among the extracts which that paper gives "from the fine address delivered by that elegant orator, David Todd, Esq., of Norehouse," is this:

"Mr. Todd, in speaking of a solid South, said, We have no excuse or apologies to make to bloody-shirt politicians for being a 'solid South.'"

The Central Greenback organs advice to Greenbackers—The spirit of the South in Alabama—The party of fate, malice and subversion—Work against it—Vote against it—Refuse its alliance!

"Many accounts from Alabama come to us filled with evidence of the frauds practiced in the late election. The most shameless and open discrepancies exist between the ballots cast and those counted. At Huntsville an amount of suppression and intimidation equal to that used in the worst days of reconstruction, was openly carried on. Comment upon these things, without more positive action, does little good. The party who condemn these outrageous abuses, be they committed by whom they may, has a hard work before it, but it must be accomplished. The execution of the law, and the law themselves, must be such as to prevent similar action by any party. That party which parades a platform sonorously quoted by the man who voted to protect brute force in Congress, which declares for a 'free ballot,' and leads its forces to such a victory as that gained in Alabama, is a party of hate, of malice, and the protector of the worst crime known to nations, the treacherous subversion of the people's will. Work against it; vote against it; *refuse its alliance*. Let the honest men come out of it."—*Week. National View* (Greenback), Aug. 14, 1880.

CHAPTER III.

Revolutionary Acts and Purposes of the Democratic Leaders.

"The great fraud of 1876-'77, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government; the Democratic party, to preserve the country from a civil war, submitted for a time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880; this issue precedes and dwarfs every other; it imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of free men."—Declaration of Democratic Platform, 1880.

PART I.

Introduction to the evidences of Tilden's contemplated high crime against the Republic—Brief review of the Revolutionary Proceedings—Their remarkable growth—How a Minority can Overthrow a Government—Forcible illustration of the Dangers that Potter sought to Precipitate upon us—Plausible Pretexts for Revolution always on hand.

Revolutionists always have a plausible excuse for what they intend to do, whether the scene of operations be France, Mexico, or any other country, and that excuse is always to right some alleged wrong, and restore to the dear people something which it is alleged they

have lost; and hence the importance of furnishing no similar pretext at this election. Most of the modern revolutions in republics have been brought about by the ambition of partizans on pretenses of falsehood to promote the selfishness of reckless and designing men. They have methods which bear a strong likeness to each other, and show that they all come of one family. The dear people have been robbed or cheated, and the disinterested patriot proposes to rally a force and set things right.

Louis Napoleon as the "People's Champion" and the "Imitator of Washington."

It is almost impossible to detect the real reason of the revolutionist at first. Louis Napoleon achieved his designs by pretending to be the champion of the people, and as president of the Republic made himself their master. He announced himself an imitator of Washington; whom he imitated with a vengeance.

Santa Anna's pretext in 1828 a pretended presidential election fraud.

Santa Anna took the field in the first instance, 1828, on the pretext that the two votes by which Pedraza was declared elected president of Mexico over Guerrero were fraudulently obtained, and the subsequent innumerable revolutions, which have made a hell of that devoted country, have been the legitimate offspring of the attempt by that scoundrel to avenge that pretended fraud. War, confusion, debt, anarchy, and despair have for fifty years been the annual product of the efforts of the Mexican-Tilden to set things right.

The Mexican-Tilden's "stock in trade."—What all the horrors of revolutionary Mexico originally sprung from.

To annul the election of Pedraza because of a pretended fraud was the stock in trade of Santa Anna. All the horrors of Mexico have come from that, and revolution has become the chronic condition of Mexican society. The evil all grew out of a determination not to abide by a duly declared settlement of an election, by the constituted and legal authorities, in the mode and at the time and place fixed by the constitution and laws of the land.

Similar conditions, mode of action, and revolutionary designs as to the American Presidency.

The designs of the conspirators against our own President can be read by the similarity of the conditions and the mode of action. Hayes had but one majority, while Pedraza had two; but the closeness of the vote furnished the pretext. Hayes was not accused of tyranny or tyrannical acts; he was not accused of seeking to injure or oppress any class of people; he was not charged with seeking to promote sectionalism, or strife, or party spirit, or discord. He was not charged with violating the laws or performing any arbitrary or indecent acts. The public mind had settled into the belief that he was duly declared elected, and as President he was fairly and honestly performing his duty in a legal and constitutional way.

A review of the revolutionary movements since President Hayes' accession.

There being no wrongful acts of the President, no oppression, no agitation of the public mind, and no discontent or apprehension of trouble, it would seem at first thought that there could be no chance for the success of a conspiracy. Here and there, once in a while, perhaps, a bubble might come to the surface—only to burst. Three months after the inauguration there were mutterings and grumbings, and even significant threatenings, by Tilden and Dorsheimer at the Manhattan Club reception—a sort of ground swell, as it were—but with that exception it might be said that eight months passed away without a ripple.

Tilden's return from Europe and the study of revolutionary plans in France—His first gun.

Then Tilden returned from Europe. He went away ill—too ill to rally and conduct a revolution. But rest and a sea voyage restored his vigor, and time to lay plans had been so improved that he was ready for the first step in imitation of Santa Anna. A serenade was instituted, and Tilden came out with a speech ostensibly to thank his friends for coming to greet him, but in reality to "fire the popular heart" and discharge the first gun in his campaign of revolution.

Samuel J. Tilden swears a tremendous oath!

In this speech he announced that "the people had been robbed;" that "robbery was a crime;" that it "must be avenged;" that, so help him God, "I swear in the presence of you all—and I call upon you to bear witness to the oath—to watch during the remainder of my life over the rights of the citizens of our country with jealous care;" and much of the same import, too tedious to quote.

Nobody stars at the sound—Sammy plays "possum."

The popular heart did not fire, notwithstanding this tremendous oath. There was no response, and "order reigned in Warsaw." It became necessary to try some other plan, and Tilden was forced to play "possum" and make believe dead.

Tilden's grievance and the Mexican business—Maryland cats terrapin, and acca spots in the sun.

The month of January came and the various Democratic legislatures met, looked at the grievance of Tilden, and wisely concluded not to go into Mexican business that year—all but the Legislature of Maryland. The Legislature of Maryland had two distinctions not enjoyed by any other. It was once bodily imprisoned for disloyalty by a National Union general—one George B. McClellan—and had for a member Montgomery Blair. Such a Legislature could invent a grievance, if one could be invented, and they did. Blair, by a free use of champagne and terrapin, put through a resolution that the State had been cheated in the electoral count—the same language that Tilden had used—and the wrong must be redressed. This looked harmless and almost laughable. So does a cat sometimes when mice are near.

Mysterious conferences of Tildenites at Washington and New York—Speaker Randall captured—King caucus at work.

It looked as though legal proceedings were to be instituted in the courts. But wait a little. Some pork doesn't boil that way. Blair leaves Annapolis and comes to Washington. There are many mysterious conferences and consultations, dodgings in and out by a brother of David Dudley Field, who is

Tilden's engineer, and Clarkson N. Potter runs back and forth between Washington and Gramercy Park, and Speaker Randall is dragged into promising to rule in a motion of inquiry as a question of high privilege, the caucus is invoked, and all the party machinery is brought to bear to get passed a resolution of investigation.

Falseness and duplicity of the Democratic pretext for the Potter Investigation—Contradictory House action as to meddling with Hayes' title—How fright will disguise itself.

All this is done on the Mexican pretext that nothing is intended but the unbarthing of a fraud; but see the falseness and duplicity. A motion is sought to be made to declare that it is not intended to question the title of Hayes, and it is squelched with yells, and the most talented, most distinguished, and one of the most venerable sages of the House is indecently hooted down, because the conspirators dared not trust their scheme to the test which is always applied to honest proceedings. The conspirators knew their scheme could not succeed if put to such a test, and so they choked the test and the mover by riot and Bedlamite howls. A few weeks later, however, the House got frightened into passing the resolution that the title of Hayes could not be meddled with, but if they were really of this opinion their howling it down at the start cannot be accounted for. Their intentions had not changed, evidently, but they found it necessary to endeavor to conceal them awhile longer, and hence the resolution was allowed to pass; but neither Potter, McMahan, S. S. Cox, Knott, Blackburn, Southard, Springer, nor A. S. Hewitt voted for it. It did not commit the next House; and nothing prevented the next Democratic House from carrying out Democratic revolutionary designs, but the voice of the People, expressed in a greatly decreased Democratic majority in that Body,

The Hale Amendment and Potter's Jesuitical offer.

Mr. Hale made an offer to investigate Tilden's attempted frauds, and the conspirators pretending to desire the evidence of fraud, voted it down. Mr. Potter pretended that he was willing to do this if Mr. Hale would say he had new evidence, but he well knew Mr. Hale and the Republicans had regarded the case as finally settled and had not been looking for new evidence, and had no occasion to connive with liars and perjurers to get a show of new evidence on which to hang a pretext of revolution, and knew they wouldn't had there been occasion.

What of the threatened Democratic revolution had thus far been developed plainly.

The facts and course of proceedings so far show:

1. That Tilden instigated the proceedings and had the guiding hand on the helm:

2. That the real aims of the conspirators were carefully sought to be concealed.

3. That the conspirators sought by illegitimate and riotous means to carry their points.

4. That the usual pretexts and concomitants which mark the courses and methods of revolutionists were manifest in the movements of the Blair and Tilden conspirators.

Can a Democratic Minority overthrow a Government?—Revolutionary Momentum—Remember, 1861.

The conspirators know some things not appreciated by the people. The people imagine that the Government can be overthrown only by the majority, but the Democratic leaders know that a few bad, cunning, and desperate men can so wield the masses that a revolution once started takes on a momentum entirely out of proportion to numbers or the merits of the case which they present. Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina were strong Union States from conviction in 1861; but the storm of revolution, once started, became a whirlwind, and the beggarly and contemptible minority swept the majority out of the Union in a twinkling, and thousands upon thousands of honest Union men carried rebel muskets through the war, or died fighting in a cause which they cordially hated and despised. Even Robert E. Lee was a Union man, but deluded with a notion that he must follow his State. Now the delusion will be that they must follow their party, and must have vengeance for an imaginary "fraud," and so one and another have already been whipped in, and others will continue to be till the torch of revolution is lighted, and then the Mexican methods will be fairly inaugurated, and the end no man can see.

Nip it in the bud—Three Revolutionary Constituents.

The only way to stop revolution is to nip it in the bud. At the commencement there are in revolutions three parties—those who are in the movement, those who oppose it, and those who think nothing will come of it. The first are usually a small minority; but the vicious classes in our cities, the fanatics, the soldiers of fortune, all instinctively rally to the support of any devilry; the timid are scared in or into neutrality, and the desperadoes soon have their own way, and confusion, desolation, and destruction abound on every hand.

How France was strangled in one night by one weak, shallow man!—Our greater danger from the crafty, "still-hunting" Tilden—Tilden's Democratic bon-bons.

Victor Hugo has pronounced the French Revolution of Louis Napoleon "the assassination of a people by one man." Yes, and that man was considered by most intelligent Frenchmen as weak, shallow, and so utterly wanting in heroic and magnetic qualities that

they laughed at the idea of a *coup d'état* down to the very night it was accomplished. Then, to their intense disgust, they found their throats grasped by the hand of the insignificant villain, and there was no help. The nation was strangled in a night, and, to the surprise of everybody, the assassin was supported and sustained by men of more ability than Montgomery Blair, and more character than Sam Randall and Clarkson Potter. Such scoundrels are always supported by better men than themselves, and Tilden had secured his coterie already. Some had been allured by promises of being made cabinet ministers; others fooled with the notion that there was to be some fun, but not to amount to a revolution, while the natural cussedness of a goodly number, which circumstances had hitherto kept suppressed, would improve the occasion for a little antic; and so, altogether, there were no lack of allies. The rank and file came from the million of Democratic place-hunters, who pretended to feel that the counting in of Hayes cheated them of an office which they would get without fail if Hayes were bounced. Montgomery Blair admitted that there were many members wholly opposed to the revolution; but they were to be forced in by this mighty pressure of a million ravenous office-seekers, who could not wait two years for a regular election.

"Revolutions never go backward"—To what magnitude this had swollen in a few short months!

Revolutions grow in these days by a natural law, and they cannot be controlled when under full headway, nor stopped except in their earlier stages. See how Tilden's had augmented. When the Manhattan Club gathering was held it passed away like a smoke-whiff. When Tilden made his revolutionary speech in October there was no response. It fell flat. When Blair introduced his resolution in the Maryland Legislature it was almost unanimously condemned by the members; and yet it went through. It came to Congress and had but few friends; but a few weeks of cunning manipulation by Blair, Field, and Potter, under direction of Tilden, and a great investigation is inaugurated. Men are put on the stand to blacken the character of eminent statesmen—that on the stand confess themselves liars, owning that they could be and were bribed, and confessing that they are without moral character, and the respectability of Clarkson Potter is obliged to associate with them, and he and McMahon are compelled to defend as manifest a set of rascals as ever came to the surface.

And this was but the work of a few months. What as many more months would bring forth no man could imagine.

The horrors to which the pallid, half-palsied old man of Gramercy Park would have doomed the American people.

The conspirators meant mischief. The investigation had no significance in it if not aimed at the title of the President. Blair

avowed this, and so did others. The scheme was growing, and moderate men would lose control of it. When the torch of revolution in a country like this is once lighted, hell itself follows. The stormy passions of men are unchained and rage with bloodthirsty violence, and the scenes become indescribable. Victor Hugo, in trying to describe the French revolution, says: "The gloomy armed men, massed together, felt an appalling spirit enter into them. they ceased to be themselves and became demons. There was no longer a single French soldier, but a host of indefinable phantoms, carrying out a horrible task, as though in the glimmering light of a vision. There was no longer a flag; there was no longer law; there was no longer humanity; there was no longer a country; there was no longer France—they began to assassinate." Even this language fails to depict the horror and misery which a revolution brings. Men turn into brigands and women become fiends. Homes and hearthstones are abolished. All that is held sacred is violated, and where peace and plenty and security reigned, want, famine, and terror come in and take their places.

The only way to avoid all this is to crush the Democrats right out of Congress by electing Republicans.

It was to avoid this terrible condition of things that the people reduced the Democratic majority in the House. To avoid this condition of things in the near future, the solid South—the conspirators who through Hancock would work revolution—must be dealt a staggering blow. But this can only be done by electing Garfield to the Presidency by an electoral vote so large that none will dare dispute it, and by electing a Republican House that will set the seal of condemnation upon the revolutionary proceedings of the last two Congresses.

PART II.

The Potter Letter—He would have thrown the Election into the House to make Tilden's chances sure—The House the sole judge of Presidential Elections and can act alone on its own information!—It is "supreme"—The Democratic House having followed his advice, Tilden must have been elected if Potter is to be believed—Tilden as Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army!

The fact that Clarkson N. Potter, of New York, the next door neighbor, at Gramercy Park, of Samuel J. Tilden, was at the head of the House Committee striving, by a one-sided investigation of alleged electoral frauds to

make political capital to help his party at the congressional elections and to lay a basis for the conspiracy to seize the Presidency, naturally drew attention to his famous letter of November 21, 1876, published in the New York Herald, of the day following. In that letter he argued for the Tilden cause with fallacious subtleties which, were they living, would have turned the old Greek sophists green with jealousy and envy, and would do honor to the casuistry of the disciples of Loyola. Then, grown bold upon his platform of sophistries, he proposed the most violent measure of all the wild and anarchical plans advanced by the Tildenites of that troubled period. He wanted the Democratic House to "take the bit in its mouth," declare that the people had failed to elect, and proceed to the election of a President. In the following pages it will be found that on March 3, 1877, by a strict party vote, the House did "take the bit in its mouth" so far as to declare that Tilden and Hendricks were duly elected President and Vice-President; and it is because of this foolish and untrue declaration that we now hear so much of the so-called "Grand Issue" and that Democratic demagogues allude to Mr. Tilden as "President Tilden" before Democratic audiences. This letter, written by Tilden's next-door neighbor at Gramercy Park, and ostensibly concocted at his Wall Street office, was believed at the time to have been inspired by Tilden himself; and but for the fact that a few Democrats refused to be governed by the Tilden revolutionary caucus, the treasonable programme which, under Tilden's influence, Potter had laid down, might probably have been carried out to the letter. The firm attitude of President Grant in declaring that whoever, under the electoral count, was duly declared elected President, would be inaugurated, and the knowledge, ascertained by secret emissaries, that the army would stand firm and could not be corrupted by Tilden's "barls of money," had much to do with the destruction of the Tilden-Potter programme or *pronunciamento* for Mexicanizing the United States. Besides exhibiting what the revolutionists originally intended to do, the Potter letter throws some light upon proceedings in the Democratic House after the electoral count, and upon the new treasonable departure which was taken under the personal lead of Potter himself. Following is the closing portion of the Potter letter aforesaid:

We would have had the Election thrown into the House, which would have insured Tilden's Election.

"If, then, the vote of Louisiana shall not be counted, and Mr. Hayes should be allowed Florida and South Carolina, he will have 177 votes and Mr. Tilden 184, and then either Mr. Tilden will be elected, or there will be no election of President. And it will then become the immediate duty of the House of Representatives, under the express direction of the Constitution, to proceed to choose a President by the votes of States, each State having one vote, and if Mr. Hayes should then be chosen President, he will be chosen absolutely in strictest compliance with all the provisions and forms of law, and will be as absolutely and lawfully President as any man ever was. So, too, if the House should choose Mr. Tilden."

The House a higher law unto itself—Responsible to nothing and nobody—It can act alone!—It is the "sole judge" whether the people have elected or not, and need not wait the word of any informing body outside!

The Constitution has provided for no person or body to notify the House that there has been no election for President by the electors, nor, by deciding whether to make or withhold such notification, to judge of that fact, but has left the House sole judge of the happening of the contingency calling for its action. As one of the counters of the electoral vote the House must necessarily know whether that vote has resulted in a choice, and, so knowing, does not require notification of the fact. Accordingly, had the Constitution provided for a notification to the House, it would have been to make its action in that respect dependent on some other judgment of the happening of that contingency than its own. But instead it leaves the House to act upon its own knowledge, independent of the action of any other body or person, and directs the House in that contingency, of which it necessarily has knowledge, and is itself to be the judge, to proceed to choose a President.

And to whom could the question, of whether the power was to be exercised, be so properly committed as to the body which is to exercise the power, to that great popular branch of the Government which specially represents the people, and whose members, of all those connected with the Federal Government, are alone elected by the people.

The Democratic House being "supreme," who could dispute the Presidential authority of Neighbor Tilden?

Having, then, the ordinary and usual authority of every superior body, invested with the exercise of a supreme function, of determining for itself the occasion when it may be lawfully exercised, and having, therefore, the authority to decide for itself whether a President has been chosen by the electors or not, and, if not, to then itself choose the President, who can lawfully dispute the authority of the President whom the House of Representatives may thus choose?

All who talk otherwise "talk Rebellion" against the Lord's anointed.

Gentlemen who talk lightly, therefore, of having the Vice-President of the Senate receive and count the vote of Louisiana against the objection of the House, or of choosing some energetic man President of the Senate that they may have a forcible officer to lead the Republican party after the 4th of March, or of an interregnum in which General Grant shall hold over, talk rebellion. The House of Representatives will not refuse to attend the counting of the electoral vote; it will permit the counting of every vote which it may judge lawful to be counted.

No electoral vote valid unless agreed to by the House, and unless its "judgment" agrees with its "concurrence" and "direction."

And no vote can be lawfully counted without its concurrence or against its judgment and direction.

Resistance to Tilden is defiance to law.

Whoever, by the vote so counted, shall appear to have the majority of all the electors appointed will be President, and will be accepted by the Democratic party as such; and whoever, if no President be so chosen, the popular branch of the Government shall then, in due form, choose to be President, will be so accepted by them; and it will be those who may see fit to resist the Executive, thus lawfully elected, who will be defying the laws.

No slight irregularity can impair the title of "my Neighbor" Tilden—If a majority of each one of a majority of States votes for Tilden in the House then he is President.

And even if there has been an omission in the Constitution, so that, *strictly no one may be elected according to its provisions*, what could be so in accord with the spirit of our Government as to agree upon an Executive, chosen by the House of Representatives, acting by States? That is, chosen by men, elected directly by the people as the electors are, and acting by States, as the electors do. It was to the House that the Constitution committed the election of a President in the only contingency of a failure to choose by electors then foreseen. Had the Convention foreseen the contingency now assumed by some it would, of course, have committed the election in such contingency also to the House of Representatives.

Why, then, not adopt this course—(The House did adopt it)—And thus sail as near to the "spirit of the Constitution" as india-rubber constructionists like Tilden and Potter choose to.

Why, then, should not this great people forbear strife, and adopt a course which, if no course be provided for by the Constitution, would accord most nearly with the spirit of the Constitution? The more, as the result thus reached would conform to the wish of the great body of the people, as just expressed.

And here let me add that to talk of a Senate, in which a majority of the Senators represented less than one-fourth of the people, whose power to choose a President is, by the Constitution, confined, first to the failure of the electors to choose one, and next to the failure of the House of Representatives to choose one by the 4th of March following—setting up as their presiding officer a military dictator, to take possession of the Government against the President regularly chosen by the House of Representatives and backed by an enormous popular majority, seems to me, even in view of Mr. Frank Blair's famous prophecy, idle.

Doubtful the supremacy exercised by the Federal authority of late years, and the desire of property owners for order, even at the price of Constitutional liberty, has produced a pretty general belief that any one who can command Federal troops can do anything.

Tilden's claim to be Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army—Potter believed the people would sustain it.

But the question is not what Federal troops can do, but who it is that is entitled to be their commander and head—a wholly different question; and, upon that question, I do not believe the people will be found so anxious to sustain fraud to keep the minority in power, or so unwilling to maintain their constitutional rights as is assumed.

Truly your obedient servant,

CLARKSON N. POTTER,
No. 61 Wall street.

November 21, 1876.

PART III.

The Electoral Commission Act—Analysis of the votes by which it passed—It was essentially a Democratic measure—The votes in full in both Houses.

It will be observed by analysis of the votes cast in the Senate and House upon the passage of the Electoral Commission Act—given herewith—that this act, now so much abused by the Democrats, and the findings under which they now pretend to be dissatisfied

with, and which they propose by revolutionary methods to overturn, was essentially a Democratic measure. The Senate vote was 47 yeas and 17 nays—10 not voting. Of the Republicans 20 voted yea, 17 voted nay, and 9 declined to vote. Of the Democrats 26 voted yea, 1 voted nay, and 1 declined to vote. The majority for it therefore comprised 26 Democrats and 20 Republicans. The vote against it comprised 17 Republicans and only 1 Democrat. The vote in the House, on passing the act, illustrates the feeling of the two parties even more strongly. That vote was 191 yeas and 86 nays—14 not voting. Of the Republicans only 33 voted yea, 68 voted nay—7 not voting. Of the Democrats 158 voted yea, only 18 voted nay—7 not voting. The majority for it, therefore, comprised 158 Democrats and only 33 Republicans. The vote against it comprised 68 Republicans and only 18 Democrats. Taking the aggregate vote in the two Houses, it will be found that only 53 Republicans voted for the measure and 85 Republicans voted against it; while 184 Democrats voted for it, and only 19 Democrats voted against it. The Republicans of both branches of Congress therefore stood opposed to the measure nearly in the proportion of 2 to 1; and the Democrats of both branches stood by the bill, and "put it through" nearly in the proportion of 10 to 1.

If this state of facts does not prove it a Democratic measure then all proofs would be useless.

The Senate vote in full.

The vote in the Senate, January 25, 1877, on the passage of the Electoral Commission Bill was, in detail, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Alcorn, Allison, Barnum, Bayard, Boggs, Booth, Boutwell, Burnside, Chaffee, Christianity, Cockrell, Conkling, Cooper, Cragin, Davis, of West Virginia, Dawes, Dennis, Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, Goldthwaite, Gordon, Howe, Johnston, Jones, of Florida, Jones, of Nevada, Kelly, Kernan, McCreery, McDonald, McMillan, Mazy, Merrimon, Morrill, Price, Randolph, Ransom, Robertson, Saulsbury, Sharon, Stevenson, Teller, Thurman, Wallace, Whyte, Windom, Withers, Wright—47.

NAYS—Messrs. Blaine, Bruce, Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Cameron, of Wisconsin, Clayton, Conover, Dorsey, Eaton, Hamilton, Hamlin, Ingalls, Mitchell, Morton, Patterson, Sargent, Sherman, West—17.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Anthony, Ferry, Harvey, Hitchcock, Logan, Norwood, Oglesby, Paddock, Spencer, Wadleigh—10.

The House vote in full.

The vote in the House of Representatives, January 26, 1877, on the passage of the Electoral Commission Bill, was, in detail, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Adams, Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Beebe, S. N. Bell, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradley, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Burleigh, Cabell, W. P. Caldwell, A. Campbell, Candler, Caulfield, Chapin, Chittenden, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cockrane, Cook, Cowan, Cox, Crapo, Culbertson, Cutler, Darrall, J. J. Davis, Davy, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durand, Eden, Ellis, Faulkner, Felton, D. D. Field, J. J. Finley, Foster, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hancock, Hardenburgh, B. W. Harris, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Hartsell, Hatcher, Hathorn, Haymond, Henkle, Hereford, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, Hoskins, House, Humphreys, Hunter, Hurlton, Jenks, F. Jones, Kehr, Kelley, Lamar, F. Landers, G. M.

Landers, Lane, Leavenworth, Le Moine, Levy, Lewis, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Maish, Macdougall, McCrary, McDill, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, H. B. Metcalf, Miller, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Mutchler, L. T. Neal, New, Norton, O'Brien, Oliver, Payne, Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Pierre, Piper, Platt, Potter, Powell, Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, Rice, Riddle, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, M. Ross, Sampson, Savage, Sayler, Seales, Schleicher, Seelye, Sheakley, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stanton, Steager, Strait, Stevenson, W. H. Stone, Swann, J. K. Tarbox, Teese, Terry, Thomas, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, E. B. Vance, Waddell, C. C. B. Walker, G. C. Walker, Walling, Walsh, E. Ward, Warner, Warren, Watson, E. Wells, G. W. Wells, Whitehouse, Whitthorne, Wike, Willard, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, W. B. Williams, Willis, Wilshire, B. Wilson, J. Wilson, F. Wood, Yeates, Young, and the Speaker—191.

NAYS—Messrs. J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Blackburn, Blair, Bradford, W. B. Brown, H. C. Burdard, Butts, J. H. Caldwell, Cannon, Carr, Caswell, Cate, Conger, Crounse, Danford, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Durkan, Eames, J. L. Evans, Frye, Forney, Fort, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Haralson, Hendee, Henderson, Hoge, Hubbell, Hurd, Hurlbut, Hyman, T. L. Jones, Joyce, Kasson, Kimball, Knott, Lapham, Lawrence, Lynch, Magoon, Milkken, Mills, Monroe, Nash, O'Neill, Packer, Page, Raisted, Poppleton, Pratt, Purman, Rainey, Robinson, Bnak, Singleten, Sinnickson, Slemmons, Smalla, A. H. Smith, W. E. Smith, Stowell, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, Tufts, Van Vorhes, J. L. Vance, Wait, Waldron, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, J. D. White, Whiting, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. Wood, Jr., Woodburn, Woodworth—86.

NOR VOTING—Messrs. Bass, Cason, Collins, Egbert, Hays, King, Lord, Odell, W. A. Phillips, S. Ross, Schumaker, Stephens, Wheeler, Wiggington—14.

The Electoral Count—The vote as announced—Final separation of the Houses—Subsequent revolutionary proceedings in the Democratic House before adjournment of the Forty-fourth Congress—Field's "Quo Warranto Bill" and vote on it.

The counting of the electoral vote of the States commenced February 1, 1877, and did not end until March 2, at four o'clock A. M., each House having been in session continuously from March 1, at 10 o'clock A. M.

When the counting of the vote of the States was concluded, and the tellers had announced the result of the footings, the presiding officer of the two Houses declared Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, the duly elected President, and William A. Wheeler, of New York, the duly elected Vice-President for the four years commencing March 4, 1877—whereupon the two Houses finally separated.

The electoral vote of the States as declared by the two Houses, being the evidence of title which nothing can shake.

The vote for President was announced, as follows:

Votes.	States.	Hayes.	Tilden.
10	Alabama.....	..	10
6	Arkansas.....	..	6
6	California.....	6	..
3	Colorado.....	3	..
6	Connecticut.....	..	6
3	Delaware.....	..	3
4	Florida.....	4	..
11	Georgia.....	..	11
21	Illinois.....	21	..
15	Indiana.....	..	15
11	Iowa.....	11	..

Votes.	States.	Hayes.	Tilden.
5	Kansas.....	5	..
12	Kentucky.....	..	12
8	Louisiana.....	8	..
7	Maine.....	7	..
8	Maryland.....	..	8
13	Massachusetts.....	13	..
11	Michigan.....	11	..
5	Minnesota.....	5	..
8	Mississippi.....	..	8
15	Missouri.....	..	15
3	Nbraska.....	3	..
3	Nevada.....	3	..
5	New Hampshire.....	5	..
9	New Jersey.....	..	9
35	New York.....	..	35
10	North Carolina.....	..	10
22	Ohio.....	22	..
3	Oregon.....	3	..
4	Rhode Island.....	4	..
29	Pennsylvania.....	29	..
7	South Carolina.....	7	..
12	Tennessee.....	..	12
8	Texas.....	..	8
5	Vermont.....	5	..
11	Virginia.....	..	11
5	West Virginia.....	..	5
10	Wisconsin.....	10	..
369	Total.....	188	184

David Dudley Field's Quo Warranto Bill—Being one of the moves in Tilden's crafty game.

March 2, 1877.—The very same day when the vote for Hayes was declared by both Houses, David Dudley Field, from the select committee on the privileges, powers and duties of the House of Representatives in counting the vote for President and Vice President, hastened to report a bill, entitled "An Act to provide an effectual remedy for a wrongful intrusion into the office of President or Vice President of the United States."

Vote by which the Quo Warranto Bill was lost.

The vote on the passage of the above Quo Warranto bill was 66 yeas (all of them Democrats) to 99 nays, which comprised 76 Republicans and 23 Democrats, while of those not voting 89 Democrats seem to have been "watching how the cat jumped." In detail the vote was:

YEAS—Messrs. J. H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Beede, S. N. Bell, Boone, J. Y. Brown, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Cate, Caulfield, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Collins, S. S. Cox, J. J. Davis, De Bolt, Eden, Ellis, D. D. Field, J. J. Finley, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Glover, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenburgh, J. T. Harris, Hartwell, Halcher, Hill, Holman, Hooker, A. Humphreys, T. L. Jones, F. Landers, Lane, Levy, Lord, Luttrell, Lynde, Meade, Morrison, L. T. Neale, Payne, Poppleton, A. V. Rice, J. Robbins, M. Ross, Seales, Schleicher, Sheakley, Slemmons, Sparks, Springer, Teese, Terry, Thomas, Tucker, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, G. C. Walker, E. Wells, Whitthorne, Wiggington, B. Wilson, Yeates—66.

NAYS—Messrs. Abbott, Adams, Ainsworth, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Belford, Blair, Bradford, Bradley, W. B. Brown, Buckner, Burleigh, Butts, J. H. Caldwell, Cannon, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Culberson, Cutler, Danford, Darrell, Davy, Dennison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Eames, Forney, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Goodin, Haralson, B. W. Harris, Hathorn, C. Hays, Hopkins, Howe, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Jenks, Joyce, Kasson, Kehr, Kelley, Kimball, G. M. Landers, Lapham, Lawrence, Le Moine, Lynch, Macdougall, McDill, Mills, Monroe, New, Oliver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, W. A. Phillips, Pierce, Pratt, Rainey, J. B. Reilly, Riddle, M. S. Robinson, Sampson, C. P. Thompson, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, Wait, Waldron, A. S. Wal-

lace, J. W. Wallace, Warren, J. D. White, Whitehouse, Willard, C. G. Williams, W. B. Williams, B. A. Willis, J. Wilson—99.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, G. A. Bagley, Bass, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Bright, H. C. Burchard, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, A. Campbell, Carr, Cason, Chapin, Clymer, Cochran, Cook, Cowan, Dibrell, Douglas, Durand, Durham, Egbert, J. L. Evans, Faulkner, Felton, Flye, Fort, Gibson, Goode, Gunter, Hale, R. Hamilton, Hancock, H. R. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Haymond, Hendee, Henderson, Henkle, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hoar, Hoge, Hoskins, Hunton, Hurd, Hyman, F. Jones, King, Knott, Lamar, Lewis, Mackey, Magoon, Maish, McCrary, McFarland, McMahon, H. B. Metcalf, Miller, Milliken, Money, Morgan, Muchler, Nash, Norton, O'Brien, Odell, Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Piper, Plaisted, Platt, Potter, Powell, Purman, Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, S. Ross, Rusk, Savage, Sayler, Schumaker, Singleton, W. E. Smith, Southard, Stanton, Stenger, Stephens, W. H. Stone, Swann, Throckmorton, Turner, Van Vorhes, C. C. B. Walker, Walling, Walsh, E. Ward, Warner, Waterson, G. W. Wells, Wheeler, Whiting, Wike, A. Williams, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, Wilshire, A. Wood, Jr., F. Wood, Woodburn, Woodworth, Young—126.

Mr. Burchard's Amendment, and vote thereon.

After Proctor Knott, Democrat, had offered an amendment—which he subsequently withdrew—Mr. H. C. Burchard, Republican, from the minority of the Committee on Privileges, etc., moved to amend Mr. Field's resolution by adding to it these words:

"Affecting the genuineness of proper authentication of such certificates, but not for the purpose of questioning the number of votes by which, as shown from the certificate of duly authorized canvassing officers of the State, the electors may have been appointed."

The amendment was disagreed to—yeas 84 (all Republicans, save one), nays 122 (all Democrats), not voting, 84, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, S. N. Bell, Bradley, W. E. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Burleigh, Buttz, Cannon, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Danford, Darrall, Denison, Dobbins, Eames, J. L. Evans, Flye, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Haralson, B. W. Harris, Hathorn, C. Hays, Hendee, Henderson, Hoskins, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, W. A. Phillips, Plaisted, Platt, Rainey, M. S. Robinson, S. Ross, Sampson, Seelye, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Stowell, Strait, Thornburgh, Tufts, Wait, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, G. W. Wells, J. D. White, Whiting, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, J. Wilson, A. Wood, Jr., Woodburn, Woodworth—84.

NAYS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. F. Brown, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochrane, Collins, Cook, Cowan, S. S. Coz, J. J. Davis, De Bolt, Durham, Ellis, Faulkner, D. D. Field, J. J. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Glison, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Harndenburgh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Henkle, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hunton, Hurd, Jenks, T. L. Jones, Knott, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, Le Moine, Levy, Lord, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Mills, Money, Muchler, L. T. Neal, New, Odell, Payne, Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Poppleton, Rea, J. B. Reilly, J. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Savage, Sayler, Scales, Sheakley, Stemann, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stanton, Stenger, W. H. Stone, Swann, J. K. Tarboz, Teese, Terry, Thomas, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Walling, Walsh, Warner, E. Wells, Whitthorne, Wigginton, Wike, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, B. A. Willis, B. Wilson, Yeates—122.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Abbott, Anderson, J. H. Baker, Bass, Beebe, Belford, Blair, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, A. Campbell, Candler, Carr, Cason, Cate, Caldwell, Chapin, Culberson, Culler, Davy, Dibrell, Douglas, Dunnell, Durand, Elen, Egbert, Felton, Fort, Gibson, Hancock, Haymond, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Hogg, Holman, A. Humphreys, F. Jones, Kehr, Kimball, King, Lamar, Lane, Lewis, Lynch, Maish, H. B. Metcalf, Miller, Milliken, Morgan, Morrison, O'Brien, Pierce, Piper, Potter, Powell, Pratt, Purman, Reagan, M. Ross, Rusk, Schleicher, Schumaker, Singleton, Stephens, Stevenson, M. I. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Waldron, C. C. B. Walker, G. C. Walker, E. Ward, Warren, Waterson, Wheeler, Whitehouse, Willard, A. S. Williams, W. B. Williams, Wilshire, F. Wood, Young—84.

Mr. Field's resolution was then agreed to.

PART IV.

House Committee Report affirming the right of the House to go behind the Electoral Returns, and "the authority of the House over the counting" thereof—Resolution reported to that effect—Vote on Burchard's Amendment to it.

March 3, 1877, David Dudley Field, Democrat, from the Committee on Privileges, etc., made the following report:

"The Committee on the Privileges, Powers, and Duties of the House of Representatives, in counting the vote for President and Vice President of the United States, report, in part, that since their partial report of certain resolutions, made to this House on the 12th day of January last, the passage of the act entitled 'An act to provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice President, and the decision of questions arising thereon, for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877,' and the proceedings under it, have interrupted the discussion of the said resolutions and the action of House thereon; but that the refusal of the Electoral Commission, constituted by the said act to hear any evidence touching the frauds and want of jurisdiction of the canvassing and returning boards of Florida and Louisiana, has made it so much the more important to affirm the said resolution and the authority of this House over the counting of the electoral votes, and especially the right of Congress and of the House to inquire whether any votes purporting to come from a State have been cast by persons duly appointed by that State electors of President and Vice President in the manner directed by its Legislature, and for that purpose to receive evidence of the forgery, falsehood, or invalidity of any certificate of any Governor or canvasser whomsoever. The committee therefore recommend the passage of the following additional resolution:

"Resolved, That in the counting of the electoral votes of any State it is the right and duty of Congress and of this House to inquire whether any votes purporting to come from a State have been cast by persons duly appointed by that State electors of President and Vice President in the manner directed by its Legislature, and for that purpose to receive evidence of the forgery, falsehood, or invalidity of any certificate of any Governor or canvasser whomsoever."

PART V.

Morrison's Letter on Tilden's "Lack of Pluck" — Tilden thought he had "packed" the Electoral Commission — Hen-

Hendricks urges the House to declare Tilden and himself elected—Votes by which the House makes that revolutionary declaration—Subsequent Democratic protest declaring Hayes “a Usurper!”—The House Democrats officially notify Tilden that he was “duly elected President”—Did Tilden take the oath?—Revolutionary talk—Hewitt’s enforced resignation and peculiar apology—Judge Black’s revolutionary threat.

Letter from the Democratic leader Morrison to the seven men among his constituents who were not satisfied and wanted a new election.

In the *New York World*, March 5, 1877, appears a letter written by W. R. Morrison, the then Democratic leader of the House and Chairman of Ways and Means, which contains two or three pregnant admissions worth noticing. It was written February 24, 1877, in answer to a dispatch of same date, received by him from Messrs. L. H. Hitt and six others, of East St. Louis, Ill., in which they say:

“American institutions and constitutional liberty demand that the conspiracy shall not succeed. Our party can prevent it without resorting to revolutionary measures, for the partisan decisions of the Electoral Commission command no respect. Give us a new election.”

He tells the seven foolish Virgins they have trimmed their lamps “too late, I fear”—The Democratic leader’s idea of good faith.”

Morrison’s reply ran thus:

“DEAR SIRS: Your dispatch has been received. I fear it is too late to accomplish what you suggest, and what the right and justice of the case demand. Many of our friends, and some of the most influential think, or pretend to think, that we are bound by obligations of good faith to go on, under the Electoral Commission Bill, to see Hayes fraudulently counted in. There are so many of this way of thinking that this result seems to me to be inevitable.”

He lets out the truth on Tilden—Charges him with lack of “pluck,” but thinks it is to Tilden’s “credit” that he agreed to the Electoral Commission, because he thought it would be “packed” in his interest.

“The truth is that our great man Tilden, able as he undoubtedly is, did not have the pluck to meet the requirements of the occasion at the right time, though I suppose it must be said to his credit that when this commission was gotten up it was expected that Davis would be the eighth man.”

The thing is lost—Morrison never believed in Electoral Commissions.

“I look upon this thing as lost, though our folks could keep Hayes out if they were united, and possibly could secure a new election; but Lamar, Hill, Watterson, Wood, Wells, and many others, say they intended to let Hayes go through, and believe themselves bound to do

so. I never had any faith in the electoral project, but everybody in the country seemed to favor it, and when I returned from New Orleans it was already settled upon as the way out. Respectfully yours,
“W. R. MORRISON.”

Hendricks openly encouraged the adoption of the House resolution declaring Tilden elected President.

A meeting of Democrats at Indianapolis, March 4, 1877 (according to *New York World* of the 5th), called to deliberate as to the attitude of Democracy, sent a dispatch to Senator McDonald, of Indiana:

“Your friends at home desire that you should take no part in the inauguration of Hayes.”

The same telegram states that Hendricks said of the House resolution declaring Tilden and Hendricks elected:

“The House should pass such a resolution, though it would have no practical effect.”

Proctor Knott’s Resolution “solemnly Declaring” that Tilden “received 196 electoral votes,” and was “thereby duly elected President”—Votes in the House on Question of “Consideration.”

March 3, 1877, Proctor Knott, Democrat, from the Committee on Privileges of the House, etc., submitted to the House a long preamble, ending with the following resolution:

“Resolved by the House of Representatives of the United States of America, That it is the duty of the House to declare, that Samuel J. Tilden, of the State of New York, received 196 electoral votes for the office of President of the United States, all of which votes were cast and lists thereof signed, certified and transmitted to the seat of Government, directed to the President of the Senate, in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the United States, by electors legally elected and qualified as such electors, each of whom had been duly appointed and eligible, in the manner directed by the Legislature of the State in and for which he cast his vote as aforesaid: and that said Samuel J. Tilden, having thus received the votes of a majority of the electors appointed as aforesaid, he was thereby duly elected President of the United States of America for the term of four years, commencing on the 4th day of March, A. D. 1877: and this House further declare that Thomas A. Hendricks, having received the same number of the electoral votes for the office of Vice President of the United States that were cast for Samuel J. Tilden for President, as aforesaid, the said votes having been cast for him by the same persons who voted for the said Tilden for President, as aforesaid, and at the same time and in the same manner, it is the opinion of this House that said Thomas A. Hendricks, of the State of Indiana, was duly elected Vice President of the United States for a term of four years, commencing on the 4th day of March, A. D. 1877.”

Straight Party Vote on Question of “Consideration.”

The question of consideration being raised, it was decided to consider the resolution, by 146 yeas to 82 nays, 62 not voting.

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Ainsworth, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Beebe, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burckhard, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carr, Caulfield, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clarke, Jr., Clymer, Cockran, Collins, Cook, Cowan, Culberson, Cutler, J. J. Davis, De Boli, Debrell, Douglas, Durham, Ellis, Faulkner, D. D. Field, J. J. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Harter, Harter, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hartbridge, Hartell, Hatcher, Raymond, Henkle, A. S. Hewitt, Hooker,

Hopkins, House, A. Humphreys, Hutton, Hurd, Jenks, T. L. Jones, Knott, Lamar, F. Landers, Lane, Le Moine, Levy, Lord, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Mills, Money, Morrison, Mutchler, L. T. Neal, New, O'Brien, Odell, Payne, Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Poppleton, Powell, Purman, Rea, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, M. Ross, Savage, Saylor, Scales, Schleicher, Sheakley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stanton, Stenger, Stevenson, W. H. Stone, Swann, J. K. Tarbox, Teese, Terry, Thomas, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, C. C. B. Walker, Walling, Walsh, E. Ward, Warner, E. Wells, Whitehouse, Whitthorne, Wigginton, Wike, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, B. A. Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Yates, Young—146.

YAYS.—Messrs. Adams, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Blair, Bradley, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Buttz, Cannon, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Danford, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Eames, J. L. Evans, Flye, Fort, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Haralson, B. W. Harris, Hathorn, C. Hays, Hendee, Henderson, Hodge, Hoskins, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Lynch, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, Page, W. A. Phillips, Pierce, Plaisted, Platt, Payne, M. S. Robinson, Rusk, Sampson, Seelye, Sinnerickson, Strait, Thornburgh, W. Townsend, Tufts, Wait, A. S. Wallace, G. W. Wells, J. D. White, Whiting, Willard, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, W. B. Williams, J. Wilson, Woodburn, Woodworth—82.

NOT VOTING.—Messrs. Anderson, J. H. Baker, Banning, Baas, Belford, S. N. Bell, Blount, Burleigh, Cabell, A. Campbell, Cason, Caswell, Cate, Chapin, S. S. Coz, Durand, Eden, Egbert, Fellon, Foster, Freeman, Goodin, Hancock, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Holman, F. Jones, Kehr, Kelley, Kimball, King, G. M. Landers, Lewis, Maish, H. B. Metcalfe, Miliken, Morgan, O'Neill, Packer, Piper, Potter, Pratt, Reagan, J. Robbins, S. Ross, Schumaker, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Stephens, Stowell, M. L. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Waldron, G. C. Walker, J. W. Wallace, Warren, Watterson, Wheeler, A. S. Williams, Wilshire, A. Wood—62.

The resolution, with its preamble, was then adopted by yeas 136, nays 88—not voting 66—as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Abbott, Ainsworth, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Beebe, Blackburn, Blaud, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. F. Caldwell, Carr, Caulfield, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cockrane, Collins, Cook, Cowan, Culberson, J. J. Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Ellis, Faulkner, D. D. Field, J. F. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, H. E. Harris, T. T. Harris, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Henkle, A. S. Hewell, Hooker, Hopkins, House, A. Humphreys, Hutton, Hurd, Jenks, T. L. Jones, Knott, Lamar, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, Levy, Lord, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Mills, Money, Morrison, Mutchler, L. T. Neal, New, O'Brien, Odell, Payne, Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Poppleton, Purman, Rea, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, M. Ross, Saylor, Scales, Schleicher, Sheakley, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stanton, Stenger, W. H. Stone, Swann, J. K. Tarbox, Teese, Terry, Thomas, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Walling, Walsh, E. Ward, Warner, E. Wells, Whitthorne, Wigginton, Wike, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, B. A. Willis, Wilshire, B. Wilson, Yates—136.

NAYS.—Messrs. Adams, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Blair, Bradley, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Buttz, Cannon, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crounse, Danford, Darrall, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Eames, J. L. Evans, Flye, Fort, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, B. W. Harris, Hathorne, Haymond, C. Hays, Hendee, Henderson, Hodge, Hoskins, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, O'Neill, Page, W. A. Phillips, Plaisted, Platt, Rainey, M. S. Robinson, S. Ross, Rusk, Sampson, Seelye, Sinnerickson, A. H. Smith, Stowell, Strait, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, Wait, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, G. W. Wells, J. D. White, Whiting,

Willard, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, J. Wilson, A. Wood, Woodburn, Woodworth—88.

NOT VOTING.—Messrs. Anderson, J. H. Baker, Baas, Belford, S. N. Bell, Buckner, Burleigh, A. Campbell, Candler, Cason, Cate, Chapin, S. S. Coz, Crapo, Cutler, Davy, Durand, Eden, Egbert, Felton, Goodin, Gunter, Hancock, Haralson, Harrison, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Holman, F. Jones, Kehr, Kimball, King, Lane, Le Moine, Lewis, Lynch, Maish, H. B. Metcalfe, Miliken, Morgan, Packer, Pierce, Piper, Potter, Powell, Pratt, Reagan, Savage, Schumaker, Singleton, Smalls, Stephens, Stephenson, Van Vorhes, Waldron, C. C. B. Walker, G. C. Walker, Warren, Watterson, Wheeler, Whitehouse, A. S. Williams, W. B. Williams, F. Wood, Young—86.

Democratic Congressional Caucus—Address and protest against the election—Declaration of the election of Hayes.

On Saturday evening, March 3, 1877, the Democratic members of the House, in caucus, adopted a long "address to the American people" which closes thus:

"In the exciting days just past the forbearance of the people has maintained the peace. Let it not, however, from this be understood that the fraud to be consummated March 4 will be silently acquiesced in by the country. Let no hour pass in which the usurpation is forgotten. Let agitation be increasing that at every opportunity the people may express their abhorrence of the outrage. Let want of confidence be voted at every election in Mr. Hayes and his administration. * * * Let the Democratic party at once organize for the new contests to secure overwhelming victories, that conspirators may never again attempt the experiment which now humiliates the Republic and has installed in the highest office a usurper."

Mr. Tilden officially notified of his election.

[Special dispatch to the World.]

WASHINGTON, March 3.—The following dispatch, signed by the Democrats of the House, was sent to Mr. Tilden this evening:

"Mr. Knott's resolution declaring that Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks had received the votes of a majority of all the electors legally appointed, and were thereby duly elected President and Vice President for the term of four years, commencing March 4, 1877, has passed the House—yeas, 136; nays, 88.

"David Dudley Field, R. F. Mills, E. A. Poppleton, J. M. Beebe, John L. Vance, S. S. Cox, W. M. Springer, A. T. Walling, J. R. Tucker, J. Proctor, Not, E. R. Meade, J. J. Abbott, J. S. C. Blackburn, A. V. Rice, A. M. Waddell, Franklin Landers, Lafayette Lane, M. I. Southard, F. H. Hurd, B. G. Caulfield, H. D. Money, A. H. Hamilton, W. A. J. Sparks, A. M. Bliss, C. C. B. Walker, W. W. F. Slemmons, W. S. Haymond and others."

Did Tilden take the oath?—Contemplated quo warranto proceedings.

"WASHINGTON, March 4.—* * * The hotels have been full of rumors, and extras have been issued that Tilden took the oath in New York on hearing of the House resolution, and in order to strengthen his claims through the contemplated quo warranto proceedings."

The above dispatch is from the New York World, March 5, 1877. That paper adds, editorially, this:

"Some excitement was caused yesterday in this city by the receipt of telegrams from Washington asking for the truth of the rumor that Governor Tilden, on Saturday night last, had taken the oath of office as President of the United States. The rumor was so preposterous as hardly to require the denial which it promptly received."

This is about all the light that has ever been thrown upon the question whether Tilden took the oath or not. That the "rumor" received a "denial" may or may not have been true; but was that "denial" true, and did Tilden himself make it? No

affirmative evidence has been given on these two points.

Revolutionary talk by Tilden's mouth-piece after inauguration.

The New York World, March 6, 1877, said :

"In a free country a majority (meaning the Democrats) can only be deprived of its rights by fraud; and if a majority, deprived of its rights by fraud to-day, cannot recover them by honest and determined action to-morrow, it is not fit to be a majority at all."

Abram S. Hewitt forced to resign from the National Democratic Committee by Democratic pressure—He makes a very peculiar sort of an apology.

On the 3d March, 1877, Abram S. Hewitt resigned the chairmanship of the National Democratic Committee, forced to that step by Democratic anger at his course touching the Electoral Commission Bill. In his letter of resignation he says :

"An absurd statement has been widely circulated that I had declared that 'I preferred the inauguration of Hayes to the shedding of a single drop of blood.' * * * The only remark which I ever made on this subject was in a private conversation, not intended to be repeated, and was to the effect that 'I would prefer four years of Hayes' administration to four years of civil war;' and upon this declaration I am willing to stand, because four years of civil war would, in my opinion, utterly destroy constitutional government for this generation at least."

Judge Black prophesies revolution.

In Judge Jeremiah M. Black's philippic before the Electoral Commission, when he found that Tilden had lost all chance of being "counted in," occurs the following prophecy of coming revolution:

"* * * But, nevertheless, wait a little while. * * * This mighty and puissant nation will yet raise herself up like a strong man after sleep and shake her invincible locks in a fashion you little dream of now. Wait, retribution will come in due time. Justice travels with a leaden heel, but strikes with an iron hand. God's mill grinds slow but dreadfully fine. Wait till the flood-gate is lifted and a full head of water comes rushing on. Wait, and you will see fine grinding then."

PART VI.

The Manhattan Club Reception—Orders which the Democratic House is now enforcing—Treasonable utterances of the Pretender Tilden—Lieutenant Governor Dorsheimer, David Dudley Field, and others—A gathering of 1000 distinguished Democrats from twelve States applauds the revolutionary sentiments that "It might be within the scope of a statesmanlike policy, resolutely pursued, to work out a complete remedy for this (Presidential) wrong, even before the next election."

The following, condensed from the New York Tribune, June 13, 1878, so clearly betrays

the treasonable purposes of the movement inaugurated by the Democratic House in the appointment of the one-sided Tilden committee, which "investigated" alleged frauds of Republicans in the electoral count, so as to lay a basis for future revolutionary action, that "he who runs might read" the portents :

One thousand representative Democrats assemble to endorse revolution—Twelve States represented.

The reception of the Manhattan Club to ex-Governors Tilden and Hendricks, Governor Robinson, and Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer brought together a great number of well-known Democrats, many States being represented. * * * Fifteen hundred invitations were issued, and between 800 and 1000 guests were present, representing the Democrats of many States of the Union. * * Prominent among whom were: New York—Secretary of State John Bigelow, Attorney-General Fairchild, Mayor Smith Ely, Samuel S. Cox, Abram S. Hewitt, Colonel Pelton, ex-Mayor Wickham, John T. Agnew, A. J. Vanderpoel, ex-Governor John T. Hoffman, Senator Kernan, John J. Armstrong, Lawrence Turnure, William C. Dewitt, Royal Phelps, Hugh J. Jewett, Parke Godwin, Benjamin Wood, Chief Justice Charles P. Daly, Judge George C. Barrett, General Roger A. Pryor, Henry L. Clinton, Augustus Schell, Peter B. Olney, James W. Covert, Judge Van Hoesen, Frederick R. Coudert, Corporation Counsel William C. Whitney, ex-Judge Henry Hilton, District Attorney Britton, Thomas Kinsella, W. A. Fowler, A. M. Bliss, Calvin Frost, Erastus Brooks, George M. Beebe, Judge Westbrook, Colonel A. C. Davis, Judge Donahue, Judge Lawrence, George Ticknor Curtis, Benjamin A. Willis, General Fitzjohn Porter, Judge Larremore, E. Winslow Paige, Colonel Wingate, John McKeon, Douglass Taylor, Algerton S. Sullivan, David Dudley Field, Police Commissioner Smith, Commissioner Campbell, Charles G. Cornell, Waldo Hutchings, General McMahon, Smith M. Weed, Scott Lord, General Spinola, W. S. Andrews, Frank Leslie.

Massachusetts.—Josiah G. Abbott, Charles P. Thompson, John K. Tarbox.

Connecticut.—Senator W. H. Barnum, ex-Governor Ingersoll.

New Jersey.—Governor Joseph D. Bedle, Senator John R. McPherson, Speaker R. F. Rabe, ex-Mayor Traphagen, Judge Tesse, ex-Governor Price, ex-Governor Joel Parker, Miles Ross, Senator Theodor F. Randolph, ex-Judge Ashbel Green, A. A. Hardenburgh, Orestes Cleveland.

Pennsylvania.—Hiester Clymer, Thomas G. Pearce, Samuel A. Thompson, Robert E. Randall, General W. H. H. Davis, Dr. Lambdin, Philadelphia Times.

Maryland.—Senator W. P. Whyte.

Washington.—Richard Merrick.

Virginia.—The Rev. Dr. Hoge, of Richmond.

Ohio.—General George W. McCook.

Georgia.—General Pierce M. B. Young.

Indiana.—Senator McDonald.
Missouri.—Congressman Phillips, Congressman Wells.
Wisconsin.—J. R. Barrett.

The Rothschilds' American representative presides—Others of wealth and weight officiating—The Club's "Welcome" to the "de jure" President and Vice President.

The reception committee which had charge of the arrangements was composed of the following gentlemen: August Belmont, president; Aaron J. Vanderpoel, vice-president; John T. Agnew, John McKeon, John T. Hoffman, Douglass Taylor, John G. Davis, J. Watts Bangs, Edward L. Gaul, Henry W. Allen, F. R. Coudert, Augustus Schell, Samuel S. Cox, Richard Lathers, James C. Spencer, Peter B. Olney, Robert B. Roosevelt.

The speakers were introduced by A. J. Vanderpoel, who said that it was his agreeable duty to tender, on behalf of the Manhattan Club, which represented not only the Democracy of the Empire City, but of the Empire State as well, a welcome to "those candidates who received a majority of the constitutional and electoral votes for the offices of President and Vice-President, and to those who are not only *de jure* but *de facto* the executive officers of our great State."

The Pretender Tilden's speech—A portentous transaction—"Counted out" and "counted in"—The wrong must be redressed and punished.

* * * The occasion and the apparent general expectation seem to require that I should say a word in respect to public affairs, and especially that I should allude to the transaction which, in my judgment, is the most portentous event in our political history.

Everybody knows that after the recent election the men who were elected by the people President and Vice-President of the United States were "counted out," and the men who were not elected were "counted in" and seated. [Cries of "Hear! Hear!"] I disclaim any thought of the personal wrong involved in this transaction. Not one of the four and a quarter millions of American citizens who gave us their votes but what experiences a wrong as great and as deep as I; not one of that minority who did not give us their votes but what in the resulting consequences of this act will share equally in the mischief if it is not redressed and punished. [Great applause.]

He is proud of the old "peaceful" changes in the governing power—He is the first in American history to "pretend" there was fraud—"If" Hayes is "successful" in retaining the Presidency, then what?

Evils in government grow by success and by impunity. They do not restrain themselves voluntarily. They can never be limited except by external forces. It had been our pride and our congratulation that in this

country we had established a system of *peaceful* change in the governing power. In other countries in the Old World changes in the administration—in a succession of government—have generally been worked out by frauds or by force. We felicitate ourselves that here, through the skill and patriotism and philanthropy of our forefathers, we had established a system of peaceful change through the agency of the ballot-box. And this is the first time in American history that the right of the people has been impeached. It is the first time in American history that anybody has pretended that the Government of this great country was handed over to any set of men through fraud. [Applause.] It is an event novel, portentous. The example, if successful, will find imitators.

"If" Hayes and Wheeler "can maintain possession"—The question of questions—No politics until the people "regain their rights and rule"—Which means by putting Hayes out and Tilden in.

The temptation is always present, and if a set of men, being in possession of the Government, can maintain that possession against the elective power of the people, and after they are condemned at the election, why should not such an event be imitated by their successors? Devices will always be found to give the color of law, and false pretences on which to found a fraudulent judgment will not be wanting. The question for the American people now is whether or not the elective system of our forefathers, as it was established in this country and has been respected and venerated for seventy-five years, shall be maintained, or whether we shall adopt the bad practices of the worst governments in the worst ages. [Applause.] This is the question of questions. Until it shall be settled no inferior administrative questions will have any significance in the politics of this country. There will be no politics in this country but the question, "Shall the people *regain* their rights and rule in this Republic?" [Some one in the room here proposed three cheers "for the President-elect," but as it seemed an inopportune moment no response was made.]

"If" Hayes' accession to the Presidency "is once condoned," what then will happen—But it won't be—"The institutions of the fathers," to wit: Tilden and Hendricks "are not to expire in shame"—"The Sovereignty" meaning the Presidency "shall be rescued and re-established."

If one instance of the successful assumption of the Government in this mode can be established, it will find plenty of imitators, if it is condoned by the people—*aye, if it is once condoned*. If my voice could reach throughout our country and be heard in its remotest hamlet, I would say, "Be of good cheer. The Republic will live. The institutions of our fathers are not to expire in shame. *The sovereignty of the people shall be rescued from this peril and re-established.*" [Applause.]

The people must condemn Hayes' "wrong" not only with a voice" (presumably at the polls), "but in a manner" (presumably by violence) "to prevent future wrongs" —They must deny, they must refuse success and prosperous impunity to it.

The question involves the elective system, it involves the whole structure of free government, and the rights of the people through it again will be vindicated, re-asserted, and forever established. The people must condemn the great and transcendent wrong that has been committed. They must condemn it with a voice and in a manner that shall prevent its imitation hereafter. They must strip from this example everything in it that attracts imitation. They must deny, they must refuse success and prosperous impunity to fraud. [Applause.]

Hayes and Wheeler cannot be trusted to give "redress"—but wait until Hayes and Wheeler are put out and Tilden and Hendricks shall "attain power," and then we will "fix" things so that to elect and seat another Republican President shall be "impossible."

The people cannot trust those who are the authors or beneficiaries of this wrong to devise measures of redress. But when those who condemn this wrong shall attain the power, they, acting for the people, in their behalf, must devise measures of legislation, measures of Constitutional change, if necessary, that shall make a recurrence of such an act as has stained our national history impossible.

President Hayes is on the eve of his "fall" —He may seem invincible—Yet "in a year or two, he will be either in the penitentiary or in exile!"—Hayes illustrated by Tweed.

Successful wrong is never so apparently triumphant as when it is on the eve of its fall. Seven years ago a corrupt dynasty had established its ascendancy over the millions of people who live in New York. It had obtained all the powers of government and of administration. It conquered or it bribed, or it persuaded, and won the almost universal acquiescence of our people. It even aspired to social recognition. It seemed to be invincible. And yet a year or two later the members of it were either in the penitentiary or in exile. History is full of such examples. We must trust the people; we must believe in the right; we must believe in the future of our country. A great and noble nation will never separate its political from its moral life. [Immense applause and cheers.]

Governor Robinson, of New York, denounces Hayes' "crime."

Governor Robinson, who was warmly applauded, said he "was glad to be present to do honor to the distinguished gentlemen who were the Democratic standard-bearers in the late national contest. From the time a Chief Magistrate of the United States was inaugurated who had never been elected he had lost

no opportunity, he said, to assert that the will of the people had been disregarded, and that unless such acts were regarded as crimes there was no hope of the United States surviving as a nation."

Lieutenant Governor Dorsheimer on the "Great Injustice"—The Wronged must "Seek Redress," Must "Punish" the "Wrong-Doer," which must mean Hayes—"We will" Make the Wrong "Lie Heavy" upon the Republicans; will bear Witness" against it, and "Condemn" it—"But I hope we will not content ourselves with that!"

Lieutenant Governor Dorsheimer claimed that a great injustice had been done to the Democratic party in the inauguration of the Republican candidate. He concluded as follows: It devolves upon you, for it is you who have been wronged, and in all affairs it is for the party wronged to seek redress, to find out and punish the wrong-doer. Now, what shall we do? We will, in the first place, improve every occasion, in public and private, to condemn it. We will bear witness against it. We will make a sense of this wrong to lie heavy upon every conscientious Republican in the country. But I hope we will not content ourselves with that.

He foreshadows the action of the Democratic House—Alleged powers of the House—A "policy" to be "resolutely pursued" to work out a "complete remedy" for this wrong, even before the next election!"—The 1000 distinguished Democrats applaud the treason!

A distinguished member of the House of Representatives, whom I saw a few moments ago, told me last evening that the House had the power to inquire and to make plain, and I may say to you further that the House of Representatives is by the Constitution endowed with those great powers which in every generation the British House of Commons has used boldly and with perfect freedom to work out the liberties of the English people. [Applause.] So I should hope that it might be within the scope of a statesmanlike policy resolutely pursued to work out a complete remedy for this wrong even before the next election. [Applause.]

David Dudley Field's treason — Three months after Vice President Wheeler took the oath of office Field terms Hendricks of Indiana, "our Vice President."

David Dudley Field, on being called for, said: "It is quite impossible for me to think of addressing you in the presence of so many gentlemen from other parts of the country, much worthier and better able than I, and, therefore, I must beg you to excuse me. I can point to dozens of gentlemen from other States, and they are the ones whom you wish to hear, and not one of yourselves here. It is not for me to give you advice nor encouragement, but for others. I will name some

of them. We have got here Judge Abbott, of Massachusetts, one of the noblest men that ever voted a ballot for freedom, and for days and weeks he and I stood shoulder to shoulder fighting your battle in the House of Representatives. I ask you to hear him. Then there is another distinguished gentleman from the same State with our Vice President—Mr. McDonald—who also bore the standard bravely in the struggle. He is here."

Senator McDonald acknowledged the courtesy, but excused himself from a speech.

The Serenade—Hand-shaking with "our President and Vice President elect."

Mr. Tilden and ex-Governor Hendricks held an informal levee, and such persons as had never enjoyed the privilege before were permitted to shake the hands of "our President and Vice President elect," as they were invariably introduced. After the collation, which was partaken of without speech-making, the Young Men's Democratic Club, accompanied by Graffulla's band, reached the club-house and serenaded the distinguished guests.

Tilden thanks the Democracy for "devotion" to him—"The future is ours," he says, "and we shall prevail!"—Firmness and "courage" needed—His coming "triumph."

Mr. Tilden spoke from the front steps and said: "I am unfortunate enough to be suffering from a temporary cold, and have been told that I must not show myself out here; but I feel there cannot be any harm in speaking on such an occasion as this. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to thank the Democracy of New York for their devotion in the contest of 1876. I cannot say more than: Be of good cheer; the future is ours and we shall prevail. Be constant, be *firm*, be *courageous*. Right, truth, and justice shall at last triumph. Thanking you again for your zeal, courage, and indomitable energy, I bid you good night."

PART VII.

Maryland makes the First Stir in the Plot—The Montgomery Blair Quo Warranto Movement.

On the last day of the session of the Maryland Legislature, Montgomery Blair, by the plentiful use of champagne and terrapin "put through" the following resolution, which was presented to the National House of Representatives, April 22, 1878:

"Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland, That the Attorney General of the State be, and he is hereby, instructed, in case Congress shall provide for expediting the action, to exhibit a bill in the Supreme Court of the United States, on behalf of the State of Maryland, with proper parties thereto, setting forth the fact that due effect has not been given to the electoral vote cast by this State on the 6th day of December, 1876, by reason of fraudulent returns made from other States and al-

lowed to be counted provisionally by the electoral commission, and subject to judicial revision, and praying said court to make the revision contemplated by the act establishing said commission; and upon such revision to declare the returns from the States of Louisiana and Florida, which were counted for Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler, fraudulent and void, and that the legal electoral votes of said States were cast for Samuel J. Tilden as President, and Thomas A. Hendricks as Vice President, and that by virtue thereof and of 184 votes cast by other States, of which 8 were cast by the State of Maryland, the said Tilden and Hendricks were duly elected, and praying said court to decree accordingly."

PART VIII.

The Potter Resolution Founded upon the Maryland Resolution—Its Sweeping Powers within certain lines—A one-sided Investigation proposed—High-handed proceedings in the House—The Revolutionary intent exposed—Randall's ruling—The votes in full.

May 13, 1878, Mr. C. N. Potter, Democrat, of New York, offered the following resolution. The preamble is here omitted:

"Be it resolved, That a select committee, consisting of eleven members of this House, be appointed by the Speaker to inquire into the aforesaid allegation as to the conduct of the persons in office aforesaid in respect of the said election, and into the alleged false and fraudulent canvass and return of votes by State, county, parish and precinct officers in the said States of Louisiana and Florida, and into all the facts which, in the judgment of the said committee, are connected with or pertinent thereto; and that the said committee, for the purpose of executing this resolution, shall have power to send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to take testimony, and in their discretion to detail sub-committees, with like full authority of said committee in every particular, and with power to sit in Florida and Louisiana, which sub-committees shall be committees of this House; and the chairman thereof shall be authorized to administer oaths; that the said committee and sub-committees may employ stenographers, clerks and messengers, and be attended each by a deputy sergeant-at-arms, and may sit during the sessions of this House and during the vacation; and that said committee do forthwith proceed in this inquiry and have leave to report at any time."

The point of order which was to develop the revolutionary intent of this Potter-Tilden committee business.

Mr. Conger (Republican) made the point of order that the resolution is not a question of privilege, and was ably supported by Messrs. Hale and Garfield, Republicans, and Mills, Democrat, all of whom pointed out clearly that unless it was intended to *impeach* or take some other positive action against President Hayes as a result of the investigation, it could not be termed a question of privilege.

Mr. Hale puts it squarely to the Democratic Speaker as to the outcome of this proceeding.

Said Mr. Hale: * * * "I await with solicitude the ruling of the Speaker. If this resolution, however deprecatory it may be in language, means that this

House is to enter upon, as it would in the election of a Speaker, or in the seating of a member, the practical question affecting the election of a President, thereby intending to subvert accepted results, then there may be some claim that it is a question of privilege. But as an expression of opinion, as, for instance, if I should rise and offer a resolution that the gentleman from New York or his title to his seat here was affected by rumors, and as an expression of opinion it was desirable to settle history on that, the Chair would undoubtedly at once rule it was not a question of privilege, because no action was intended. I put it squarely to the Speaker, and upon that, as I have said, shall await with solicitude his ruling, whether under the provisions of the rule, this is a resolution calling for action on the election of President, which action must be in the direction of attacking the legality of the title of the President of the United States to the subversion, it may be, of that title and the expulsion of the incumbent. All that is involved if this question belongs here."

"Leave off your damnable faces and begin"
—Garfield's statement of the point.

Mr. Garfield said: "The right of petition was discussed on the presentation of the Maryland resolutions. Everybody admitted the unquestioned right of petition; but the right of action here on this floor is a different thing. The question which rises to the dignity of a privileged question depends upon the right of action which some one can demand of the House. A member here can demand action in regard to his right to his seat."

"Anything that leads to an action relating to these high questions of privilege, of course, can be called a privileged question. But this memorial, received here by the courtesy of the rules of the House, and not as a matter of right, except as a petition, cannot now, by any form of logic, be raised to the dignity of a question of privilege."

"Now, I say another thing. This would be a question of privilege without any doubt, provided the resolution alleges a purpose to institute proceedings in impeachment. If he says this is a proceeding intended to pave the way for an impeachment, doubtless it may be made a question of privilege."

"If he says that it is a proposition by this House to raise and determine the question of the title of the present Chief Magistrate to the office which he holds, then I answer him that that question has been determined by the joint action of the two Houses of Congress, and is as much beyond the reach of this House as the election of Grant or Washington."

"Again, if the object of this resolution is merely to organize a committee for campaign purposes, to make campaign literature for the coming Fall, I affirm that the exigencies of a political party have never yet been treated as a question of privilege."

"Furthermore, there is in this resolution—and I reserve the point of order after the point now raised shall have been settled—a proposition that the committee shall have the right to report at any time, and that they shall have the right to sit in recess. Neither of these things can be effected by a majority vote if it comes to that, and I reserve on them the points of order when the time shall have arrived. I conclude by saying I am glad that at last, after this proceeding has so long been hanging over the country, we now know what they are seeking to do. For some weeks I have been inclined to say to these gentlemen, in the language of Hamlet to the players—

"Leave off your damnable faces and begin."

The stand which one independent Democrat took—He protests against the threatened "usurpation" of power by the House in the interests of the revolutionists.

Mr. Mills, of Texas, said: "The exercise of the power by the Forty-fifth Congress over the question of the election of President of the United States is a usurpation. We have no power over that question at all. By the Constitution of the United States that power to inquire as to who was elected President of the United States was vested in the Forty-fourth Congress, and when that Congress spoke or failed to speak on that question, when it made a law by which it abdicated

that power conferred upon it by the Constitution of the United States, it parted with it forever, and so far as this, the Forty-fifth Congress, is concerned, there remains not a shadow of authority to investigate the election of the President."

Speaker Randall's ruling—He founds it on the Maryland quo warranto resolution, which demands "action" against Hayes' title—The investigation boundless in the one direction and the "remedies" without "limits."

The Speaker's decision was as follows:

"The issue involved is a new one in the history of our country. An examination of the basis upon which the preamble and resolution are introduced is proper. The Legislature of the State of Maryland passed a joint resolution touching the subject treated of in the preamble and resolution just read, a copy of which has been remitted to this body, received and referred, and is within the knowledge of the members of the House. The following language is used:

"That due effect has not been given to the electoral vote cast by this State on the 6th day of December, 1876, by reason of fraudulent returns made from other States and allowed to be counted provisionally by the electoral commission and subject to judicial revision—"

"And further—"

"Alleging that the returns from Louisiana and Florida, which were counted for the present occupant of the executive chair, were fraudulent and void."

"Here is the appeal of a State of this Union to the Federal legislative power for the correction of a high grievance said to have been committed in the States of Florida and Louisiana against the rights of the State of Maryland, in having by fraud, in said States of Florida and Louisiana, produced a different result in the election of a President and Vice President from that actually decreed by the people themselves at the polls."

"Whether these allegations can be sustained by proof, is not for the Chair to consider. It is enough for him to know that they come from a power which within the limits is recognized as sovereign by the Constitution, and that the issue involved runs to the welfare of the people of all the States. Nor is it within the range of propriety for him to express an opinion as to how far such investigation should go to reach the facts, nor what limits should be set up as to remedies to be provided against a recurrence of such like events."

"A higher privilege than the one here involved and broadly and directly presented as to the rightful occupancy of the Chief Executive chair of the Government, and the connection of high Government officials with the frauds alleged, the Chair is unable to conceive."

"The Chair finds enumerated among the questions of privilege set down in the Manual the following: 'Election of President.'

"The Chair therefore rules that the preamble and resolution embrace questions of privilege of the highest character, and recognizes the right of the gentleman from New York to offer the same."

An Appeal from that decision—Straight partisan vote.

Mr. Conger (Republican) appealed from this decision; but a motion by Potter (Democrat) to lay the appeal on the table prevailed, by 128 yeas to 108 nays; all the former Democrats, except 2 Republicans, and all the latter Republicans, except 2 Democrats, as follows:

YEAS—MORRIS, Acklin, Aiken, Atkins, Banning, Beebe, H. P. Bell, Benedict, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bragg, Bridges, Bright, Butler, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Chalmers, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clarke, Clymer, Cobb, Collins, Cook, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culberson, Cutler, J. J. Davis, Dean, Dibrell, Dickey, Durham, Eden, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Fellon, E. B. Finley, Forney, Fort, Franklin, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Gunter, Hardenbergh, H. B. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, G. W.

Hewitt, Hooker, House, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, Knapp, Ligen, Lockwood, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Manning, Martin, Mayham, McKensie, McMahon, Mitchell, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Pridemore, Rea, Reagan, J. R. Reilly, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Robertson, M. Ross, Saylor, Seales, Schleicher, Skelley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stenger, Swann, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, Turney, R. E. Vance, Waddell, Walsh, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Wright, Yeates, Young—128.

NAYS—Messrs. Bacon, J. H. Baker, Banks, Bayne, Blair, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, Brogden, T. M. Browne, Buckner, Bundy, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Cain, Calkins, Camp, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Caswell, Claflin, B. Clark, Cole, Conger, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Cummings, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Ellsworth, Errett, I. N. Evans, J. L. Evans, Foster, Gardner, Garfield, Hale, Harmer, Haskell, P. C. Hayes, Hazelton, Hendee, Henderson, Hiscock, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Hunter, Ittner, James, J. S. Jones, Jorgenson, Joyce, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, J. H. Ketcham, Killinger, Lapham, Lathrop, Marsh, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Mills, Monroe, H. S. Neal, Oliver, O'Neill, Page, G. W. Patterson, Peddie, W. A. Phillips, Pound, Price, Pugh, Rainey, Randolph, Reed, W. W. Rice, Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Sexton, Shallenberger, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Starin, Stephens, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Strait, J. M. Thompson, Thornburgh, Tipton, A. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Wait, W. Ward, H. White, M. D. White, C. G. Williams, Wren—108.

Potter sags the House of Representatives for nearly a week—Alcock Stephens yelled down, etc.

Mr. Hale asked Potter to yield so that he might offer a general amendment (which will be found under the chapter on "Democratic Frauds") to enlarge the sweep of the resolution, so that alleged frauds of the Democrats at the Presidential election might also be investigated, but Potter declined, called the previous question, and would not even be civil until he suddenly found himself, through the action of his revolutionary party friends, without a quorum, and was obliged to move an adjournment, which was carried. For several days Revolutionary Potter insisted on the "previous question," and would not let a soul be heard on it; refusing even to hear Mills, one of his Democratic friends, and the venerable statesman, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, whom, when he strove to gain a brief hearing, was absolutely yelled and hooted down by the Democratic revolutionists; and for as many days the Republicans refused to vote, as they could not amend the resolution nor be heard in protest against it. But at last, on the 17th May—after five days of Democratic absenteeism—enough Democrats were secured to make a quorum, the iniquity was accomplished, and the Potter-Tilden revolutionists were successful. The resolution was adopted by 146 Democratic yeas to 2 Democratic nays—all the Republicans and 7 Democrats declining to vote—as follows:

The iniquitous Record of the Democratic party's dishonor—The vote in full on the Potter investigating resolution.

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Banning, Beebe, H. P. Bell, Benedict, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bowck, Bragg, Bridges, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Canaler, Chalmers,

A. A. Clark, J. B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Collins, Cook, S. S. Coz, Cravens, Crittenden, Culberson, Cutler, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dean, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Eickhoff, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenburgh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hooker, House, Hunton, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, Knapp, Ligon, Lockwood, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Maish, Manning, Martin, Mayham, McKensie, McMahon, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Pridemore, Rea, Reagan, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Robertson, M. Ross, Saylor, Seales, Schleicher, Shelley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stenger, Swann, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, Turney, R. E. Vance, Veeder, Waddell, Walker, Walsh, Warner, Whitehorn, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood Wright, Yeates, Young—146.

NAYS—Messrs. Mills, Morse—2.
NOT VOTING—Messrs. Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Bayne, Blabee, Blair, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, Brogden, T. M. Browne, Bundy, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Butler, Cain, Calkins, Camp, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Carlisle, Caswell, Chittenden, Claflin, B. Clark, J. B. Clarke, Cole, Conger, Covert, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Cummings, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Ellsworth, Errett, I. N. Evans, J. L. Evans, Fort, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Gardner, Garfield, Hale, Hanna, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Haskell, P. C. Hayes, Hazelton, Hendee, Henderson, Hiscock, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Hunter, Ittner, James, J. S. Jones, Jorgenson, Joyce, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, J. H. Ketcham, Killenger, Knott, G. M. Landers, Lapham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Loring, Marsh, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Mitchell, Monroe, H. S. Neal, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, Peddie, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, Pound, Powers, Price, Pugh, Quinn, Rainey, Randolph, Reed, W. W. Rice, G. D. Robinson, M. S. Robinson, Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Sexton, Shallenberger, Slinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Starin, Stephens, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Strait, J. M. Thompson, Thornburgh, Tipton, A. Townsend, M. I. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Wait, W. Ward, Watson, Welch, H. White, M. D. White, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, R. Williams, Willis, Wren—143.

PART IX.

The Casey Young Resolution—The Democratic Caucus reject the proposed Declaration that "it is not intended by this proceeding to disturb the present Chief Magistrate"—Republican Caucus declares the Potter movement "revolutionary," and decide on resistance—Republican address to the people—The Potter Plot to suborn witnesses, declare Hayes an usurper, and put him out of the White House.

On the night of Tuesday, May 14, 1878, a caucus of the Democrats of the House was held, whereat a resolution to add to the Potter resolution the following declaration was defeated:

"But it is not intended by this proceeding to disturb the present Chief Magistrate in the occupancy of his office, nor to impair public confidence in the policy he has inaugurated toward the Southern States."

Which was overwhelmingly defeated.

"It was said (see *Washington Republican*, May 16) that many of those present actually believed the amendment was right, but were whipped into the party traces by Speaker Randall."

The Republican caucus unanimously denounces the Potter resolution as "revolutionary," and decides to "resist."

At a caucus of Republican members of the House, May 15, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the resolution now pending in the House is an attempt, in a form unjustifiable and illegal, to reopen the question of the Presidential title, a question solemnly settled by the action of the Forty-fourth Congress, which alone had jurisdiction; and is, therefore, revolutionary and destructive of the good order, business prosperity, and peace of the country.

Resolved, That the effort of the Democratic majority to force upon the House, without opportunity for amendment or debate, a measure of such revolutionary character, which has not been recommended or considered by any of its committees, but has been devised by individuals for private or party ends, should be resisted by all the means which are authorized by the rules of the House.

Republican address to the voters of the United States—The Potter Plot—The Intention to "suborn evidence," declare Hayes "an usurper," and drive him from his office.

"TO THE VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The Democratic House of Representatives has this day (May 17) by a party vote, adopted a resolution which, under the pretense of an investigation, is to lay the foundation for a revolutionary expulsion of the President from his office. This is the culmination of a plot which has been on foot from the day that Hayes and Wheeler were constitutionally declared elected. It made its first public appearance in the resolution of the last Democratic House, adopted at the close of the session, declaring that Tilden and Hendricks were elected. Tilden and Hendricks subsequently made similar public declarations themselves.

"A few timid members have long held back, and some of them after being coerced to the final vote, still pretend that they will halt as soon as their partial and one-sided investigation shall be ended. In other words, they intend after hearing suborned evidence, to bring in a verdict that Hayes is an usurper, and that he shall not remain in office! These men have no control in the Democratic party; they dared not even follow Alexander H. Stephens in a revolt against caucus dictation to the extent of showing some semblance of fair play. They will be impotent in the future as they have been in the past. Moreover, it is difficult to believe in their sincerity, in view of the public avowal of their party that its purpose is positively to displace the President.

"It is a matter of history that the resolution just adopted was framed to express this object. The Speaker of the House was consulted in advance as to whether he would rule that it was a privileged question. The party managers were anxious to conceal their purpose, if possible. In this they were defeated by the Speaker, who would not rule it a question of privilege unless it clearly assailed the title of the President. The resolution being offered, he read a carefully-prepared opinion, deciding it to be a question of highest privilege, because it involved the question of the validity of Hayes' title. These are his very words:

"A higher privilege than the one here involved, and broadly and directly presented as to the rightful occupancy of the Chief Executive chair of the Government, and the connection of high Government officials with the frauds alleged, the Chair is unable to conceive. The Chair finds enumerated among the questions of privilege set down in the Manual the following: 'Election of President.' The Chair therefore rules that the preamble and resolution embrace questions of privilege of the highest character, and

recognizes the right of the gentleman from New York to offer the same.

"Upon this the Republicans commenced a struggle against the revolutionary scheme, which, after four days' duration, terminated in the success of the conspirators.

"The Republicans offered to favor the fullest investigation into all alleged frauds, by whichever party charged to have been committed; but the Democracy pursued its course shamelessly and relentlessly, and stifled all inquiry into attempts at bribery in Oregon, South Carolina and Louisiana, and murder and violence in several of the States. Neither amendment nor debate was allowed. The inexorable previous question was applied and enforced.

"This scheme, if pursued—and it is now fully inaugurated—can only have the effect of further paralyzing business of all kinds, preventing the restoration of confidence which seemed promising, casting a gloom over every household, and bringing our nation into reproach before the civilized world.

"The peace of the country is the first consideration of patriots. This new effort of the Democracy to inaugurate anarchy and Mexicanize the Government by throwing doubts upon the legitimacy of the title of the President is in keeping with the record of that party, one wing of which rebelled against the Government, while the other wing gave them aid and comfort.

"We call, therefore, upon all who opposed the rebellion of 1861, without distinction of party, to rally again to the support of law and stable government, and to overwhelm with defeat the reckless agitators who, to gain political power, would add to the present distresses of the country by shaking the foundations of the Government they failed in a four years' war to destroy.

"By unanimous order of the committee.

"EUGENE HALE, Chairman.

"GEORGE C. GORHAM, Secretary."

PART X.

Alexander H. Stephens' Letter to Potter—His pathetic Appeal—The Tilden ruffians hoot him down in the House—Interview with Stephens—"Snug, the Joiner"—"The people want peace and quiet."

The following letter was sent to Potter from Alexander H. Stephens' sick room the day before he was howled down in the House by the Democrats:

Potter's course divides Democrats and unites Republicans.

"NATIONAL HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., }
May 15, 1878.

"The Hon. CLARKSON N. POTTER, House of Representatives.

"MY DEAR SIR: I am still confined to my room in this city. I greatly regret that I cannot go and see you in person. Let me, then, say to you in this way that I think it will be a great mistake if our friends in the House shall pass your resolution under the previous question, thus cutting off Mr. Hale's or other amendments looking to enlarged investigation. Do not insist on the previous question, I could not vote for it if I were present, and were not paired as I am; nor could I vote for the resolution under the previous question without allowing amendments. It would only divide the Democracy and unite the Republicans. My opinion is that mischief instead of good will come of the investigation by the passage of your resolution as it is under the previous question. Please excuse this note. I feel it my duty, feeble as I am, to send it to you.

"Very respectfully and truly yours, &c.,

"ALEX. H. STEPHENS."

Stephens, of Georgia, asks to be heard only three minutes—But they “order” him into his seat.

May 16, Mr. Stephens, in spite of every attempt of Republicans to insure him a respectful hearing, was yelled down by the Democrats with cries of “order,” etc., although he only asked the poor privilege of three minutes. Following is how it is mildly stated in the *Congressional Record*:

“Mr. Stephens, of Georgia. I wish to say a word on this question. [Cries of ‘Order!’]

“Mr. Wait. Will not gentlemen on the other side listen to the gentleman from Georgia?

“Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, I ask to be heard for three minutes. [Cries of ‘Regular Order!’]

“The Speaker. The gentleman from Georgia asks to be heard for three minutes. Is there objection? [Cries of ‘Regular Order!’]

“Mr. Humphrey. There is no objection on this side at all to the gentleman from Georgia being heard.

“Mr. Potter. If I could yield to anybody it would afford me great pleasure to yield to the gentleman from Georgia. But I am not permitted to yield to anybody. I am instructed to stand where I am. I therefore move that the House do now adjourn.”

An interview with Mr. Stephens, of Georgia.

On the evening of the 15th, a representative of the *Washington Republican* called on Mr. Stephens at the National Hotel, when the following colloquy ensued:

He believes in Hale's or any other amendment enlarging the investigation.

“Republican. I wish, now, to ask you, Mr. Stephens, if you think there will soon be a sentiment of the deadlock in the House?

“Mr. Stephens. Well, in the first place, I will vote for no investigation that is not fair and honest. I think the Republicans should have every latitude to investigate in the same committee that the Democrats do.

“R. What are you in favor of?

“Mr. S. I am in favor of voting down the previous question; in favor of Mr. Hale's amendment, and allowing the Republicans to offer anything they may see fit, if they think there has been any fraud.

“R. That is fair.”

Nothing “one sided” for him—What he proposed to suggest to the House—Peace wanted—No more sectional strife.

“Mr. S. Yes, I want no one-sided investigation; and if I can get the floor to-morrow I will move that the House take a vote upon ordering the previous question, and that the House do not order it. Then, if that is voted down, the Potter resolution will be open to amendment. I believe there are a great many Democrats who will unite with the Republicans in a full investigation for the purpose of defeating this one-sided business. Let both sides be heard. Honesty in politics, as well as in morals, is the best policy. Mr. Hayes' title to the Presidency I regard as fixed beyond all question. The people of this country want peace and quiet. They want no more sectional strife. Mr. Hayes has done more, I believe, to produce quiet in the South than Mr. Tilden could have done, and more than anybody expected at the time of his inauguration. I think he has faithfully performed his constitutional duty. Nothing would do more to unsettle business than to attack his title.”

“Snug, the Joiner.”

“R. But don't you think that Mr. Potter contemplates attacking it?

“Mr. S. I don't know. I think Mr. Potter in this matter is something like *Snug*, the joiner, in ‘Midsummer Night's Dream,’ who clothes himself in lion's skin and roars, but confidentially informs his fellow actors that he is not the lion he seems to be—simply *Snug*, the joiner.”

“If they reject the Hale amendment,” they will be deceived.”

“No, no,” continued Mr. Stephens, “if they must have investigation, why let us have it; but let it be free, full, and fair. If they carry it on in a one-sided way, they will do as the Democracy did in 1860, when they thought they would throw the contesting Presidential aspirants into the House, where they had a majority of the votes, and thereby elect Breckenridge. But they only looked to the one side, and they were deceived, as this Tilden-Potter combination will be if they reject the Hale amendment.”

PART XI.

Carter Harrison's “Question of Privilege”—To extend the Investigation to Oregon and South Carolina only—Declaring against the power of this Congress to Annul the Presidential Finding.

May 22, 1878—Carter Harrison (Democrat), who stole his seat in the House when his opponent, as it now appears, was entitled to it by a large majority of votes, submitted the following as a question of privilege:

“Whereas, A select committee of this House has been appointed to inquire into certain frauds alleged to have been committed in Florida and Louisiana in November, 1876, in connection with returns of votes for electors for President and Vice President; and

“Whereas, It is charged that frauds of a like character were committed at the same time in the States of Oregon and South Carolina; therefore,

“*Be it Resolved*, That said committee be, and hereby is, empowered to inquire into the same, if in its opinion testimony thereon of a substantial character shall be presented to the committee; and

“*Be it further resolved*, That the Senate and House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress having counted the electoral votes for President and Vice President, and it having been thereupon declared that Rutherford B. Hayes had received the highest number of said votes for President of the United States, and William A. Wheeler had received the highest number of said votes for Vice President of the United States, it is not now in the power of Congress, nor is it the purpose of this House through said investigation to annul or to attempt to annul the action of the Forty-fourth Congress in the premises.”

The Vote—Forty-eight Democrats frank enough to “declare” that the power and purpose is to get Hayes out.

On the question whether the House will entertain it as a question of privilege, the yeas were 71, nays 50:

YEAS—Messrs. Atkins, Banning, H. P. Bell, Bland, Bliss, Boone, Bouck, Brentano, Cabell, W. P. Caldwell, Cannon, Chalmers, A. A. Clark, R. Clark, Cobb, J. D. Cox, S. S. Coz, Culbertson, Culler, J. J. Davis, Durham, Eden, Elam, Fellon, E. B. Finley, Fort, Franklin, Garth, Giddings, Glover, Goode, Hardenburgh, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hartzell, Hatcher, Henkle, Henry, Hinton, Kelley, Lynde, McMahon, Mitchell, Morrison, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, C. N. Potter, Pound, Rea, J. B. Reilly, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Scales, Steele, Stenger, Swann, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Turney, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Walsh, M. D. White, Walthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, B. A. Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Wright, Yeates—71.

NAYS—Messrs. Bicknell, Blackburn, Blount, Bragg, Bridges, Bright, Buckner, J. W. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, Clymer, Cook, Cravens, Crittenden, Davidson, Dibble, Dickey, J. H. Evans, Forney, Fuller, Gause, Gunter,

A. H. Hamilton, H. R. Harris, Hartridge, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Killinger, Knapp, Knott, Ligon, Manning, Mayham, McKenzie, Mills, Muldrow, Oliver, Phelps, Pridemore, Reagan, Robertson, Shelley, Singleton, W. E. Smith, Southard, Turner, H. White, J. N. Williams—50.

A quorum not having voted, Harrison yielded to the pressure of his party friends and withdrew his resolution.

The Investigation extended, provided the Democratic Committee believe frauds existed elsewhere.

Benjamin Wilson, Democrat, on the same day offered the following specious resolution:

"Whereas, a select Committee of this House, has heretofore been appointed to investigate alleged frauds in connection with the electoral vote of the States of Louisiana and Florida; now therefore,

"Be it resolved, That such Committee be, and they are hereby, authorized to investigate frauds touching the election aforesaid in any other State, provided they have probable cause to believe that such frauds existed."

"Sunset" Cox moved to refer the resolution to the Potter investigating Committee! And 89 Democrats voted to so refer, while only 29 Democrats voted against such reference. Cox's motion was defeated, however, by 89 yeas—116 nays—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Atkins, H. P. Bell, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bragg, Bridges, Bright, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Chalmers, Clymer, Cook, S. S. Cox, Crawen, Crittenden, Culbertson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibble, Dickey, Dunham, Eden, Eickhoff, Elam, J. H. Evans, Ewing, E. B. Finley, Forney, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzel, Henry, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, Ligon, Manning, Mayham, McKenzie, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Reagan, J. B. Reilly, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Robertson, Seales, Schleicher, Shelley, Singleton, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Steele, Swann, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Turner, Turney, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. N. Williams, B. A. Willis, F. Wood, Yeates—89.

NAYS—Messrs. Aldrich G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Banning, Bland, Bogey, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, T. M. Browne, Buckner, H. O. Burchard, Butler, Cabell, Camp, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Carlisle, Caswell, Claflin, J. B. Clark, Jr., E. Clark, Cobb, Cole, Conger, J. D. Cox, Cutler, Dennison, Dannel, Eames, Ellsworth, Errett, Felton, Fort, Foster, Franklin, Freeman, Gardner, Garfield, Glover, Goode, Hale, Harmer, J. T. Harris, Haskell, Hatcher, Hendee, Henderson, Hubbell, Hungerford, Hunter, Hutton, Ittner, James, J. S. Jones, Jorgensen, Joyce, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, J. H. Ketcham, Killinger, Knapp, Latham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Lynde, Marsu, McCook, McKinley, McMahon, Mills, Mitchell, Monroe, Morse, H. S. Neil, Norcross, O'Neill, Page, G. W. Patterson, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, Pond, Powers, Price, Pridemore, Rainey, Randolph, Rea, R. D. A. V. Rice, Ryan, Sampson, Sexton, Shellenberger, Sinnamon, Smalls, Southard, Springer, Stenger, Stewart, J. W. Stone, Thornburgh, Tipton, A. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Wait, Walsh, H. White, M. D. White, A. Williams, R. Williams, B. Wilson, Wright—116.

The resolution was then adopted without a division.

What the mover of that resolution declared as to the unseating of Hayes—"It depends upon the nature of the developments."

It is a noteworthy circumstance that (see Washington Post, Tilden organ, May 23, 1878)

on the same day on which his resolution was adopted, Representative Wilson, aforesaid, of West Virginia, in reply to the following questions put to him by one of the Tilden-Post's emissaries, made the succeeding answer, viz:

"Tilden-Post Emissary. 'What will be the result of the investigation? Will it end in unseating Hayes?'"

"Benjamin Wilson. 'That depends upon the nature of the developments.'"

Meeting of the National Democratic Committee—A very full attendance—The Committee approves the Potter Investigation, and declines to disavow a revolutionary intent.

"May 23, the National Democratic Committee met at the Arlington Hotel—present, Representative Forney, of Ala.; B. M. Hughes, of Colorado; Senator Barnum, of Conn.; George T. Barnes, of Ga.; William C. Gandy, of Ill.; Austin H. Brown, of Ind.; M. M. Home, of Iowa; Isaac E. Eaton, of Kan.; H. D. McHenry, of Ky.; R. F. Jonas, of La.; Edmund Wilson, of Me.; Outerbridge Horsey, of Md.; Frederick O. Prince, of Mass.; Edward Kanter, of Mich.; William Lochrane, of Minn.; Ethal Barksdale, of Miss.; John G. Priest, of Mo.; George L. Miller, of Neb.; Robert B. Keating, of Nev.; R. W. Sulloway, of N. H.; Representative Ross, of N. J.; Representative Hewitt, of N. Y.; Senator Ransom, of N. C.; John G. Thompson, of Ohio; James H. Reon, of S. C.; William B. Hale, of Tenn.; B. B. Smalley, of Vt.; Robert A. Coghill, of Va.; and Alexander Campbell, of W. V. There were only eight or nine absentees."

The following is from the New York Tribune:

"WASHINGTON, May 23.—Action has been taken by the National Democratic Committee on the subject of the Potter investigation, which is most significant. At a meeting held this evening, almost the only subject of discussion was whether the committee should declare that it is not the purpose of the Democrats to attack the title of President Hayes. The committee decline to declare that no attack is intended. There was no division of opinion, however, on a resolution approving the investigation in itself, which was adopted, as follows:

"Resolved, That the action of the House of Representatives in appointing a committee fully empowered to investigate and report upon the frauds alleged to have been committed in the late Presidential election, to the end that the truth may be made known to the people, and the repetition of such frauds be prevented in the future, meets the approval of this committee."

Admissions of an influential member of the National Democratic Committee that "the Democratic party may desire to make a most effective attack on the title of the President."

"One of the most influential members of the Democratic National Committee remarked to-day that the committee could not afford to declare in advance of the investigation itself what course the party should pursue. Nobody knows what the committee may discover, and it may be, this gentleman said, that the Democratic party may desire to make a most effective attack on the title of the President. He would not say that he thought this probable, but it certainly was possible."

"The Democratic National Committee, therefore, like Democrats in Congress, has been very careful to have a door for revolutionary proceedings open in spite of all the individual members of the party may have to say. If the investigation fails, they will assert that they never intended to attack the title of President Hayes. If it should succeed in making Democratic partisans believe that there was fraud, the question whether revolutionary proceedings shall be instituted or not will be seriously considered."

PART XII.

Potter's Open Letter to the Rev. Blank — His fatal Admissions touching all that had been Denied—The Revolutionary Intent laid bare by his own hand!—The Motives at the Bottom of his Investigation.

The following letter was published in New York papers, May 28, 1878:

"WASHINGTON, May 27, 1878.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 25th. * * * You ask me why Mr. Stephens was 'howled' down. The howling was by the newspapers." * *

The Hale Amendment.

"You ask me why we would not let the Hale amendment be attached to our resolution? Because it was not germane. An inquiry into frauds accomplished and which changed the electoral vote is proper to prevent their repetition, but an inquiry into mere attempts at fraud which resulted in nothing is not—first, because we understood it contained recitals to which we could not assent, and which would have forced us to vote against our own resolution; second, because we offered Mr. Hale every opportunity to have his amendment adopted as a separate resolution, that it was not so offered shows it was really not desired; third, because its incorporation into the resolution might have had the effect of preventing any report upon the resolution. As it is, the committee will have probably but one opportunity to report in this Congress, and this amendment could, if added to the resolution, be made to prevent the report at that time, and thus to deprive us of an opportunity to report at all. Just as we got ready to report we should be liable to be stopped to take further testimony in some of the added States brought forward for the very purpose of preventing a report."

What the Tildenites are driving at—If fraud, then a legal remedy by quo warranto, if such remedy exists—If no legal remedy, we can provide one—"Not the slightest chance of revolution or disturbance" in such simple moves! Oh, no!

"But you suggest that to raise a question about the last Presidential election will bring on disturbance or revolution. Not at all. About that 'possess yourself in peace.' There is not the slightest chance of revolution or disturbance. When the whole country was at fever heat on the subject of the election a way was found to establish a tribunal to pass upon the election, and every one submitted to that determination. The President's title rests upon that. If now it should appear that there was fraud which palpably affected the electoral vote, and which the Commission did not notice, and if a legal remedy exists for correcting the error, you cannot believe that such a proceeding under the law could lead to disturbance. If there be no such legal remedy existing, and Congress should hereafter, by the approval of the President, or by two-thirds of both Houses without that approval, provide one, why should the legal determination thereafter had any more produce disturbance than the decision of the Electoral Commission did?"

To be accused of "Mexicanizing" the country grieves his pure and lofty spirit.

"It is exactly because this is not Mexico, and because the people prefer determining questions by legal methods, and if the legal methods have not been provided, to invent legal methods of determining them, and submit to the determination thus arrived at—that this country cannot be Mexicanized."

The powers of Congress and of the House.

"About the enumeration of electoral votes there could be no question. Eight and eight could only be counted as sixteen. Neither could there be question that the conceded vote of every State should be counted. To refuse that would be revolutionary. But when there were two *bona fide* returns from a State, each claiming to be its vote, it was a necessity to decide between these returns before either return could be counted. This determination could only be made by the Vice President who opened the returns, or by the Congress in whose presence they were opened. I thought it clear from the nature of our Government, from the precedents, and from the opinions so many statesmen had expressed, that this grave power upon which the last election did, and upon which any election might depend, could only be vested in Congress. If this power rested in Congress alone, then the action of Congress was necessary before a choice could be made between conflicting returns, and so, whenever the two houses of Congress could not agree on their choice of a return—one house preferring one and the other the other—no choice could be had, and the vote of that State would be lost, not because one House had any greater rights or powers than the other, not because either or both Houses together, had the right to reject arbitrarily, or to refuse to reckon any certain electoral vote, but only because in case of *bona fide* conflicting returns from a State, each claiming to represent the electoral vote, it was a necessity to choose between the returns before the vote of the State could be counted. This was the view at last established. The Electoral Commission to decide the disputed votes was created by Congress, and that was the only authority it possessed.

"Now, it seemed to me in 1876 that this was so clear, and that the leading Republican Senators had so generally committed themselves to this view in previous discussions, that we ought to stand upon that ground; to declare that we would abide the action of Congress, would accept whoever the Congress found to be elected, and that if the two Houses should fail to agree as to which of the returns from any State from which there were *bona fide* duplicate returns should be received, whereby the vote of the State was lost, and no election by the electors should thus result, we would then abide by and maintain the choice of the House of Representatives, the body authorized by the Constitution to elect the President where there is no election by the Electoral College. Instead of doing this, we drifted along until at last the Republicans, hewing all the while to the line, had got us where we were ready to accept the Electoral Commission. Having accepted it, of course we were bound to accept its results, but we ought at last be allowed to show—if such was the fact—that the returns upon which the Commission passed were procured by fraud."

No danger of war exactly.

"I admit that the Presidency is not worth a civil war, but I have not believed there was any danger of such a war. The generation who charged up the heights of Fredericksburg, and defended the works at Petersburg, will not go lightly into another civil struggle. We must get years further on before that will happen. I remember after the election remarking to General McDowell that a great mine might be exploded by a spark, to which he answered, 'Yes, if the train be inflammable, but this time the powder is wet.' He was right. There never was danger of a civil war."

"A gigantic game in which we held the cards" (from a stocked pack), and the Republicans bluffed us.

"The whole thing was, as I think, a gigantic game, in which we held the cards and the Republicans bluffed us. Years hence, when it is remembered that we needed only one electoral vote, and that your side could not get on without every one of the remaining seventeen; that we had 300,000 popular majority; that our majorities were around the capital, yours in New England, the Northwest and the Pacific coast; that the moral sense of the country was that our man was elected and yours not; that you had nothing on your side but the control of an army, of which 10,000 men

could not be got together, the privates mostly in sympathy with us and commanded by officers educated to understand the supremacy of the civil over the military authority—officers who, excepting the leaders, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, could, I believe, never have been generally used to resist the declaration of the House of Representatives—(I am told this will appear certainly whenever the secret correspondence of the War Department is revealed)—and that you were laden down with the care of the national credit, the first shock to which would have arrayed against you all the moneyed institutions in the country; that under such conditions, I say, your leaders contrived and were able to carry through the capture of all these seventeen votes, will be regarded as one of the greatest political performances of history. I admit the success of the Republican leaders. Having laid down when the law was on our side and when we ought to have stood up, it is not for us now to stand up as long as the law remains against us."

What a Democratic "Congress may do" as the result of the Potter Investigation "would be affected quietly, certainly and without violence or disturbance"—Hence we do not contemplate revolution, etc.!

"But you will ask whether, if there be no danger to public order from legal proceedings, there may not be from action by Congress. No; no more than from the action of the courts. Congress represents the people of the country, but does not march before them. It expresses, but does not anticipate their will. Should fraud connected with the electoral count appear so gross and palpable that you and all honorable men should unite in denouncing it, Congress might then take action. But if so, what Congress might do, being the result of the action of men of all parties of the great body of the people, not of a party, would be effected quietly, certainly, and without violence or disturbance. In saying this I do not mean that I expect the investigation to be followed by either legal or Congressional action. What, if anything, should be done because of the inquiry, must depend upon the results of the inquiry. But I do not mean that whatever action, if any, should follow the investigation, such action can neither disturb the order nor the prosperity of the country. This cry of wolf, when there is no wolf, this effort to make it appear that there is danger to peace or order from this investigation, is a Republican pretence, like the 'bloody shirt' justification of carpet-bag government; like the 'public danger' excuse, advanced for the enforcement of Durell's infamous order and the protection of the Returning Board by bayonets; like the cry set up after the election to prevent any agitation and to secure submission. We must have a very sorry sort of popular Government if Congress cannot even inquire into frauds in the choice of the Executive without endangering the peace and prosperity of the country."

More Jesuitical clap-trap and word-mouthing.

"What, then, you ask, is the purpose of the investigation? I answer, to ascertain the facts, so that if frauds be established a reputation of such frauds may be prevented; and, if not, to clear up the general belief throughout the country that there were such frauds. It is true that not every allegation of wrong is to be inquired into by Congress, but when a large portion, if not a large majority, of the people believe that the last Presidential election was secured by organized fraud, surely an inquiry to ascertain the facts ought to be had."

He doesn't believe the Democrats were "bluffed" after all—He "believes we were cheated."

"The feeling among many Republicans after the election was that while we had been cheated in the returns, we had bull-dozed the negroes so badly that the accounts of wrong were about equal. This belief in the bull-dozing of the negroes was based mainly upon the fact that in certain districts of the South which usually gave Republican majorities there was not returned that year a single Republican vote. Now the people of

the North have never understood that this condition of things was fraudulently prepared by the Republicans. They ought to understand that, and, beyond that, they ought to understand that there never was anything so dangerous to a free government as a r-turning board. A delegation of persons vested with discretionary power to revise the votes cast becomes thus the body that elects. So long as they exercise their functions under the protection of the State alone, the influence and indignation of the people will prevent them from any flagrant and enormous outrage. The public pressure will necessitate some excuse for subverting the choice of the people, some limitation upon the outrages they do to the popular wish. But separate them from the people by a cordon of Federal troops, under the pretence of preserving order, surround them with Federal bayonets, and they cease to be responsible to any one but the National Administration which protects them. There need, then, be no limit to, as there is no longer any check upon their abuses. To throw out the votes of one side and keep in the votes of the other without cause, to invent pretexts for such wrongs, to accept after continued protests and manufactured objections as color for their action, to permit figures to be altered, returns to be forged, frauds to be perfected, and generally every means by which the will of the people may be frustrated and the popular voice stifled, then becomes possible, and there may be thus a condition of things absolutely destructive of free government. We believe that it was by such proceedings we were cheated out of the election."

More repetitious gabble to "cover up his tracks."

"Unless the proceedings be exposed the outrage will be repeated. If an administration can defraud its opponents out of the results of an election, at which they had seventeen electoral and three hundred thousand popular majority, and no effort is made even to inquire into the wrong, there is nothing the next time to prevent the same administration cheating their opponents, even though the latter have forty electoral votes and a million popular majority. And this will go on time after time, until the outrage becomes intolerable. Let us rather, as Mr. Jefferson said, 'have a jealous care of the right of election by the people, and seek a safe and mild corrective for the abuses which, where no peaceable remedy is provided, are lopped by the sword of revolution.'"

The cowardice of capital from Potter's stand-point.

"It has been said that there was nothing more cowardly than a million dollars, except two millions. This is nature. But it is the mistake of capital to magnify the dangers on the surface and overlook those that lie below. Just now your capitalists are troubling themselves about the Commune, and oppose the reduction of the army, which they would have kept up as a national police. And yet, in no great country of the world is there so little danger of Communism as in this, for nowhere is property so generally distributed. But capitalists stood by supinely when the army was used to protect returning boards in stifling the votes of States and frustrating the will of their people, and under the pretence of maintaining order to subvert the very principles of free government. Believe me, in this there was real danger. Governments are based upon principle. The theory of this government is that the people of the States shall choose electors for themselves, and that by the aggregate voice of such electors that the National Executive shall be selected. To let the party in power interfere by force of arms to protect a local board in falsifying the will of the localities is to subvert the theory of this Government, and lead surely to its destruction."

"Whatever the result from the proposed investigation," it will be done peacefully.

"Whatever may result from the proposed investigation, you may be sure that nothing can result that will disturb either your flocks or your balances. The trouble to capital, property and freedom will come, not, perhaps, in your time or mine, but come at last, from

refusing to inquire into frauds. To confront the evil, if you may not right it, is to prevent its repetition. To shut your eyes to it supinely is to jeopard, and not to preserve the future peace, safety, and prosperity of the country.

"Faithfully yours,
"To the Rev. _____"

CLARKSON N. POTTER."

PART XIII.

Mr. Stephens' second Letter to Potter—He Believes in Investigation, but not "a one-sided" one—And he is Opposed to Investigation that has a Revolutionary Intent.

In a letter dated "National Hotel, May 28," Mr. Stephens replies in full to Mr. Potter's statement that Stephens was not working with his party. He gives his note of May 15 to Mr. Potter—mentions that he had sent similar ones to Messrs. Candler and Harris, of Georgia, and continues:

"* * * From these notes it will clearly appear with whom I first conferred and the opinion I entertained of the effect of proceedings then coming on in the House upon the Democratic party as well as the country. I looked upon them as unwise and untimely and fraught with mischief. It clearly appears from these notes that I was not in favor of a motion to defeat the investigation of fraud of any kind. It was only against a one-sided investigation.

"I was also, as I have been since the Presidential contest was constitutionally decided, against any investigation with a view to impeach or assail the title of the present incumbent of the Executive chair. The Democracy of the school in which I was raised was planted upon the principles of law and order, and upon standing by them as constitutionally propounded."

He proves that Hale's proposed amendment was germane to the Potter resolution.

"Mr. Potter's reasons for refusing Mr. Hale's amendment appear to me to be singular and most untenable. He says it was not germane. Why it was not germane I cannot see. All frauds it would seem to me are of a kindred character. They are all the same class of crimes; belong to the same family, and differ only in character and degree. If a fraudulent electoral count in Florida was germane to a like fraudulent count in Louisiana, why was not a like fraudulent count in Oregon or any other State equally germane to the provision to investigate frauds?"

He knocks another plank from under Potter's ponderous feet.

"Mr. Potter justifies his course in refusing an investigation into the frauds alleged in Mr. Hale's amendment because he said he understood it contained recitals to which he could not assent, and which would have forced us to vote against our own resolution. This seems to me again to be an untenable reason. In the first place, in allowing Mr. Hale to offer his amendment, whatever recitals it might have had by no means committed the House to the truth of the allegations. It would only have allowed him to make them good if he could."

Potter's duplicity made plain.

"Mr. Potter insists that the object was not and is not to attack the title of Mr. Hayes. If so, then why did he not, or the managers whose instructions he was carrying out, allow Mr. Casey Young's amendments to

go in, which distinctly stated, with a purpose of informing the country, that the object was not to disturb the title of the present Executive which had been constitutionally settled by the last Congress."

The entire proceeding "most unwise, most unfortunate, and most mischievous"—It will "disturb the peace, harmony, and quiet of the country."

"But I have no time to say more at present, except to add that I look upon the whole of this proceeding, concocted as it was, conducted as it has been, as most unwise, most unfortunate, and most mischievous. Its effect will be to disturb the peace, harmony, and quiet of the country. Neither Mr. Potter, nor anybody else, can prevent it; and I say to him, most respectfully, that nothing short of an immediate, general, and firm concert of action of the law and order-abiding people of all parties, Republicans and Democrats, throughout the Union in reprobation of this investigation proceeding any further with a view to disturb the Presidential title, such as announced by the Pennsylvania Democracy in their convention a few days ago, can arrest the most fearful consequences. Those who have, though innocently, sowed the wind will reap the whirlwind."

"A contemptible farce or a horrible tragedy"—Potter's Jesuitical whisperings "delusive and guileful" as those of Satan.

"My own opinion is, as I have repeatedly said, this affair will prove in the end either a contemptible farce or a horrible tragedy. Whether it will lead to the Mexicanization of our Federal Republic the result must show. But I say, as I said on another recent occasion, that all soft words instilling in the mind of the people of this country the idea that Mr. Hayes can be peaceably unseated by Congress are as delusive and as guileful as the whisperings of the great arch fiend in the shape of a toad in the ear of Eve, from which sprung all our woes.

"Very respectfully,

"ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS."

PART XIV.

The Burchard Resolution a Bomb Shell—Panic and Rout—Graphic Description of the Scene—The Democrats forced to "eat crow"—Condemned out of their own Mouths.

June 14, 1878, Mr. H. C. Burchard, Republican, threw a bombshell into the Tilden House, which exploded with such force as to disintegrate, for the moment, the combined forces of the enemy, bringing humiliation and disgrace for the time being on the Potter-Tilden revolutionary movement. The refusal of the Democrats to accept the Casey Young resolution offered in caucus, the refusal of the National Democratic Committee to make any declaration on the subject to quiet the growing apprehensions, the prophetic utterances of Alexander H. Stephens and a few other conservative Democrats, the admissions of Potter's open letter, the boastings of the Democratic press, alarmed the country to such an extent that, as the New York Tribune remarked, "the Democrats in the House of Representatives have been forced against their will to make the declaration they did to-day"

in voting for the Burchard and the Judiciary Committee's resolutions. They had uniformly refused to put themselves on record until Burchard's resolution forced them to "toe the mark." We take from the *Tribune*:

Graphic description of Burchard's masterly strategy—Summer skies and "all serene."

"WASHINGTON, June 14.—It was neatly done, and evidently took the majority of Republicans as much by surprise as it did the Democrats. There had been a great deal of noise and confusion, and the House had wasted a half hour in deciding upon a time for the consideration of some of the important measures which have not yet received final action. The Speaker's rulings were rapid and arbitrary, without being offensive or unjust, and by common consent things were taken for granted which at any earlier date would have been met with a score of objections. The House was working with one mind for a final adjournment on Monday, while each member was endeavoring to get his own pet measure into a position to command a few of the fleeting moments which yet remained.

"Mr. Burchard's face wore an expression as innocent as that of Mary's little lamb. He 'moved to suspend the rules and—

"Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, also 'moved to suspend the rules and—

"Mr. Fernando Wood rose to a parliamentary inquiry, and took a mild exception to some of the rulings, which gave to certain measures precedence over others, which he asserted were equally important.

"Mr. Burchard claimed the floor by virtue of the position his name occupied upon the list of those who had given notice that they would move a suspension of the rules for various purposes.

"The Speaker said that he would recognize the gentleman from Illinois as soon as he could dispose of the parliamentary inquiries. Mr. Burchard smiled. General Garfield, who sat beside him, also smiled very contentedly. Five minutes later the 'gentleman from Illinois' was recognized. He 'moved to suspend the rules and pass the following resolution,' which he sent to the clerk's desk to be read:"

Burchard's resolution—The thunder-clap!

"Whereas, At the joint meeting of the two Houses of the XLIVth Congress, convened pursuant to law and the Constitution, for the purpose of ascertaining and counting the votes for President and Vice President for the term commencing March 4, 1877, on counting the votes Rutherford B. Hayes was declared elected President and William A. Wheeler was declared elected Vice President for such term. Therefore,

"Resolved, That no subsequent Congress, and neither House, has jurisdiction to revise the action at such joint meeting, and any attempt by either House to annul or disregard such action or the title to office arising therefrom would be revolutionary and is disapproved by this House."

Profound silence—The Democrats gasping for breath.

"Silence most profound fell upon the House. Most of the Democratic leaders were absent. Messrs. Atkins and Durham had just been sent off on a conference committee. Messrs. Potter, Blackburn, Springer, and the other investigators were busy in their committee room. Some Democrat recovered himself sufficiently to ask that the resolution be read again, and meanwhile the absentees were sent for. Mr. Townsend, of Illinois, was the first to get entire possession of himself. He asked if it would be in order to strike out the last section; then if the resolution could be referred to the Judiciary Committee. He was told by the Speaker in reply that on a motion to suspend the rules neither proposition was in order; and some Republican added: 'You can vote it down,' which was a privilege which Mr. Townsend and his Democratic associates were at the moment neither prepared to reject nor accept."

The Republican hurrah!—The yeas and nays demanded.

"By the rules of the House no debate was in order and nothing remained to be done except to put the question to the House. The hearty 'aye' which came up when this was done was by no means confined to the Republican side, while the negative vote was feeble, and betrayed the indecision and demoralization which had seized the Democrats. It was evident that more than two-thirds of the members present voted in favor of the resolution; but the object of the mover being to get members on record, either for or against the projects of the revolutionists, Mr. Burchard, without waiting for the decision of the Chair, called for the yeas and nays, and the Clerk began to call the roll."

The Democratic Speaker stops the roll-call to give the Tilden revolutionists time to rally—Caucusing as to the best "Policy."

"At this point Mr. Atkins arrived, somewhat out of breath, and asked that the resolution be read again. Although the roll-call was in progress, the Speaker directed the Clerk to read the resolution a third time, most of the Democratic absentees had by this time gathered in. An earnest and excited caucusing was going on on their side of the Hall, which continued during the reading of the resolution and the calling of the roll which followed. A half-dozen Democrats, having the courage of their convictions, responded to their names with a hearty 'aye,' and as many more voted 'no.' The great majority of them, however, made no response during the first call of the roll."

Great excitement and noise—More time given for the determination of "Policy"—The Democrats jeered—Their panic and rout.

"The scene was very exciting and noisy. Two or three times the call was delayed or suspended, ostensibly on account of the disorder, but really to give the Democrats time to rally and decide what to do. Two or three motions were made in a spirit of derision by Republicans, that the House take a recess to allow the Democrats time to finish the caucus. It is doubtful whether a quorum had voted during the first call, but when it was finished some fifteen or twenty Democrats arose, and as they were recognized, one by one recorded themselves in the affirmative. The movement gathered force, and before the vote was announced, nearly every member on the floor had voted. The resolution was carried by the astonishing vote of 215 in the affirmative to 21 in the negative."

Two "Specimen Bricks"—One representing the "Policy, Me Boy," Tildenites—The other out-and-out red Tilden revolutionists.

"Perhaps the most crushed individual in the hall was Mr. Finley, of Ohio, who, in connection with Mr. Springer, of Illinois, was perhaps the most active of the original revolutionists. In common with the majority of his party, he dodged on the first call of the roll. When his party associates began to give way, and record themselves in favor of the resolution, Mr. Finley walked down to the front, and being recognized, filed an emphatic and spiteful 'no.' Then, with a shrug of contempt, he turned his back and walked up the aisle again, the bald spot on the back of his head, about the size of a trade dollar, seeming to glisten with the rage that flamed him. When, however, the movement became a rout, Mr. Finley again arose, and amid the cheers and jeers of the Republicans, made a request to change his vote, and piping out a feeble 'aye,' he retired to probable oblivion. Mr. Springer stood his ground, and voted an emphatic and ostentatious 'no,' almost the last one recorded. He was heartily and unanimously congratulated by Mr. Cook, of Georgia."

The vote on the Burchard resolution by which the revolutionary House, driven by fear, condemned its own revolutionary purposes.

The vote upon the Burchard resolution was 215 yeas, 21 nays—55 not voting. The 21 nays were all red hot Tilden revolutionists, and among those not voting, whether present or not, were 40 more Tilden Democrats. In detail it was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Aldrich, Atkins, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Banks, Bannins, Bayne, Beebe, H. P. Bell, Bicknell, Bisbee, Blair, Blount, Bouck, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, Bright, Brogden, T. M. Browne, Bundy, H. O. Burchard, Burdick, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Calkins, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Carlisle, Caswell, Chalmers, Chittenden, Clafin, J. B. Clark, Jr., R. Clark, J. B. Clarke, Clymer, Cobb, Cole, Conger, Covert, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Cravens, Crittenden, Culberson, Cummings, Culler, Danford, H. Davis, J. J. Davis, Dean, Deering, Denison, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Dunnell, Durkin, Dwight, Eames, Eden, Ellsworth, Errett, I. N. Evans, J. L. Evans, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Fellon, E. B. Feltus, Forney, Foster, Franklis, Freeman, Gardner, Garfield, Garis, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, Hanna, Harmer, B. W. Harris, H. R. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartsell, Haskell, Hatcher, P. C. Hayes, Hendee, Henderson, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, Hisscock, House, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Hunter, Hamlin, Ittner, James, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, J. S. Jones, J. A. Lisen, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, Kenna, J. H. Ketchum, Killinger, G. M. Landers, Lapham, Lathrop, Eigon, Lindsey, Lockwood, Mackey, Maish, Marsh, McCook, McGowan, McKensie, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Mills, Mitchell, Monroe, Morgan, Morrison, McCee, Muller, H. S. Neal, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Peddie, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, Pound, Price, Pugh, Rainey, Randolph, Rea, Reagan, Reed, J. B. Reilly, W. W. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, G. D. Robinson, Ryan, Sampson, Seapp, Sayler, Seales, Sexton, Shallenberger, Shelley, Sinnerickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Sparks, Starin, Steele, Stenger, Stephens, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Strait, J. M. Thompson, Throckmorton, A. Townsend, M. I. Townsend, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, Turney, R. B. Vance, Veeder, Waddell, Walt, W. Ward, Watson, Welch, H. White, M. D. White, Whitthorne, A. S. Williams, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, R. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Wren, Yeates, Young—215.

NAYS—Messrs. Blackburn, Bliss, Boone, Bragg, Cook, S. S. Cox, Ellis, Fuller, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, Mayham, Phelps, Pride more, Robertson, W. L. Smith, Southard, Springer, Werner—21.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Achin, Ballou, Benedict, Bland, Buckner, Butler, Cain, Camp, Candler, A. A. Clark, Collins, Davidson, Eichoff, Elam, Fort, Frye, Glover, Gunter, Hale, J. T. Harris, Hartridge, Hazelton, Hooker, Joyce, Kimmel, Knapp, Knott, Loring, Luttrell, Lynde, Manning, Martin, McMahon, Money, Muldrow, C. N. Potter, Powers, Quinn, A. V. Rice, M. S. Robinson, M. Ross, Schleicher, Singleton, Slemmons, Swann, Thornburgh, Tipton, Turner, Van Vorhes, G. C. Walker, Walsh, Wiginton, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, Wright—55.

PART XV.

The next Democratic Move—Throwing Sawdust in the Eyes of the People.

The House Democrats having been completely foiled, how to place themselves in a better attitude before the people was now the question. The great mass of them would be revolutionists if they dared. Already they had discovered, by the great wave of public opinion which had recently set in upon them, that the times were not yet ripe for revolution,

that all their carefully laid plans for future action, to succeed, must be covered up; that mere silence on the subject would not longer do; that they must make an explicit declaration even though with the full intention of violating hereafter any present pledge. Under the Jesuitical lead of Potter they had learned the Jesuitical rule that "the end justifies the means." Accordingly it had already been determined that the Judiciary Committee should be allowed to report against the Kimmel bill, which on the 15th of April had been introduced and referred to it; and in the sad straits to which they had just been brought by the Burchard resolution, it was determined by the Democratic leaders that the report must be made and acted on at once. Thus they might yet succeed in making the people believe—until after the Fall elections—that their purpose was not to turn Hayes out and put Tilden in. The report was, therefore, at once (June 14) made by Mr. Hartridge, Democrat.

The Vote by which this mere expression of this House's "opinion" was recorded.

Upon the adoption of the resolution accompanying the report the vote was 235 yeas to 14 "red hot" revolutionary Tilden nays—not voting 42, of whom 28 were Tilden Democrats.

PART XVI.

The Work of the Potter Committee—Impeachment of Hayes and Wheeler Talked of—How the thing Was to be done—Hayes Out, Either Tilden or Thurman to go in—Democratic Authorities for it.

While the great mass of the people of this country, who followed the testimony given before the Potter "Investigating" Committee, undoubtedly considered that it absolutely failed of its main purposes, and that its proceedings were almost farcical, there are unquestionably a large number of dyed-in-the-wool Democrats who to this day think otherwise, believe that they proved their case, and would still exclaim with their Democratic organ, the *Washington Post* of August 10, 1878, that:

"The Potter committee has crystallized allegations into accepted history."

The Democratic leaders all intended to believe—despite the absurdity of the pretense—that the charges were proven. So believing, or pretending to believe, they intended to demand action of some sort against President Hayes and Vice President Wheeler. Their programme was to impeach both; to declare by concurrent resolution of both Democratic Houses that the mere act of presenting articles of impeachment in this case, at any rate, suspends the impeached persons from official

duty, and makes a vacancy; to elect Thurman President of the Senate: if Tilden took the oath at the right time—as many believe he did, and the statement to that effect has never been denied by him—to induct him into the Presidency; and if he did not, then the “vacancy” to be filled by Thurman. That some such movements were in contemplation is evident from what leaked out every now and then from persons supposed to know the hidden purposes of the revolutionists.

Some of the active measures proposed for putting Hayes out and Tilden in—The impeachment plan.

Thus we gather something of this sort from the following dispatch in the *New York Tribune*, June 15:

“WASHINGTON, June 14.—A fact which may throw some light upon the real purposes actuating those who engineered the Potter resolution through the House has just come out here. It seems, according to excellent Democratic authority, that several months before the Potter resolution was passed, Mr. Manton Marble and General Barlow approached leading Democratic members of the House of Representatives and men prominent in the party, and urged them to begin active measures for ousting President Hayes as soon as the Democrats should secure control of both Houses of Congress. One reason which they urged was, that it would be a good piece of party strategy, because if Governor Tilden was given two years of the present Presidential term his ambition would be satisfied, and he could easily be put out of the way for 1880. The consultations of these gentlemen, who were known to be working in the interest of Governor Tilden, all indicate that the main purpose of the present movement, in the minds of those who were responsible for it, has been to remove President Hayes from the office he now holds. Now that public opinion has driven the Democrats to declare that the President's title cannot be attacked, those who formerly talked of putting him out through suits in the Supreme Court, or by joint resolution recognizing Governor Tilden, are almost all talking of impeachment instead.”

Another plan for putting Hayes out and Thurman in.

The *Washington Capital*, Aug. 11, 1878, a paper supposed at that time to have special sources of information as to the designs of the Democratic revolutionary leaders, said, that “after the 4th of March Allan G. Thurman will be President of the Senate, and prepared to fill one of the two vacancies,” which certain persons—

“Are busy demonstrating to the people to exist in the Presidency and Vice President's offices. This will not elect Mr. Tilden—he not being eligible through a strange defect in the law which makes it necessary for the President-elect to be sworn in at a certain date after being elected. This is in part the scheme for a strong Government, conceived and organized by that form of capital which net-works our land in the shape of railroads, and has for its managers the boldest, most unscrupulous and efficient knaves of all that class of financial schemers that grow rich on other men's earnings. It was their intent to seat one of their number—Mr. Tilden himself—in the Presidency, but they will accept Allan G. Thurman. To them the smoke that indicates the fire upon the plains is not distant. The danger is at hand, and they seek to fight fire with fire. * * * This is neither impeachable nor revolutionary, and is far stronger and efficient than any military Wall street thieving organization, with Grant as its figure head, that will come in just thirty days too late to be of use.”

Further proof of their Revolutionary purposes—Springer's declarations.

That the Democratic leaders were bent upon declaring the Potter investigation allegations proven; that they intended to take action; that the action which they proposed to take was in the line of impeachment; and that they intended by the mere action of a Democratic majority of both Houses—should they then control both Houses—to declare the offices of both the President and Vice President vacant upon the presentations of the articles of impeachment to the Senate, is rendered clear as daylight by the statement of Springer, Democratic member of the Potter committee, in an interview (July 1878) with the reporter of a Western paper, wherein he is represented as saying that enough had already been brought out by the committee to “warrant the impeachment of President Hayes, and there will be no trouble on that score, as the Democrats will have a majority of the Senate after the 4th of March next.”

And the following telegram in a New York paper of August 5, 1878, is confirmatory not only of Springer's conclusions, but as to those of others of his Democratic friends on the Potter committee:

“WASHINGTON, August 4.—Mr. Springer, of the Potter committee, talks very freely of ‘the case,’ as he calls it, which to his mind has already been established by the Potter committee. He regards it as one which will not only justify impeachment, but which demands it. He thinks the Wormley Hotel conference, in connection with the subsequent action of the Louisiana commission, quite sufficient to sustain articles of impeachment, and he fully expects the House to present them at an early day. Such talk doubtless reflects the views of several members of the Potter committee.”

PART XVII.

Why the Impeachment Plan was Abandoned—Rebuke from the North—New Tactics—Forcing the Extra Session—Political Riders—The New Revolution—“Starving Out,” Instead of “Shooting Down” the Government—Extra Session Threats.

Had the Congressional elections of 1878 resulted in Democratic gains instead of heavy Democratic losses, the revolutionary programme above indicated would undoubtedly have been carried out to the letter. In the South, by bulldozing and other scandalous methods, the Democratic representation in the House was so largely increased that it was almost “solidly” Democratic, but in the North Democratic representation fell off to such an extent that despite the increase in Southern membership, there was a bare Democratic majority in the whole House! It was this stern rebuke from the North that made the revolutionists waver and finally halt in their treasonable course. But while they dared not take the extreme course they had first marked out for themselves, they developed other plans and purposes hardly less culpable.

Political rider plan inaugurated—Forcing the Extra Session—Threats of Senators Beck and Thurman.

In the closing session of 1878-9, the Democratic House, looking ahead to the Presidential election of 1880, and determined, if possible, to afford every possible opportunity for a dishonest and fraudulent count by their friends both South and North, determined, in caucus, to put upon two of the great appropriation bills, certain "riders," to wit: upon the Army Appropriation Bill a rider declaring that troops shall not be used at the polls; and upon the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill, two provisions, one repeating the jurors test-oath; the other repeating the essential provisions of the Congressional Election Law, under which the purity of the ballot box is preserved. The Democratic House tacked these riders on, but a Republican Senate refused to permit them to remain on. The matter of disagreement went to a committee of conference, and, under the instructions of the Democratic caucus, the Democrats on that Committee refused to report them favorably unless the riders remained on, and the bills failing, an extra session was necessitated. Failing to coerce the Republican Senate, their next move was to coerce a Republican President, and that the whole thing was deliberately planned, is shown by the utterances, not alone of Democratic members of the House, but also by those of two distinguished Democratic Senators; said Senator Beck:

"The Democratic conferees on the part of the House seemed determined that unless those rights were secured to the people in the bill sent to the Senate they would refuse, under their constitutional right, to make appropriations to carry on the Government if the dominant majority in the Senate insisted upon the maintenance of those laws and refused to consent to their repeal. * * * If, however, the President of the United States, in the exercise of the power invested in him, should see fit to veto the bills thus presented to him, * * * then I have no doubt those same amendments will be again made part of the appropriation bills, and it will be for the President to determine whether he will block the wheels of Government and refuse to accept necessary appropriations rather than allow the representatives of the people to repeal odious laws which they regard as subversive of their rights and privileges. * * * Whether that course is right or wrong it will be adopted, and I have no doubt adhered to, no matter what happens with the appropriation bills."

Said Senator Thurman:

"We claim the right, * * * to say we will not grant the money of the people unless there is a redress of grievances."

The starvation plan—The veto power.

The consequence of this spirit was the memorable extra session of 1879, which was consumed in vain revolutionary efforts on the part of the two Houses of Congress—the Senate having in the meantime become Democratic—to starve the Government into a surrender of the high constitutional power of the veto. In another chapter the vetoes of the extra session will be found to give the history of each of the many abortive attacks thus made by the

Democrats upon the power of the Executive—upon that very veto power which their own National conventions of 1856 and 1860 declared sacred in these words:

"That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon.

General Garfield states the whole case in a nutshell.

The case was succinctly stated by General Garfield, when, in his speech of the 29th March, 1879, he said to the revolutionary Democratic House:

"The last act of Democratic domination in this Capitol, eighteen years ago, was striking and dramatic, perhaps heroic. Then the Democratic party said to the Republicans, 'If you elect the man of your choice as President of the United States we will shoot your Government to death'; and the people of this country, refusing to be coerced by threats or violence, voted as they pleased, and lawfully elected Abraham Lincoln President of the United States.

"Then your leaders, though holding a majority in the other branch of Congress, were heroic enough to withdraw from their seats and fling down the gauntlet of mortal battle. We called it rebellion; but we recognized it as courageous and manly to avow your purpose, take all the risks, and fight it out on the open field. Notwithstanding your utmost efforts to destroy it, the Government was saved. Year by year since the war ended, those who resisted you have come to believe that you have finally renounced your purpose to destroy, and are willing to maintain the Government. In that belief you have been permitted to return to power in the two Houses.

"To-day, after eighteen years of defeat, the book of your domination is again opened, and your first act awakens every unhappy memory and threatens to destroy the confidence which your professions of patriotism inspired. You turned down a leaf of the history that recorded your last act of power in 1861, and you have now signalled your return to power by beginning a second chapter at the same page; not this time by a heroic act that declares war on the battle-field, but you say if all the legislative powers of the Government do not consent to let you tear certain laws out of the statute-book, you will not shoot our Government to death as you tried to do in the first chapter; but you declare that if we do not consent against our will, if you cannot coerce in independent branch of this Government against its will to allow you tear from the statute-books some laws put there by the will of the people, you will starve the Government to death. [Great applause on the Republican side.]

"Between death on the field and death by starvation, I do not know that the American people will see any great difference. The end, if successfully reached, would be death in either case. Gentlemen, you have it in your power to kill this Government; you have it in your power, by withholding these two bills, to smite the nerve-centres of our Constitution with the paralysis of death; and you have declared your purpose to do this, if you cannot break down that fundamental element of free consent which up to this hour has always ruled in the legislation of this Government."

Extra session threats of 1879 by Representatives Hurd, Muldrow, Singleton, Turner, Kitchin, O'Connor, Chalmers, McMahon, Sparks, Tucker, and Blackburn.

The following extracts from speeches made during the extra session will be serviceable, as showing the bitter, uncompromising spirit of the revolutionary party—which, though it came to grief at the time through the firmness of President Hayes, will be found ready to

spring up again at another time, and in another and even more serious shape, unless the people at this election rebuke it by an electoral majority for General Garfield that shall overwhelm them and their treasonable schemes.

Representative Ward, of Ohio, April 2, 1879, said:

"It is objected to these measures of legislation which we propose that there is a possibility by our passing these laws of restraining the veto power of the President. * * * I deny that the President of the United States has any right to participate in the legislation of this country."

Representative Muldrow, of Mississippi, April 3, 1879, said:

"If the gentleman from Ohio is correct in his assumption that the President will veto these repeals, then, I repeat, let the responsibility be upon him and the Republican party. If there is revolution in that, they are the revolutionists; they are the party and he is the officer whose veto will thwart the will of the people as expressed by their representatives in Congress, and he will, for partizan purposes, exercise a constitutional prerogative in the interest of tyranny and in violation of every principle of liberty and freedom."

Representative Singleton, of Mississippi, April 4, 1879, said:

"For myself, President or no President, veto or no veto, I am prepared to fight upon this line until the work proposed is done, effectually done, whatever of time, labor, or expense it may involve."

Representative Turner, of Kentucky, April 4, 1879, said:

"Well, sir, if Mr. Hayes vetoes this (Army) bill on account of the sixth section regarding the right of suffrage, then the responsibility will rest on his shoulders, and not on ours, for stopping the Army. I do not believe Mr. Hayes will veto the bill on account of the sixth section. But if he does, and persists in that veto, and thereby starves the Army of the United States, then let the responsibility rest where it belongs, on the head of the President, for vetoing a bill, right, proper, and constitutional, passed by a majority of the representatives of the people in the exercise of their constitutional rights."

Representative Kitchin, of North Carolina, April 3, said:

"The honorable gentleman need not remind this House of the evil results that might flow from the anticipated act of the President; it will neither drive nor lead from an honest and faithful discharge of duty; we will perform our duty to the country, and let them assume the responsibility of defeating the will of the majority and, if you please, as they say, destroying the Government. I plant myself on this rock and say, in the language of the valiant Fitz-James.

Come one, come all; this rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I."

Representative O'Connor, of South Carolina, said:

"We have been thus early convoked here by the President to furnish supplies to run the Government, just as we were prepared to do in the last Congress until impeded and opposed by the Senate. The representatives of the people, who are the sovereigns of this country and hold the purse, do not intend to be coerced. It is our province and our prerogative, it is our duty, to see before we give the taxes of the people that all grievances are redressed."

Representative Chalmers, of Mississippi, April 2, 1879, said:

"Sir, it is said that the Army shall eat nothing because the Republican party in its arrogance refuse to eat humble pie. You threaten to starve the Government to death because you have grown so great that you cannot even do what is right if it happens to be demanded by the majority of an opposite party."

"Now I do not believe that the Government is going to die; but if it should die from the issue now presented, upon whose shoulders will the responsibility rest? * * * Andrew Johnson on that trying occasion set an example to his Republican friends which they would do well to remember now. Rather than see the wheels of this Government stopped he signed that bill; but he signed it under protest, and thus made his appeal to the country."

"It is deemed necessary to make another appeal to the people on the question now at issue, the Republican President can make his choice—he can either follow the example of Andrew Johnson, or he can, as the gentleman from Ohio said, destroy this Government without firing a single hostile gun. It is for him, not for us, to say which course he will choose. * * * If free Government must die, and die at the hands of such a President as this, then the Democratic party can look in the face of the expiring goddess of liberty and say:

"Shake not thy gory looks at me;
Thou canst not say I did it."

Representative McNahan, of Ohio, March 29, 1879, said:

"I believe that we have made up our minds fully to take all the consequences before the people of an adherence to our views. If the President of the United States prefers to 'starve the Government' * * * with him will rest the responsibility."

Representative Sparks, of Illinois, said:

"I deny, therefore, that the President has any legislative power. He has the power to arrest; only the power to arrest. Now let us take the case before us. It is insisted that the President is attempted to be coerced by the proposed legislation and that this action is revolutionary. Now, sir, we pass a law. All appropriations of money from the Treasury must be made by law. We pass this law appropriating nearly \$27,000,000. In that law we make provision that the Army, for which the appropriation is made, shall not be used 'to keep the peace at the polls' in the various precincts and polling places throughout the United States. The President chooses, if you please, to arrest it. He says: 'I arrest this law and return it to Congress with my objection.' What do we do? I do not know what gentlemen generally will do; but my idea in this particular case would be to say to the President, 'Very well, sir; if you do not need this law, why should we want it? We certainly have the constitutional power to let it alone; and, Mr. President, as you have chosen to arrest it by your positive act of objection or veto, all right; now just let the subject drop.' But then he will say, 'But, gentlemen, that will not do; this law must be passed; I must have this law.' Well, then, we answer, 'Why did you not take it, sir, and make it effective after we had passed it and presented it to you?' Because,' he says, 'it had some provision in it that was objectionable to me.' Well, sir, what do you propose to do? Why, I propose that you shall pass a law unobjectionable to me; in other words, you shall pass the kind of law that I want you to pass."

Representative Tucker, of Va., April 3, 1879, said:

"I tell you, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, the Army dies on the 30th day of June, unless we re-enact it by legislation. And what is the question here on this bill? Will you re-enact the Army after the 30th of June, with the power to use it as keepers of the polls? That is the question. It is not a question of repeal. It is a question of re-enactment. If you do not appropriate this money, there will be no Army after the 30th of June to be used at the polls. The only way to secure an Army at the polls is to ap-

appropriate the money. *Will you appropriate the money for the Army in order that they may be used at the polls? We say no, a thousand times no.* * * * The gentlemen on the other side say there must be no coercion. Of whom? Of the President? But what right has the President to coerce us? These may be coercion one way or the other. He demands an unconditional supply. *We say we will give him no supply but upon conditions.* * * * When, therefore, vicious laws have fastened themselves upon the statute-book which imperil the liberty of the people, this House is bound to say it will appropriate no money to give effect to such laws until and except upon condition that they are repealed. [Applause on the Democratic side.] * * * We will give him the Army on a single condition that it shall never be used or be present at the polls when an election is held for members of this House, or in any presidential election, or in any State or municipal election. * * * Clothed thus with unquestioned power, bound by clear duty, to expunge these vicious laws from the statute-book, following a constitutional method sanctioned by venerable precedents in English history, we feel that we have the undoubted right, and are beyond cavil in the right, in declaring that with our grant of supply there must be a cessation of these grievances, and we make these appropriations conditioned on securing a free ballot and fair jurie for our citizens."

Representative Blackburn, of Kentucky,
April 4, 1880, said:

"May I not assure that gentleman and his associates that the dominant party of this Congress, the ruling element of this body, is also equally determined that, until their just demands are satisfied, * * * this side of the Chamber, which has demonstrated its power, *never means to yield or surrender until this Congress shall have died by virtue of its limitation.* [Applause on the Democratic side.] We will not yield. A principle cannot be compromised. It may be surrendered; but that can only be done by its advocates giving proof to the world that they are cravens and cowards, lacking the courage of their own conviction. *We cannot yield, and will not surrender.*"

"Now, sir, the issue is laid down, the gage of battle is delivered. Lift it when you please; we are willing to appeal to that sovereign arbiter that the gentleman so handsomely lauded, the American people, to decide between us."

"I do not mean to issue a threat. * * * But I do mean to say, that it is my deliberate conviction, that there is not to be found in this majority a single man who will ever consent to abandon one jot or tittle of the faith that is in him. He cannot surrender if he would. I beg you to believe he will not be coerced by threats nor intimidated by parade of power. He must stand upon his conviction and here we will all stand. *He who doubts is a dastard, and he who doubts is damned!* [Great applause on the Democratic side.]

PART XVIII.

Beaten at all points, the Democratic Leaders fall back upon the "Fraud" Issue—The game "played out"—The bitter end toward which they seek to drive us—Rule or Ruin—Supremacy of the South, or Civil War.

Having failed in the Extra Session to accomplish their revolutionary purposes, the Democratic Congress tried to make some show during the following Session of gaining some

substantial point that would save them the mortification of an absolute back-down from their former imperious revolutionary stand. But in this again they failed. Beaten at all points, they determined to raise the "fraud" issue, and under cover of that in the Presidential campaign raise such a dust that their own recent disgraceful history, as well as their still existing revolutionary purpose, should be lost sight of. The National Democratic Convention of 1880 responded with alacrity, and brought it to the front as the paramount issue before the people. It is upon this then that they hope to ride into power and place and plunder, by the aid of Indiana and New York, added to that "solid South," which Wade Hampton swears by.

The "fraud" issue played out—The real object discerned—Rule or ruin—The answer of the North to the "Solid South"—Oregon, Vermont, Maine—No mistake this time.

But no such false issue can "go down" with the North. The intellect of the North sees clearly the meaning of all the long list of revolutionary manoeuvrings which have been conceived in the scheming brains of unrepentant Confederate brigadiers, and worked out, as far as was practicable, by the aid of their few Northern allies.

The North perceives where, unless promptly stopped, all this will end—that the election of Hancock means a reconstruction of the United States Supreme Court, with the ensuing overturn of the Constitutional amendments, or judicial constructions thereof, equivalent to their overthrow—that it means the bulldozing of the North as well as the South—that it means 80,000 Federal offices suddenly filled by raw Democrats, without regard to fitness for the discharge of a multiplicity of delicate and arduous duties—that it means utter disarrangement in the smooth working of the Governmental machinery—that it means doubtful policy as to all essential matters, save two; that it means a fixed policy as to Southern domination which will bring ruin to Republican institutions, and a fixed policy as to free trade which will bring ruin upon our manufacturers and laboring men—that it means, in short, both political and financial wreck and disaster. The North sees this already. Oregon saw it first, and Vermont and Maine have followed with increased Republican majorities, which mean that this is a life-and-death struggle between the forces of Freedom and of Slavery under a new name, and that there must this time be no close electoral majority for the Republican candidate for the Presidency—that it must be so large as to awe the revengeful and rapacious "solid South," and deter its leaders in Congress from attempting to count him out, and from thus precipitating upon this now happy and prosperous and free people all the incarnate horrors of a bloody, heart-rending, desolating, civil war.

CHAPTER IV.

Special Session of 1879—The Veto Messages, etc.

PART I.

The President's call for the Special Session—Why it was necessary to issue it.

Following is the President's call for the extra or special session:

"Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

"The failure of the last Congress to make the requisite appropriation for legislative and judicial purposes, for the expenses of the several executive departments of the Government, and for the support of the Army, has made it necessary to call a special session of the Forty-sixth Congress.

"The estimates of the appropriations needed, which were sent to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury at the opening of the last session, are renewed, and are herewith transmitted to both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

"Regretting the existence of the emergency which requires a special session of Congress at a time when it is the general judgment of the country that the public welfare will be best promoted by permanency in our legislation and by peace and rest, I commend these few necessary measures to your considerate attention.

"RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

"WASHINGTON, March 19, 1879."

PART II.

Veto of the Army Appropriation Bill—Votes on the Bill.

"Message from the President of the United States to the House of Representatives, upon returning the bill of the House (H. R. 1) entitled 'An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes,' with his objections to its approval.

"TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

"I have maturely considered the important questions presented by the bill entitled 'An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes,' and I now return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with my objections to its approval.

"The bill provides, in the usual form, for the appropriations required for the support of the Army during the next fiscal year. If it contained no other provisions, it would receive my prompt approval. It includes, however, further legislation, which, attached as it is to appropriations, which are requisite for the efficient performance of some of the most necessary duties of the Government, involves questions of the gravest character. The sixth section of the bill is amendatory of the statute now in force in regard to the authority of persons in the civil, military and naval service of the United States 'at the place where any general or special election is held in any State.' This statute was adopted February 26, 1866, after a protracted debate in the Senate, and almost without opposition in the House of Representatives, by the concurrent votes of both of the leading political parties of the country, and became a law by the approval of President Lincoln. It was re-enacted in 1874 in the Revised Statutes of the United States, sections 2002 and 5528, which are as follows:

"SECTION 2002. No military or naval officer, or other person engaged in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, shall order, bring, keep, or have under his authority or control, any troops or armed men at the place where any general or special election is held in any State, unless it be necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States, or to keep the peace at the polls."

"SECTION 5528. Every officer of the army or navy, or other person in the civil, military or naval service of the United States, who orders, brings, keeps or has under his authority or control, any troops or armed men at any place where a general or special election is held in any State, unless such force be necessary to repel armed enemies of the United States, or to keep the peace at the polls, shall be fined not more than \$5,000, and suffer imprisonment at hard labor not less than three months nor more than five years."

"The amendment proposed to this statute in the bill before me, omits from both of the foregoing sections the words 'or to keep the peace at the polls.' The effect of the adoption of this amendment may be considered—

"First. Upon the right of the United States Government to use military force to keep the peace at the elections for members of Congress; and

"Second. Upon the right of the Government, by civil authority, to protect these elections from violence and fraud."

"In addition to the sections of the statute above quoted, the following provisions of law relating to the use of the military power at the elections are now in force:

"SECTION 2008. No officer of the army or navy of the United States shall prescribe or fix, or attempt to prescribe or fix, by proclamation, order, or otherwise, the qualifications of voters in any State, or in any manner interfere with the freedom of any election in any State, or with the exercise of the free right of suffrage in any State."

"SECTION 5529. Every officer or other person in the military or naval service who, by force, threat, intimidation, order, advice, or otherwise, prevents or attempts to prevent any qualified voter of any State from freely exercising the right of suffrage at any general or special election in such State, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 and be imprisoned at hard labor not more than five years."

"SECTION 5530. Every officer of the army or navy who prescribes or fixes, or attempts to prescribe or fix, whether by proclamation, order, or otherwise, the qualifications of voters at any election in any State, shall be punished as provided in the preceding section."

"SECTION 5531. Every officer or other person in the military or naval service who, by force, threat, intimidation, order, or otherwise, compels or attempts to compel any officer holding an election in any State to receive a vote from a person not legally qualified to vote, or who imposes or attempts to impose any regulations for conducting any general or special election in a State, different from those prescribed by law, or interferes in any manner with any officer of an election in the discharge of his duty, shall be punished as provided in section fifty-five hundred and twenty nine."

"SECTION 5532. Every person convicted of any of the offenses specified in the five preceding sections shall, in addition to the punishments therein severally prescribed, be disqualified from holding any office of honor, profit, or trust under the United States; but nothing in those sections shall be construed to prevent any officer, soldier, sailor, or marine from exercising the right of suffrage in any election district to which he may belong, if otherwise qualified according to the laws of the State in which he offers to vote."

"The foregoing enactments would seem to be sufficient to prevent military interference with the elec-

tions. But the last Congress, to remove all apprehension of such interference, added to this body of law section 15 of an act entitled, "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1879, and for other purposes," approved June 18, 1878, which is as follows:

"SECTION 15 From and after the passage of this act it shall not be lawful to employ any part of the Army of the United States, as a *posse comitatus* or otherwise, for the purpose of executing the laws, except in such cases and under such circumstances, as such employment of said forces may be expressly authorized by the Constitution or by act of Congress; and no money appropriated by this act shall be used to pay any of the expenses incurred in the employment of any troops in violation of this section, and any person willfully violating the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by fine not exceeding ten thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

"This act passed the Senate, after full consideration, without a single vote recorded against it on its final passage, and, by a majority of more than two-thirds, it was concurred in by the House of Representatives."

"The purpose of the section quoted was stated in the Senate by one of its supporters as follows:

"Therefore I hope, without getting into any controversy about the past, but acting wisely for the future, that we shall take away the idea that the Army can be used by a general or special deputy marshal, or any marshal, merely for election purposes as a *posse*, ordering them about the polls or ordering them anywhere else, when there is no election going on, to prevent disorders or to suppress disturbances that should be suppressed by the peace officers of this State, or, if they must bring others to their aid, they should summon the unorganized citizens, and not summon the officers and men of the Army as a *posse comitatus* to quell disorders, and thus get up a feeling which will be disastrous to peace among the people of the country."

"In the House of Representatives the object of the act of 1878 was stated by the gentleman who had it in charge in similar terms. He said:

"But these are all minor points and insignificant questions compared with the great principle which was incorporated by the House in the bill in reference to the use of the Army in time of peace. The Senate had already conceded what they called, and what we might accept, as the principle, but they had stricken out the penalty, and had stricken out the word 'expressly,' so that the Army might be used in all cases where implied authority might be inferred. The House committee planted themselves firmly upon the doctrine that rather than yield this fundamental principle, for which for three years this House had struggled, they would allow the bill to fail, notwithstanding the reforms which we had secured, regarding these reforms as of but little consequence alongside of the great principle that the Army of the United States, in time of peace, should be under the control of Congress and obedient to its laws. After a long and protracted negotiation, the Senate committee have conceded that principle in all its length and breadth, including the penalty, which the Senate had stricken out. We bring you back, therefore, a report, with the alteration of a single word, which the lawyers assure me is proper to be made, restoring to this bill the principle for which we have contended so long, and which is so vital to secure the rights and liberties of the people."

"Thus have we, this day, secured to the people of this country the same great protection against a standing army which cost a struggle of two hundred years for the Commons of England to secure for the British people."

"From this brief review of the subject it sufficiently appears that, under existing laws, there can be no military interference with the elections. No case of such interference has, in fact, occurred since the passage of the act last referred to. No soldier of the United States has appeared under orders at any place of election in any State. No complaint even of the presence of the United States troops has been made in any quarter. It may, therefore, be confidently stated that there is no necessity for the enactment of section six of the bill before me to prevent military interfer-

ence with the elections. The laws already in force are all that is required for that end."

"But that part of section six of this bill which is significant and vitally important, is the clause which, if adopted, will deprive the civil authorities of the United States of all power to keep the peace at the Congressional elections. The Congressional elections in every district, in a very important sense, are justly a matter of political interest and concern throughout the whole country. Each State, every political party, is entitled to the share of power which is conferred by the legal and Constitutional suffrage. It is the right of every citizen possessing the qualifications prescribed by law, to cast one unintimidated ballot, and to have his ballot honestly counted. So long as the exercise of this power and the enjoyment of this right are common and equal, practically as well as formally, submission to the results of the suffrage will be accorded loyally and cheerfully, and all the departments of government will feel the true vigor of the popular will thus expressed."

"Two provisions of the Constitution authorize legislation by Congress for the regulation of the Congressional elections."

"Section 4 of Article 1 of the Constitution declares—

"The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations except as to the places of choosing Senators."

"The fifteenth amendment of the Constitution is as follows:

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

"SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

"The Supreme Court has held that this amendment invests the citizens of the United States with a new Constitutional right which is within the protecting power of Congress. That right the court declares to be exemption from discrimination in the exercise of the elective franchise on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The power of Congress to protect this right by appropriate legislation is expressly affirmed by the court."

"National legislation to provide safeguards for free and honest elections is necessary, as experience has shown, not only to secure the right to vote to the enfranchised race at the South, but also to prevent fraudulent voting in the large cities of the North. Congress has, therefore, exercised the power conferred by the Constitution, and has enacted certain laws to prevent discriminations on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and to punish fraud, violence, and intimidation at Federal elections. Attention is called to the following sections of the Revised Statutes of the United States, viz.:

"Section 2004, which guarantees to all citizens the right to vote without distinction on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

"Section 2005 and 2006, which guarantee to all citizens equal opportunity, without discrimination, to perform all the acts required by law as a prerequisite or qualification for voting."

"Section 2029, which authorizes the United States marshal and his deputies to keep the peace and preserve order at the Federal elections."

"Section 2024, which expressly authorizes the United States marshal and his deputies to summon a *posse comitatus* whenever they or any of them are forcibly resisted in the execution of their duties under the law, or are prevented from executing such duties by violence."

"Section 5522, which provides for the punishment of the crime of interfering with the supervisors of elections and deputy marshals in the discharge of their duties at the elections of Representatives in Congress."

"These are some of the laws on this subject which it is the duty of the Executive Department of the Government to enforce. The intent and effect of the sixth section of this bill is to prohibit all the civil officers of the United States, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, from employing any adequate civil force for this purpose at the place where their enforcement is most necessary, namely, at the places where the Congressional Elections are held. Among the most valuable enactments to which I have referred are those which protect the supervisors of Federal

elections in the discharge of their duties at the polls. If the proposed legislation should become the law there will be no power vested in any officer of the Government to protest from violence the officers of the United States engaged in the discharge of their duties. Their rights and duties under the law will remain, but the National Government will be powerless to enforce its own statutes. The States may employ both military and civil power to keep the peace, and to enforce the laws at State elections. It is now proposed to deny to the United States even the necessary civil authority to protect the national elections. No sufficient reason has been given for this discrimination in favor of the State and against the national authority. If well-founded objections exist against the present national election laws, all good citizens should unite in their amendment. The laws providing the safeguards of the elections should be impartial, just, and efficient. They should, if possible, be so non-partisan and fair in their operation that the minority—the party out of power—will have no just grounds to complain. The present laws have, in practice, unquestionably conducted to the prevention of fraud and violence at the elections. In several of the States members of different political parties have applied for the safeguards which they furnish. It is the right and duty of the National Government to enact and enforce laws which will secure free and fair congressional elections. The laws now in force should not be repealed, except in connection with the enactment of measures which will better accomplish that important end. Believing that section six of the bill before me will weaken, if it does not altogether take away, the power of the National Government to protect the Federal elections by the civil authorities, I am forced to the conclusion that it ought not receive my approval.

"This section is, however, not presented to me as a separate and independent measure, but is, as has been stated, attached to the bill making the usual annual appropriations for the support of the Army. It makes a vital change in the election laws of the country, which is in no way connected with the use of the Army. If prohibits, under heavy penalties, any person engaged in the civil service of the United States from having any force at the place of any election prepared to preserve order, to make arrests, to keep the peace, or in any manner to enforce the laws. This is altogether foreign to the purpose of an army appropriation bill. The practice of tacking to appropriation bills measures not pertinent to such bills did not prevail until more than forty years after the adoption of the Constitution. It has become a common practice. All parties when in power have adopted it. Many abuses and great waste of public money have in this way crept into appropriation bills. The public opinion of the country is against it. The States which have recently adopted constitutions have generally provided a remedy for the evil by enacting that no law shall contain more than one subject, which shall be plainly expressed in its title. The constitutions of more than half of the States contain substantially this provision. The public welfare will be promoted in many ways by a return to the early practice of the Government, and to the true principle of legislation, which requires that every measure shall stand or fall according to its own merits. If it were understood that to attach to an appropriation bill a measure irrelevant to the general object of the bill would imperil and probably prevent its final passage and approval, a valuable reform in the parliamentary practice of Congress would be accomplished. The best justification that has been offered for attaching irrelevant riders to appropriation bills is that it is done for convenience sake, to facilitate the passage of measures which are deemed expedient by all the branches of Government which participate in legislation. It cannot be claimed that there is any such reason for attaching this amendment of the election laws to the Army Appropriation Bill. The history of the measure contradicts this assumption. A majority of the House of Representatives in the last Congress was in favor of Section 6 of this bill. It was known that a majority of the Senate was opposed to it, and that as a separate measure it could not be adopted. It was attached to the Army appropriation Bill to compel the Senate to assent to it. It was plainly announced to the Senate that the Army appropriation Bill would not be allowed to pass unless the proposed amendments of the election laws were adopted with it. The Senate refused to assent to the bill on account of this irrelevant section. Congress thereupon adjourned

without passing an appropriation bill for the Army, and the present extra session of the Forty-sixth Congress became necessary to furnish the means to carry on the Government.

"The ground upon which the action of the House of Representatives is defended has been distinctly stated by many of its advocates. A week before the close of the last session of Congress the doctrine in question was stated by one of its ablest defenders, as follows:

"It is our duty to repeal these laws. It is not worth while to attempt the repeal except upon an appropriation bill. The Republican Senate would not agree to, nor the Republican President sign, a bill for such repeal. Whatever objection to legislation upon appropriation bills may be made in ordinary cases does not apply where free elections and the liberty of the citizens are concerned. * * * We have the power to vote money; let us annex conditions to it, and insist upon the redress of grievances."

"By another distinguished member of the House it was said:

"The right of the representatives of the people to withhold supplies is as old as English Liberty. History records numerous instances where the Commons, feeling that the people were oppressed by laws that the Lords would not consent to repeal by the ordinary methods of legislation, obtained redress at last by refusing appropriations unless accompanied by relief measures."

"That a question of the gravest magnitude, and new in this country, was raised by this course of proceeding, was fully recognized also by its defenders in the Senate. It was said by a distinguished Senator:

"Perhaps no greater question, in the form we are brought to consider it, was ever considered by the American Congress in time of peace; for it involves not merely the merits or demerits of the laws which the House bill proposes to repeal, but involves the rights, the privileges, the powers, the duties of the two branches of Congress, and of the President of the United States. It is a vast question; it is a question whose importance can scarcely be estimated; it is a question that never yet has been brought so sharply before the American Congress and the American people as it may be now. It is a question which, sooner or later, must be decided, and the decision must determine what are the powers of the House of Representatives under the Constitution, and what is the duty of that House in the view of the framers of that Constitution according to its letter and its spirit."

"Mr. President, I should approach this question, if I were in the best possible condition to speak and argue it, with very great diffidence, and certainly with the utmost anxiety, for no one can think of it as long and as carefully as I have thought of it, without seeing that we are at the beginning, perhaps, of a struggle that may last as long in this country as a similar struggle lasted in what we are accustomed to call the mother land. There the struggle lasted for two centuries before it was ultimately decided. It is not likely to last so long here, but it may last until every man in this chamber is in his grave. It is the question whether or no the House of Representatives has a right to say, "We will grant supplies only upon condition that grievances are redressed. We are the representatives of the tax-payers of the Republic; we, the House of Representatives, alone have the right to originate money bills; we, the House of Representatives, have alone the right to originate bills which grant the money of the people; the Senate represents States; we represent the tax-payers of the Republic; we, therefore, by the very terms of the Constitution, are charged with the duty of originating the bills which grant the money of the people. We claim the right, which the House of Commons in England established after two centuries of contest, to say that we will not grant the money of the people unless there is a redress of grievances."

"Upon the assembling of this Congress, in pursuance of a call for an extra session, which was made necessary by the failure of the Forty-fifth Congress to make the needed appropriations for the support of the Government, the question was presented whether the attempt made in the last Congress to engraft, by construction, a new principle upon the Constitution should be persisted in or not. This Congress has ample opportunity and time to pass the appropriation bills, and also to enact any political measures which may be determined upon in separate bills by the usual and orderly methods of proceeding. But the majority

of both Houses have deemed it wise to adhere to the principles asserted and maintained in the last Congress by the majority of the House of Representatives. That principle is that the House of Representatives has the sole right to originate bills for raising revenue, and therefore has the right to withhold appropriations upon which the existence of the Government may depend, unless the Senate and the President shall give their assent to any legislation which the House may see fit to attach to appropriation bills. To establish this principle is to make a radical, dangerous, and unconstitutional change in the character of our institutions. The various Departments of the Government, and the Army and Navy, are established by the Constitution, or by laws passed in pursuance thereof. Their duties are clearly defined, and their support is carefully provided for by law. The money required for this purpose has been collected from the people, and is now in the Treasury, ready to be paid out as soon as the appropriation bills are passed. Whether appropriations are made or not, the collection of the taxes will go on. The public money will accumulate in the Treasury. It was not the intention of the framers of the Constitution that any single branch of the Government should have the power to dictate conditions upon which this treasure should be applied to the purpose for which it was collected. Any such intention, if it had been entertained, would have been plainly expressed in the Constitution.

"That a majority of the Senate now concurs in the claim of the House adds to the gravity of the situation, but does not alter the question at issue. The new doctrine, if maintained, will result in a consolidation of unchecked and despotic power in the House of Representatives. A bare majority of the house will become the Government. The Executive will no longer be what the framers of the Constitution intended, an equal and independent branch of the Government. It is clearly the constitutional duty of the President to exercise his discretion and judgment upon all bills presented to him without constraint or duress from any other branch of the Government. To say that a majority of either or both of the Houses of Congress may insist upon the approval of a bill under the penalty of stopping all of the operations of the Government for want of the necessary supplies, is to deny to the Executive that share of the legislative power which is plainly conferred by the second section of the seventh article of the Constitution. It strikes from the Constitution the qualified negative of the President. It is said that this should be done because it is the peculiar function of the House of Representatives to represent the will of the people. But no single branch or department of the Government has exclusive authority to speak for the American people. The most authentic and solemn expression of their will is contained in the Constitution of the United States. By that Constitution they have ordained and established a Government, whose powers are distributed among co-ordinate branches, which, as far as possible, consistently with a harmonious co-operation, are absolutely independent of each other. The people of this country are unwilling to see the supremacy of the Constitution replaced by the omnipotence of any one department of the Government.

"The enactment of this bill into a law will establish a precedent which will tend to destroy the equal independence of the several branches of the Government. Its principle places, not merely the Senate and the Executive, but the Judiciary also, under the coercive dictation of the House. The House alone will be the judge of what constitutes a grievance, and also of the means and measures of redress. An Act of Congress to protect elections is now the grievance complained of. But the House may, on the same principle, determine that any other Act of Congress, a treaty made by the President with the advice of the Senate, a nomination or appointment to office, or that a decision or opinion of the Supreme Court is a grievance, and that the measure of redress is to withhold the appropriations required for the support of the offending branch of the Government.

"Believing that this bill is a dangerous violation of the spirit and meaning of the constitution, I am compelled to return it to the House in which it originated without my approval. The qualified negative with which the Constitution invests the President is a trust that involves a duty which he cannot decline to perform. With a firm and conscientious purpose to do

what I can to preserve, unimpaired, the constitutional powers and equal independence, not merely of the Executive, but of every branch of the Government, which will be imperilled by the adoption of the principle of this bill, I desire earnestly to urge upon the House of Representatives a return to the wise and wholesome usage of the earlier days of the Republic, which excluded from appropriation bills all irrelevant legislation. By this course you will inaugurate an important reform in the method of Congressional legislation; your action will be in harmony with the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and the patriotic sentiment of nationality which is these days support; and you will restore to the country that feeling of confidence and security and the repose which are so essential to the prosperity of all of our fellow-citizens.

"RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 20, 1879."

Votes in House and Senate on passage of the Bill, and in House on passing it, notwithstanding the veto.

First House Vote.

The vote in the House, April 5, 1879, on the passage of the Army Bill was:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Armfield, Atherton, Atkins, Bachman, Beltzhoover, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Blount, Bouck, Bragg, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Carlisle, Chalmers, Clardy, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Colverick, Converse, Cook, Covert, Gravens, Outberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, L. H. Davis, De La MATTE, Deuster, Dibrell, Dickey, Dunn, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, FORD, Forbes, Frost, Geddes, Gibson, GILLETTE, Goode, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, J. T. Harris, Hatch, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, Herndon, Hill, Hooker, Hostetler, House, Hull, Huntton, Hurd, Johnston, G. W. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, King, Kitchen, Kiots, Knott, LADD, Le Fevre Lewis, Leamery, Lowe, Manning, B. F. Martin, E. L. Martin, McKenney, McLane, McMahon, McMullen, Mills, Money, Morrison, Morse, Muldrow, Muller, MURCH, Myers, Ness, Nicholls, O'Brien, O'Connor, O'Reilly, Persons, Phelps, Pritchard, Poelher, Reagan, Richardson, Richmond, E. W. Robertson, Ross, Rothwell, J. W. Ryan, Sanford, Sawyer, Seales, Shelley, Simonton, J. W. Singleton, O. E. Singleton, Slemmons, H. B. Smith, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Spear, Springer, Steele, Stephens, STEVENSON, Talbot, Taylor, F. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, E. W. Townsend, Tucker, O. Turner, T. Turner, Vance, Waddill, A. J. Warner, WEAVER, Wellborn, Whitaker, Whitthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wilson, Wise, F. Wood, WRIGHT, Yocum, C. Young—148.

NAYS—Messrs. M. W. Aldrich, W. Aldrich, Anderson, Bailey, J. H. Baker, Ballou, Barber, BARLOW, Belford, Bingham, Blake, Bowman, Boyd, Brewer, Briggs, Brigham, Browne, Burrows, Calkins, Camp, CARSON, Carpenter, Caswell, Chittenden, Cladin, B. Clark, Combs, Cowgill, Crapo, Crowley, Daggett, G. R. Davis, Deering, Dunnell, Dwight, Einstein, Errett, Farr, Ferdon, Field, Fisher, FOSTER, Fort, Frye, Gardell, Goddard, Hall, J. Hammond, B. W. Harris, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Hayes, Hazelton, Hellman, Henderson, Hincock, Horr, Houk, Humphrey, James, Jorgensen, Joyce, Keller, KELLEY, Ketchum, Killinger, Lapham, Lindsey, Loring, Marsh, Mason, McLeod, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, Miles, Mitchell, Monroe, Morton, Neal, Newberry, Norcross, O'Neill, Orth, Oumar, Overton, Pierce, Pound, Prescott, Price, Reed, W. W. Rice, Richardson, Robeson, G. D. Robinson, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Samp, Shallenberger, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Starin, J. W. Stone, Thomas, A. Townsend, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Urner, Valentine, Van Aarsam, Voorhis, J. Van Voorhis, Wait, Ward, Washburn, H. White, Wilber, C. G. Williams, Willis, W. A. Wood—122.

The Senate vote.

The bill passed the Senate April 25, by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Call, Cockrell, Coke, DAVIS of Illinois, Eaton, Farley, Garland, Gordon, Greome, Grover, Hampton, Harris, Herford, Hill of Georgia, Houston, Johnston, Jonas, Jones of Florida, Kernan, Lamar, McDonald, Mazey, Morgan,

Pendleton, Randolph, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Thurman, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Wallace, Whyte, Williams, Withers—41.

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Bell, Blaine, Booth, Bruce, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Carpenter, Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry, Hamlin, Hill of Colorado, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Kellogg, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller—30.

House vote on passing the bill, notwithstanding the veto.

May 1, in the House, on the question of passing the bill over the veto, the bill failed (two-thirds required) by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Armfield, Atherton, Atkins, E. L. T. Beale, Belknap, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Bragg, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Carlisle, Chalmers, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Colerick, Converse, Covert, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, L. H. Davis, DE LA MATTE, Deuster, Dibrell, Dieke, Dunn, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Fellon, Forney, Frost, Gaddis, Gibson, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, J. T. Harris, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, Herndon, Hill, Hooker, Hosteller, House, Hurd, Johnston, Kimmel, King, Kitchen, Klotz, Knott, Ladd, Le Fevre, Lewis, Manning, B. F. Martin, McKenzie, McLane, McMillin, Mills, Morrison, Muldrow, Myers, New, O'Brien, O'Connor, O'Reilly, Persons, Phister, Pohler, Reagen, J. S. Richardson, Richmond, E. W. Robertson, Ross, Russell, Samford, Sawyer, Scales, Shelley, Simonton, J. W. Singleton, O. R. Singleton, Slemmons, H. B. Smith, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Speers, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Stevenson, Talbot, Taylor, P. B. Thompson, J. T. Tillman, W. W. Townsend, O. Turner, T. Turner, Vance, Wadsworth, A. J. Warner, Wellborn, Whiteaker, Withthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wise, Wright, C. Young—121.

YEAS—Messrs. N. W. Aldrich, W. Aldrich, Anderson, J. H. Baker, Bayne, Belford, Bingham, Blake, Bowman, Boyd, Brewer, Briggs, Brigham, Browne, Burrows, Butterworth, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chittenden, Claflin, Conger, Cowgill, Crapo, Caggett, G. R. Davis, Deering, Dannel, Einstein, Errett, Farr, Fardon, Field, Fisher, Ford, FOSYTH, Fort, Frye, Garfield, GILLETTE, Hall, J. Hammon, Harner, B. W. Harris, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Hazleton, Hellman, Hiscock, Horr, Hawk, Hubbard, Humphrey, James, G. W. Jones, Jorgensen, Joyce, Keifer, KELLER, Lindsey, Lowe, Marsh, Mason, McCoid, McGowan, McKinley, Miles, Mitchell, Monroe, Morton, MURCH, Newberry, Norcross, O'Neil, Overton, Pierce, Pound, Prescott, Reed, W. P. Rice, D. P. Richardson, Robeson, G. D. Robinson, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Shallenberger, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Thomas, A. Townsend, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Urner, Valentine, Van Aernam, Voorhis, J. Van Voorhis, Wait, Ward, Washburn, Weaver, H. White, Wilbur, C. G. Williams, Willis, W. A. Wood, Yocum, T. L. Young—110.

PART III.

Veto of the Bill to Prohibit Military Interference at Elections—Votes on the Bill—The law sought to be repealed—A Democratic Law—Its History.

The following is the President's veto:

"Message from the President of the United States, assigning objections to the approval of the bill of the House (H. R. 1382) entitled, 'An Act to Prohibit Military Interference at Elections.'

"TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

"After a careful consideration of the Bill entitled 'An Act to Prohibit Military Interference at Elections,' I return it to the House of Representatives, in which

it originated, with the following objections to its approval:

"In the communication sent to the House of Representatives on the 29th of last month, returning to the House without my approval the bill entitled 'An Act making Appropriations for the Support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes,' I endeavored to show by quotations from the statutes of the United States now in force, and by a brief statement of facts in regard to recent elections in the several States, that no additional legislation was necessary to prevent interference with the elections by the military or naval forces of the United States. The fact was presented in that communication that at the time of the passage of the act of June 18, 1878, in relation to the employment of the army as a *posse comitatus* or otherwise, it was maintained by its friends that it would establish a vital and fundamental principle, which would secure to the people protection against a standing army. The fact was also referred to that, since the passage of this act, Congressional, State, and municipal elections have been held throughout the Union, and that in no instance has complaint been made of the presence of United States soldiers at the polls.

"Holding, as I do, the opinion that any military interference whatever at the polls is contrary to the spirit of our institutions, and would tend to destroy the freedom of elections, and sincerely desiring to concur with Congress in all of its measures, it is with very great regret that I am forced to the conclusion that the bill before me is not only unnecessary to prevent such interference, but is a dangerous departure from long-settled and important Constitutional principles.

"The true rule as to the employment of military force at the elections is not doubtful. No intimidation or coercion should be allowed to control or influence citizens in the exercise of their right to vote, whether it appears in the shape of combinations of evil-disposed persons, or of armed bodies of the militia of a State, or of the military force of the United States.

"The elections should be free from all forcible interference, and, as far as practicable, from all apprehensions of such interference. No soldiers, either of the Union or of the State militia, should be present at the polls to take the place or perform the duties of the ordinary civil police force. There has been and will be no violation of this rule under orders from me during this administration. But there should be no denial of the right of the national Government to employ its military force on any day and at any place in case such employment is necessary to enforce the Constitution and laws of the United States.

"The bill before me is as follows:

"Be it enacted, etc., That it shall not be lawful to bring to, or employ at, any place where a general or special election is being held in a State, any part of the Army or Navy of the United States, unless such force be necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States, or to enforce section 4, article 4, of the Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, on application of the Legislature or executive of the State where such force is to be used; and so much of all laws as is inconsistent herewith is hereby repealed."

"It will be observed that the bill exempts from the general prohibition against the employment of military force at the polls two specified cases. These exceptions recognize and concede the soundness of the principle that military force may properly and constitutionally be used at the place of elections, when such use is necessary to enforce the Constitution and the laws. But the excepted cases leave the prohibition so extensive and far-reaching, that its adoption will seriously impair the efficiency of the executive department of the Government.

"The first act expressly authorizing the use of military power to execute the laws was passed almost as early as the organization of the Government under the Constitution and was approved by President Washington, May 2, 1792. It is as follows:

"SECTION 2. And be it further enacted, That whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed, in any State, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by this act, the same being notified to the President of the United States by an associate justice or the district judge, it shall be lawful for the

President of the United States to call forth the militia of such State to suppress such combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed. And if the militia of a State where such combination may happen shall refuse, or be insufficient to suppress the same, it shall be lawful for the President, if the Legislature of the United States be not in session, to call forth and employ such numbers of the militia of any other State or States most convenient thereto as may be necessary; and the use of militia, so to be called forth, may be continued, if necessary, until the expiration of thirty days after the commencement of the ensuing session."

"In 1795 this provision was substantially re-enacted in a law which repealed the act of 1792. In 1807 the following act became the law by the approval of President Jefferson:

"That in all cases of insurrection or obstruction to the laws, either of the United States or of any individual State or Territory, where it is lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia for the purpose of suppressing such insurrection, or of causing the laws to be duly executed, it shall be lawful for him to employ, for the same purposes, such part of the land or naval force of the United States as shall be judged necessary, having first observed all the pre-requisites of the law in that respect."

"By this act it will be seen that the scope of the law of 1795 was extended so as to authorize the National Government to use not only the militia, but the Army and Navy of the United States 'in causing the laws to be duly executed.'"

"The important provisions of the acts of 1792, 1795, and 1807, modified in its terms from time to time to adapt it to the existing emergency, remained in force until by an act approved by President Lincoln, July 29, 1861, it was re-enacted substantially in the same language in which it is now found in the Revised Statutes, viz.:

"SECTION 5298. Whenever by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations or assemblages of persons, or rebellion against the authority of the Government of the United States it shall become impracticable, in the judgment of the President, to enforce by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the laws of the United States within any State or Territory, it shall be lawful for the President to call forth the militia of any or all the States, and to employ such parts of the land and naval forces of the United States, as he may deem necessary to enforce the faithful execution of the laws of the United States, or to suppress such rebellion in whatever State or Territory thereof the laws of the United States may be forcibly opposed, or the execution thereof forcibly obstructed."

"This ancient and fundamental law has been in force from the foundation of the Government. It is now proposed to abrogate it on certain days and at certain places. In my judgment no fact has been produced which tends to show that it ought to be repealed or suspended for a single hour at any place in any of the States or Territories of the Union. All the teachings of experience in the course of our history are in favor of sustaining its efficiency unimpaired. On every occasion when the supremacy of the Constitution has been resisted, and the perpetuity of our institutions imperilled, the principle of this statute, enacted by the fathers, has enabled the Government of the Union to maintain its authority and to preserve the integrity of the nation."

"At the most critical periods of our history my predecessors in the executive office have relied on this great principle. It was on this principle that President Washington suppressed the whiskey rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1794."

"In 1806, on the same principle, President Jefferson broke up the Burr conspiracy by issuing orders for the employment of such force, either of the regulars or of the militia, and by such proceedings of the civil authorities, as might enable them to suppress effectually the further progress of the enterprise." And it was under the same authority that President Jackson crushed nullification in South Carolina, and that President Lincoln issued his call for troops to save the Union in 1861. On numerous other occasions of less significance, under probably every administration, and certainly under the present, this power has been usefully exerted to enforce the laws, without objection by any party in the country, and almost without attracting public attention."

"The great elementary Constitutional principle which was the foundation of the original statute of

1792, and which has been its essence in the various forms it has assumed since its first adoption, is that the Government of the United States possesses under the Constitution, in full measure, the power of self-protection by its own agencies, altogether independent of State authority, and, if need be, against the hostility of State governments. It should remain embodied in our statutes unimpaired, as it has been from the very origin of the Government. It should be regarded as hardly less valuable or less sacred than a provision of the Constitution itself."

"There are many other important statutes containing provisions that are liable to be suspended or annulled at the times and places of holding elections, if the bill before me should become a law. I do not undertake to furnish a list of them. Many of them—perhaps the most of them—have been set forth in the debates on this measure. They relate to extradition, to crimes against the election laws, to quarantine regulations, to neutrality, to Indian reservations, to the civil rights of citizens, and to other subjects. In regard to them all, it may be safely said that the meaning and effect of this bill is to take from the General Government an important part of its power to enforce the laws."

"Another grave objection to the bill is its discrimination in favor of the State and against the National authority. The presence or employment of the Army or Navy of the United States is lawful under the terms of this bill at the place where an election is being held in a State to uphold the authority of a State government then and there in need of such military intervention, but unlawful to uphold the authority of the Government of the United States, then and there in need of such military intervention. Under this bill the presence or employment of the Army or Navy of the United States would be lawful, and might be necessary to maintain the conduct of a State election against the domestic violence that would overthrow it, but would be unlawful to maintain the conduct of a national election against the same local violence that would overthrow it. This discrimination has never been attempted in any previous legislation by Congress, and is no more compatible with sound principles of the Constitution or the necessary maxims and methods of our system of government on occasions of elections than at other times. In the early legislation of 1792 and of 1795, by which the militia of the States was the only military power resorted to for the execution of the Constitutional powers in support of State or national authority, both functions of the Government were put upon the same footing. By the act of 1807 the employment of the Army and Navy was authorized for the performance of both Constitutional duties in the same terms."

"In all later statutes on the same subject-matter the same measure of authority to the government has been accorded for the performance of both these duties. No precedent has been found in any previous legislation, and no sufficient reason has been given for the discrimination in favor of the State and against the national authority which this bill contains."

"Under the sweeping terms of the bill the national government is effectually shut out from the exercise of the right and from the discharge of the imperative duty to use its whole executive power whenever and wherever required for the enforcement of its laws at the places and times when and where its elections are held. The employment of its organized armed forces for any such purpose would be an offense against the law unless called for by, and, therefore, upon permission of, the authorities of the State in which the occasion arises. What is this but the substitution of the discretion of the State governments for the discretion of the Government of the United States as to the performance of its own duties? In my judgment this is an abandonment of its obligations by the national government; a subordination of national authority and an intrusion of State supervision over national duties which amounts, in spirit and tendency, to State supremacy."

"Though I believe that the existing statutes are abundantly adequate to completely prevent military interference with the elections in the sense in which the phrase is used in the title of this bill and is employed by the people of this country, I shall find no difficulty in concurring in any additional legislation limited to that object which does not interfere with the indispensable exercise of the powers of the Government under the Constitution and laws."

"RUTHERFORD B. HAYES."

First vote in the House on passing the Bill.

May 6, 1879. The bill above referred to, passed the House by the following vote :

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Armfield, Baltzhoover, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Blount, Bouck, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Cartale, Chalmers, J. B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Colerick, Converse, Covert, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, L. H. Davis, DE LA MATTE, Deuster, Dibrell, Dickey, Dunn, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, FORD, Forney, FOSTER, Frost, Geddes, Gibson, GILLETTE, Goode, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, J. T. Harris, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, Herndon, Hill, Hooker, Hostetter, House, Hurd, Johnston, G. W. Jones, Kimmel, King, Kitchen, Klotz, Knott, LADD, Le Fevre, Lewis, Lowe, Manning, B. F. Martin, E. L. Martin, J. J. Martin, McKenzie, McLane, McMullin, Mills, Morrison, Muldrow, MURCH, Myers, New, O'Connor, Persons, Phister, Poehler, Reagan, J. S. Richardson, Richmond, E. W. Robertson, Ross, Rothwell, J. W. Ryan, Sanford, Sawyer, Scales, O. R. Singleton, Slemmons, H. B. Smith, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Speer, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Stevenson, Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, R. W. Townsend, O. Turner, T. Turner, Vance, Waddill, A. J. Warner, WEAYER, Wellborn, Wells, Whiteaker, Whitthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wise, F. Wood, WRIGHT, YOCUM—125.

NAYS—Messrs. N. W. Aldrich, W. Aldrich, Anderson, Bayne, Belford, Bingham, Blake, Bowman, Boyd, Brewer, Briggs, Brigham, Browne, Burrows, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chittenden, Claflin, Conger, Cowgills, Crapo, Daggett, G. R. Davis, Deasing, Dannel, Farr, Ferdon, Field, Fisher, Fort, Frye, Garfield, Goddard, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Hayes, Heilmann, Horr, Houk, Hubbell, Humphrey, Joyce, Keifer, Killinger, Lindsey, Marsh, Mason, McOoid, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, Mitchell, Monroe, Morton, Neal, Newbury, Norcross, O'Neill, Overton, Pierce, Pound, Prescott, Rice, W. W. Rice, D. P. Richardson, Robeson, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Schallenberg, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, J. W. Stone, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Valentine, Van Aernam, Voorhis, J. Van Voorhis, Wait, Ward, Washburn, White, C. G. Williams, W. A. Wood, T. L. Young—30.

The Senate Vote.

In the Senate the bill passed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Bayard, Beck, Butler, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Davis of West Virginia, Eaton, Garland, Groome, Hampton, Harris, Hersford, Houston, Johnston, Jonas, Jones of Florida, Kernan, Lamar, McDonald, Macey, Morgan, Pendleton, Randolph, Ransom, Samsbury, Slater, Thurman, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Withers—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Booth, Bruce, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Conkling, Edmunds, Hill of Colorado, Hoar, Ingalls, Kellogg, Logan, McMillan, Morrill, Platt, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller, Windom—23.

Vote in House on passing the bill notwithstanding the President's veto.

In the House, May 13, the bill failed (two-thirds needed) to pass over the President's objections, by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Armfield, Atherton, Backman, R. L. T. Beale, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Bouck, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Cartale, Clardy, J. B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Converse, Cook, Covert, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, L. H. Davis, DE LA MATTE, Deuster, Dibrell, Dickey, Dunn, Elam, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, FORD, Forney, Geddes, Gibson, GILLETTE, Goode, Gunter, J. T. Harris, Hatch, Henkle, Herbert, Herndon, Hooker, Hostetter, House, Hurd, Johnston, G. W. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, King, Kitchen, Klotz, Knott, LADD, Le Fevre, Lewis, Lounsbury, Lowe, Manning, B. F. Martin, E. L. Martin, McKenzie, McLane, McMahon, McMullin, Mills, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, Murch, Myers, New, O'Connor, Persons, Phelps, Phister, Poehler, Reagan, J. S. Richardson, Richmond, Robertson, Ross, Rothwell, Sanford, Sawyer, Scales, Shelley, J. W. Singleton, O. R. Singleton, Slemmons,

H. B. Smith, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Stevenson, Talbot, Taylor, F. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, R. W. Townsend, O. Turner, T. Turner, Vance, Waddill, A. J. Warner, WEAYER, Wellborn, Wells, Whiteaker, Whitthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wilson, F. Wood, WRIGHT, YOCUM, C. Young—128.

NAYS—Messrs. N. W. Aldrich, W. Aldrich, Anderson, Bailey, Barber, Bayne, Belford, Blake, Bowman, Boyd, Brewer, Briggs, Brigham, Browne, Burrows, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Claflin, Conger, Cowgill, Crapo, Crowley, Daggett, G. R. Davis, Deering, Dunnell, Einstein, Errett, Farr, Ferdon, Field, Fort, Frye, Garfield, Hall, J. Hammond, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Hayes, Haselton, Heilmann, Henderson, Hoar, Houk, Humphrey, Joyce, Keifer, Kelley, Ketcham, Killinger, Lindsey, Marsh, Mason, McOoid, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, Miles, Monroe, Morton, Neal, Newberry, Norcross, O'Neill, Orth, Osmer, Overton, Pound, Prescott, Price, Reed, W. W. Rice, Robeson, G. D. Robinson, T. Ryan, Sapp, Schallenberg, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Starin, J. W. Stone, Thomas, A. Townsend, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Unger, Valentine, Wait, Ward, Washburn, C. G. Williams, Willis, T. L. Young—97.

Peace at the Polls—Democratic origin, authorship, and purpose of the act which the Democracy proposed to repeal.

Lazarus W. Powell, in the 36th, 37th, and 38th Congresses, was a senator of the United States from Kentucky. So pronounced was his opposition in Kentucky to the National Government, and so violent and public his acts against it, that his colleague, Garrett Davis, in the 36th Congress, moved his expulsion from the Senate as a traitor. The motion failed. But his narrow escape did not cause him to modify his reasonable hostility to the Government, but rather excited in him increased bitterness toward every measure which had for its object the restoration of the National authority in the insurrectionary States.

Intended to cripple the Government during the Rebellion.

Thus, June 22, 1864, at a most critical period of the war, Mr. Powell, as a means of crippling the power of the National Government and lending new power to the rebels in the Border States, introduced into the Senate "a bill (S. R. 37) to prevent officers of the army and navy, and other persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States, from interfering in elections." Its provisions are those quoted by the President, in the foregoing veto, as sections 2002 and 5528 of the Revised Statutes. It was intended as a blow at the Union men of the Border States, to enable the rebels to return to those States on election day in the absence of the troops, take possession of the polls, and vote and control the elections.

What was said of it by Union Senators.

In the language of Senator Howard, of Michigan, it was "an act to disarm the Government and lay it prostrate at the feet of its foes"—to make "the ballot-box the sanctuary" of the rebel and traitor. No Republican supported it with his voice. Many vehemently opposed its adoption. Said Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas:

"When the party represented by the Senator of Kentucky had this Government in their control, in

the territory which is now my State, it was very common for the military authorities to take possession of the polls. The sheriffs in the counties had a way of getting a posse on that day and mustering them into the service of the United States, and surrounding the polls, for the ostensible purpose of keeping the peace at the polls; but I have seen the time when I could not go within gunshot of the polls, and you could not get a ballot into the box unless you shot it in out of some revolver. I do not want any military interference at the polls, and I never did want it. I would not have troops there unless in some sensible way to keep the peace and to prevent contests which might be likely to arise. *I think the Senator should be the last man, and his party should be the last party to undertake, after what occurred in my State, to prevent men being at the polls to keep the peace and prevent collisions.*"

Democratic efforts and votes enact it.

The law, through the persistent advocacy of Mr. Powell, finally passed the Senate at the 1st session of the 38th Congress. *Every Democrat present voted for the bill. Seven Republicans, although denying that there was any need for the passage of such a law, denying that even in the existing state of war, there had ever been any authorized military interference at elections, yet voted for it. All the votes against it were Republicans.*

The measure which subsequently passed the House also, and which the Rebel Brigadiers have since so vehemently denounced, which in their efforts to repeal occasioned the defeat of the Army Appropriation Bill, caused an extra session and put the nation to a great expense, *was a Democratic measure in its origin, authorship and purpose; a rebel measure supported and passed by Democratic votes in support of the Rebel Brigadiers in the field, for the purpose of making "the ballot-box the sanctuary" of the traitor.*

It reacts against the authors—Hence the fight against it.

Upon the restoration of the Union, during reconstruction, and subsequently, this law reacted against its authors, and their new designs, through its clause "to keep the peace at the polls." Rifle clubs, the Ku Klux, the White League, and the host of banditti which were organized for the subjugation of the Union masses of the rebel States, found this clause a formidable obstruction to their sanguinary plots. It enabled the National Government to give some protection to the Unionists in their rights as citizens at the polls. Hence, cried they, it must be struck from the statute-book. The Ku Klux must be king. Rebel rifles clubs must reign! The President's veto arrested their plans.

PART IV.

Veto of the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation Bill—Which repealed or modified the law touching Supervisors and Marshals at Congressional Elections, and touching Jurors in U. S. Courts—Votes in House

and Senate on the Bill, and in House on passage of same over the Veto.

Following is the President's veto:

"Message from the President of the United States returning, without his approval, the bill of the House (H. R. 2) entitled 'An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes.'

"TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

"After mature consideration of the bill, entitled 'An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and eighty, and for other purposes,' I herewith return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with the following objections to its approval:

"The main purpose of the bill is to appropriate the money required to support, during the next fiscal year, the several civil departments of the Government. The amount appropriated exceeds in the aggregate eighteen millions of dollars.

"This money is needed to keep in operation the essential functions of all the great departments of the Government—legislative, executive and judicial. If the bill contained no other provisions no objection to its approval would be made. It embraces, however, a number of clauses relating to subjects of great general interest, which are wholly unconnected with the appropriations which it provides for. The objections to the practice of tacking general legislation to appropriation bills, especially when the object is to deprive a co-ordinate branch of the Government of its right to the free exercise of its own discretion and judgment touching such general legislation, were set forth in the special message in relation to House bill number one, which was returned to the House of Representatives on the 29th of last month. I regret that the objections which were then expressed to this method of legislation have not seemed to Congress of sufficient weight to dissuade from this renewed incorporation of general enactments in an appropriation bill, and that my constitutional duty in respect of the general legislation thus placed before me cannot be discharged without seeming to delay, however briefly, the necessary appropriations by Congress for the support of the Government. Without repeating these objections, I respectfully refer to that message for a statement of my views on the principle maintained in debate by the advocates of this bill, viz., that 'to withhold appropriations is a constitutional means for the redress' of what the majority of the House of Representatives may regard as 'a grievance.'

"The bill contains the following clauses, viz.:

*"And provided further, That the following sections of the Revised Statutes of the United States, namely, sections two thousand and sixteen, two thousand and eighteen, and two thousand and twenty, and all of the succeeding sections of said statutes down to and including section two thousand and twenty-seven, and also section fifty-five hundred and twenty-two, be, and the same are hereby, repealed; * * * and that all the other sections of the Revised Statutes, and all laws and parts of laws authorizing the appointment of chief supervisors of elections, special deputy marshals of elections, or general deputy marshals having any duties to perform in respect to any election, and prescribing their duties and powers, and allowing them compensation, be, and the same are hereby repealed."*

"It also contains clauses amending sections 2017, 2019, 2028, and 2031 of the Revised Statutes.

"The sections of the Revised Statutes which the bill, if approved, would repeal or amend, are part of an act approved May 30, 1870, and amended February 28, 1871, entitled 'An act to enforce the rights of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union, and for other purposes.' All of the provisions of the above-named acts, which it is proposed in this bill to repeal or modify, relate to the congressional elections. The remaining portion of the law, which will continue in force after the enactment of this measure, is that which provides for the appointment, by a judge of the circuit court of the United States, of two super-

visors of election in each election district, at any Congressional election, on due application of citizens who desire, in the language of the law 'to have such election guarded and scrutinized.' The duties of the supervisors will be to attend at the polls at all Congressional elections, and to remain after the polls are open until every vote cast has been counted, but they will 'have no authority to make arrests, or to perform other duties than to be in the immediate presence of the officers holding the election, and to witness all their proceedings, including the counting of the votes, and the making of a return thereof.' The part of the election law which will be repealed by the approval of this bill includes those sections which give authority to the supervisors of election to personally scrutinize, count, and canvass each ballot, and all the sections which confer authority upon the United States marshals and deputy marshals, in connection with the Congressional elections. The enactment of this bill will also repeal section 5522 of the criminal statutes of the United States, which was enacted for the protection of United States officers engaged in the discharge of their duties at the Congressional elections. This section protects supervisors and marshals in the performance of their duties, by making the obstruction or the assaulting of these officers, or any interference with them, by bribery, or solicitation, or otherwise, crimes against the United States.

"The true meaning and effect of the proposed legislation are plain. The supervisors, with the authority to observe and witness the proceedings at the Congressional elections, will be left; but there will be no power to protect them, or to prevent interference with their duties, or to punish any violation of the law from which their powers are derived. If this bill is approved, only the shadow of the authority of the United States at the national elections will remain; the substance will be gone. The supervision of the elections will be reduced to a mere inspection, without authority on the part of the supervisors to do any act whatever to make the election a fair one. All that will be left to the supervisors is the permission to have such oversight of the elections as political parties are in the habit of exercising without any authority of law, in order to prevent their opponents from obtaining unfair advantages. The object of the bill is to destroy any control whatever by the United States over the Congressional elections.

"The passage of this bill has been urged upon the ground that the election of members of Congress is a matter which concerns the States alone; that these elections should be controlled exclusively by the States; that there are and can be no such elections as national elections; and that the existing law of the United States regulating the Congressional elections is without warrant in the Constitution.

"It is evident, however, that the framers of the Constitution regarded the election of members of Congress in every State and in every district as, in a very important sense, justly a matter of political interest and concern to the whole country. The original provision of the Constitution on this subject is as follows (section 4, article 1):

"The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators."

"A further provision has been since added, which is embraced in the fifteenth amendment. It is as follows:

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

"Under the general provision of the Constitution (section 4, article 1), Congress, in 1866, passed a comprehensive law, which prescribed full and detailed regulations for the election of Senators by the legislatures of the several States. This law has been in force almost thirteen years. In pursuance of it all the members of the present Senate of the United States hold their seats. Its constitutionality is not called in question. It is confidently believed that no sound argument can be made in support of the constitutionality of national regulation of Senatorial elections which will not show that the election of members of the House of Represent-

tatives may also be constitutionally regulated by the national authority.

"The bill before me itself recognizes the principle that the Congressional elections are not State elections but national elections. It leaves in full force the existing statute, under which supervisors are still to be appointed by national authority, to 'observe and witness' the Congressional elections, whenever due application is made by citizens who desire said elections to be 'guarded and scrutinized.' If the power to supervise, in any respect whatever, the Congressional election exists, under section 4, article 1, of the Constitution, it is a power which, like every other power belonging to the Government of the United States is paramount and supreme, and includes the right to employ the necessary means to carry it into effect.

"The statutes of the United States which regulate the election of members of the House of Representatives, an essential part of which it is proposed to repeal by this bill, have been in force about eight years. Four Congressional elections have been held under them, two of which were at the Presidential elections of 1872 and 1876. Numerous prosecutions, trials and convictions have been had in the courts of the United States in all parts of the Union for violations of these laws. In no reported case has their constitutionality been called in question by any judge of the courts of the United States. The validity of these laws is sustained by the uniform course of judicial action and opinion.

"If it is urged that the United States election laws are not necessary, an ample reply is furnished by the history of their origin and of their results. They were especially prompted by the investigation and exposure of the frauds committed in the city and State of New York at the elections of 1868. Committees representing both of the leading political parties of the country have submitted reports to the House of Representatives on the extent of those frauds. A committee of the Fortieth Congress, after a full investigation, reached the conclusion that the number of fraudulent votes cast in the city of New York alone in 1868 was not less than twenty-five thousand. A committee of the Forty-fourth Congress, in their report, submitted in 1877, adopted the opinion that for every one hundred actual voters of the city of New York in 1868 one hundred and eight votes were cast, when, in fact, the number of lawful votes cast could not have exceeded eighty-eight per cent of the actual voters of the city. By this statement the number of fraudulent votes at that election, in the city of New York alone was between thirty and forty thousand. These frauds completely reversed the result of the election in the State of New York, both as to the choice of governor and State officers, and as to the choice of electors of President and Vice President of the United States. They attracted the attention of the whole country. It was plain that if they could be continued and repeated with impunity free government was impossible. A distinguished Senator, in opposing the passage of the election laws, declared that he had 'for a long time believed that our form of government was a comparative failure in the larger cities.' To meet these evils and to prevent these crimes, the United States laws regulating Congressional elections were enacted.

"The framers of these laws have not been disappointed in their results. In the large cities, under their provisions, the elections have been comparatively peaceable, orderly, and honest. Even the opponents of these laws have borne testimony to their value and efficiency and to the necessity for their enactment. The committee of the Forty-fourth Congress, composed of members, a majority of whom were opposed to these laws, in their report on the New York election of 1876, said:

"The committee would commend to other portions of the country and to other cities this reasonable system, developed through the agency of both local and Federal authorities acting in harmony for an honest purpose. In no portion of the world, and in no era of time, where there has been an expression of the popular will through the forms of law, has there been a more complete and thorough illustration of Republican institutions. Whatever may have been the previous habit or conduct of elections in those cities, or however they may conduct themselves in the future, this election of 1876 will stand as a monument of what good faith, honest endeavor, legal forms, and just au-

thority may do for the protection of the electoral franchise.

"This bill recognizes the authority and duty of the United States to appoint supervisors to guard and scrutinize the Congressional elections, but it denies to the Government of the United States all power to make its supervision effectual. The great body of the people of all parties want free and fair elections. They do not think that a free election means freedom from the wholesome restraints of law, or that the place of election should be a sanctuary for lawlessness and crime. On the day of an election peace and good order are more necessary than on any other day of the year. On that day the humblest and feeblest citizens, the aged and the infirm, should be, and should have reason to feel that they are, safe in the exercise of their most responsible duty and their most sacred right as members of society—their duty and their right to vote. The Constitutional authority to regulate the Congressional elections, which belongs to the Government of the United States, and which it is necessary to exert to secure the right to vote to every citizen possessing the requisite qualifications, ought to be enforced by appropriate legislation. So far from public opinion in any part of the country favoring any relaxation of the authority of the Government in the protection of elections from violence and corruption, I believe it demands greater vigor both in the enactment and in the execution of the laws framed for that purpose. Any oppression, any partisan partiality, which experience may have shown in the working of existing laws, may well engage the careful attention both of Congress and of the Executive, in their respective spheres of duty, for the correction of these mischiefs. As no Congressional elections occur until after the regular session of Congress will have been held, there seems to be no public exigency that would preclude a seasonable consideration at that session of any administrative details that might improve the present methods designed for the protection of all citizens in the complete and equal exercise of the right and power of the suffrage at such elections. But with my views, both of the Constitutionality and of the value of the existing laws, I cannot approve any measure for their repeal, except in connection with the enactment of other legislation which may reasonably be expected to afford wiser and more efficient safeguards for free and honest Congressional elections.

"RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 20, 1879."

The first House vote on passage of the bill.

The bill above referred to passed the House, April 26, 1879, by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Armfield, Atherton, Atkins, Bachman, R. L. T. Beale, Belshooover, Bicknell, Blackburne, Bliss, Bragg, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Cartledge, Chalmers, Clardy, A. A. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Colerick, Converse, Cook, Covert, Cravens, Culbertson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, L. H. Davis, DE LA MATTE, Deuster, Dibrell, Dickey, Dunn, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Ewins, Ewing, Fellon, E. B. Finley, Forney, Frost, Geddes, Gibson, Gillette, Goode, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, J. T. Harris, Hatch, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, Herndon, Hill, Hostetler, House, Hull, Hurston, Hurd, Johnston, G. W. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, King, Kitchen, Kiots, Knott, Le Fevre, Lewis, Lounsbury, Lowe, Manning, B. F. Martin, E. L. Martin, McKenzie, McLane, McMillin, Mills, Money, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, MURCH, Myers, New, Nicholls, O'Connor, O'Reilly, Persons, Phelps, Phister, Poehler, Reagan, J. S. Richardson, Richmond, E. W. Robertson, Ross, Rothwell, J. W. Byers, Samford, Sawyer, Seales, Shelley, Simonton, J. W. Singleton, O. R. Singleton, Slemmons, B. Smith, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Speer, Springer, Steele, Stephens, STEVENSON, Talbot, P. B. Thompson, J. T. Tillman, E. W. Townsend, Tucker, O. Turner, T. Turner, Vance, Waddill, A. J. Warner, WEAVER, Wellborn, Whiteaker, Whitthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wise, F. Wood, WRIGHT, YOCUM, O. Young—141.

NAYS—Messrs. N. W. Aldrich, Anderson, J. H. Baker, Barber, BARLOW, Bayne, Belford, Bingham, Blake, Bowman, Boyd, Brewer, Briggs, Brigham, Browne, Burrows, Butcherworth, Calkins, Camp, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chittenden, Claflin, R. Clark, Conger, Cowgill, Crapo, Daggett, G. R. Davis,

Deering, Dunnell, Dwight, Errett, Farr, Ferdon, Field, Fisher, Ford, Fort, Frye, Garfield, Goddard, Hall, J. Hammond, Harner, B. W. Harris, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Hayes, Heilman, Henderson, Hiscock, Hubbell, Humphrey, James, Jorgensen, Joyce, Keller, KELLEY, Ketcham, Killinger, Lapham, Lindsay, Loring, Marsh, J. J. Martin, Mason, McCoid, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, Miles, Miller, Mitchell, Monroe, Morton, Neal, Newberry, Norcross, O'Neill, Orin, Overton, Pierce, Pound, Prescott, Price, Reed, W. W. Rice, D. P. Richardson, G. D. Robinson, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Sapp, Shallenberger, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Starin, Thomas, A. Townsend, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Urner, Valentine, Van Aernam, J. Van Voorhis, Voorhis, Wait, Ward, Washburn, H. White, Wilber, O. G. Williams, Willis, W. A. Wood, T. L. Young—120.

The Senate Vote.

May 13, the bill passed the Senate by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Book, Call, Cookrell, Coke, Davis, of West Virginia, Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Groome, Grover, Hampton, Harris, Hereford, Houston, Johnston, Jonas, Jones of Florida, Kernan, Lamar, McDonald, McPherson, Macey, Morgan, Randolph, Ransom, Sausbury, Slater, Thurman, Vance, Voorhes, Walker, Wallis, Whyte, Williams, Withers—57.

NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Bell, Blaine, Booth, Bruce, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Conkling, Edwards, Ferry, Hill of Colorado, Hoar, Ingalls, Kellogg, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Rollins, Saunders, Teller, Windom—57.

The House Vote to pass the bill over the Veto.

May 29, the bill failed, on a motion in the House to pass it, notwithstanding the President's objections, by the following (less than two-thirds) vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atherton, Atkins, Bachman, R. L. T. Beale, Belshooover, Bicknell, Blackburne, Bliss, Blount, Bright, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Cartledge, Chalmers, Clardy, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Colerick, Converse, Cook, Covert, S. S. Coa, Cravens, Culbertson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, L. H. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Ewins, Ewing, Fellon, E. B. Finley, Forney, Frost, Geddes, Gibson, Goode, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, J. T. Harris, Hatch, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, Herndon, House, Hunton, Johnston, Kenna, Kimmel, King, Kiots, LADD, Le Fevre, Lewis, Manning, B. F. Martin, R. L. Martin, McKenzie, McLane, McMahon, McMillin, Mills, Morrison, New, Nicholls, O'Connor, Persons, Phelps, Phister, Poehler, Reagan, J. S. Richardson, Richmond, E. W. Robertson, Ross, J. W. Ryan, Samford, Sawyer, Seales, Simonton, O. R. Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Speer, Springer, Steele, Stephens, STEVENSON, Talbot, Taylor, P. B. Thompson, J. T. Tillman, E. W. Townsend, O. Turner, T. Turner, Vance, Waddill, Wellborn, Whiteaker, Whitthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wilson, Wise, WRIGHT, O. Young—114.

NAYS—Messrs. N. W. Aldrich, Anderson, J. H. Baker, Barber, BARLOW, Bayne, Belford, Bingham, Blake, Bowman, Boyd, Brewer, Briggs, Brigham, Browne, Burrows, Calkins, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Conger, Crapo, Daggett, G. R. Davis, Deering, Dunnell, Errett, Farr, Ferdon, Fisher, Ford, Fort, Frye, Goddard, Hall, J. Hammond, Harner, B. W. Harris, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Hayes, Haselton, Heilman, Henderson, Hiscock, Horr, Hook, Hubbell, Humphrey, Joyce, Ketcham, Lindsay, Marsh, McCoid, McGowan, Miller, Mitchell, Monroe, Neal, Newberry, Norcross, O'Neill, Orth, Overton, Pound, Prescott, Price, W. W. Rice, D. P. Richardson, G. D. Robinson, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Sapp, Shallenberger, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Starin, J. W. Stone, Thomas, Tyler, T. Updegraff, Urner, Valentine, Van Aernam, Voorhis, J. Van Voorhis, Wait, Ward, Wilber, O. G. Williams, Willis—63.

PART V.

Veto of the Judicial Expenses Bill—U. S. Marshals and Deputies at elections—Votes on passage of bill in House and Senate, and in House, to override the President's Veto.

Following is the President's veto :

"To the House of Representatives :

"After a careful examination of the bill, entitled 'An act making appropriations for certain judicial expenses, I return it herewith to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with the following objections to its approval :

"The general purpose of the bill is to provide for certain judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, for which the sum of \$2,000,000 is appropriated. These appropriations are required to keep in operation the general functions of the judicial department of the Government, and if this part of the bill stood alone there would be no objection to its approval. It contains, however, other provisions, to which I desire respectfully to ask your attention.

"At the present session of Congress a majority of both Houses favoring a repeal of the congressional election laws embraced in title 26 of the Revised Statutes, passed a measure for that purpose, as part of a bill, entitled 'An act making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes.' Unable to concur with Congress in that measure, on the 29th of May last, I returned the bill to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, without my approval, for that further consideration for which the Constitution provides. On reconsideration the bill was approved by less than two-thirds of the House, and failed to become a law. The election laws, therefore, remain valid enactments, and the supreme law of the land, binding not only upon all private citizens, but also alike and equally binding upon all who are charged with the duties and responsibilities of the legislative, the executive, and the judicial departments of the Government.

"It is not sought by the bill before me to repeal the election laws. Its object is to defeat their enforcement. The last clause of the first section is as follows:

"And no part of the money hereby appropriated is appropriated to pay any salaries, compensation, fees, or expenses under or in virtue of title 26 of the Revised Statutes, or of any provision of said title."

"Title 26 of the Revised Statutes, referred to in the foregoing clause, relates to the elective franchise, and contains the laws now in force regulating the congressional elections.

"The second section of the bill reaches much farther. It is as follows :

"Sec. 2. That the sums appropriated in this act for the persons and public service embraced in its provisions are in full for such persons and public service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and no department or officer of the Government shall, during said fiscal year, make any contract or incur any liability for the future payment of money under any of the provisions of title 26 of the Revised Statutes of the United States authorizing the appointment or payment of general or special deputy marshals for service in connection with elections or on election day, until an appropriation sufficient to meet such contract or pay such liability shall have first been made by law.

"This section of the bill is intended to make an extensive and essential change in the existing laws. The following are the provisions of the statutes on the same subject which are now in force :

"Sec. 3079. No department of the Government shall expend, in any one fiscal year, any sum in excess of appropriations made by Congress for that fiscal year, or involve the Government in any contract for the future payment of money in excess of such appropriations.

"Sec. 3723. No contract or purchase on behalf of the United States shall be made unless the same is

authorized by law or is under an appropriation adequate to its fulfillment, except in the War and Navy departments, for clothing, subsistence, forage, fuel, quarters, or transportation, which, however, shall not exceed the necessities of the current year."

"The object of these sections of the Revised Statutes is plain. It is, first, to prevent any money from being expended unless appropriations have been made therefor; and, second, to prevent the Government from being bound by any contract not previously authorized by law, except for certain necessary purposes in the War and Navy departments.

"Under the existing laws the failure of Congress to make the appropriations required for the execution of the provisions of the election laws would not prevent their enforcement. The right and duty to appoint the general and special deputy marshals which they provide for would still remain, and the executive department of the Government would also be empowered to incur the requisite liability for their compensation. But the second section of this bill contains a prohibition not found in any previous legislation. Its design is to render the election laws inoperative and a dead letter during the next fiscal year. It is sought to accomplish this by omitting to appropriate money for their enforcement and by expressly prohibiting any department or officer of the Government from incurring any liability under any of the provisions of title 26 of the Revised Statutes authorizing the appointment or payment of general or special deputy marshals for service on election days, until an appropriation sufficient to pay such liability shall have first been made.

"The President is called upon to give his affirmative approval to positive enactments which in effect deprive him of the ordinary and necessary means of executing laws still left in the statute book, and embraced within his constitutional duty to see that the laws are executed. If he approves the bill and thus gives to such positive enactments the authority of law, he participates in the curtailment of his means of seeing that the law is faithfully executed, while the obligation of the law and of his constitutional duty remains unimpaired.

"The appointment of special deputy marshals is not made by the statute a spontaneous act of authority on the part of any executive or judicial officer of the Government, but is accorded as a popular right of the citizens to call into operation this agency for securing the purity and freedom of elections in any city or town having twenty thousand inhabitants or upward. Section 2021 of the Revised Statutes puts it in the power of any two citizens of such city or town to require of the marshal of the district the appointment of these special deputy marshals. Thereupon the duty of the marshal becomes imperative, and its non-performance would expose him to judicial mandate or punishment, or to removal from office by the President, as the circumstances of his conduct might require. The bill now before me neither revokes this popular right of the citizens nor relieves the marshal of the duty imposed by law, nor the President of his duty to see that this law is faithfully executed.

"I forbear to enter again upon any general discussion of the wisdom and necessity of the election laws or of the dangerous and unconstitutional principle of this bill, that the power vested in Congress to originate appropriations, involves the right to compel the Executive to approve any legislation which Congress may see fit to attach to such bills, under the penalty of refusing the means needed to carry on essential functions of the Government. My views on these subjects have been sufficiently presented in the special messages sent by me to the House of Representatives during their present session. What was said in those messages I regard as conclusive as to my duty in respect to the bill before me. The arguments urged in those communications against the repeal of the election laws and against the right of Congress to deprive the Executive of that which the Constitution confers and requires are equally cogent in opposition to this bill. This measure leaves the powers and duties of the supervisors of election untouched. The compensation of those officers is provided for under permanent laws, and no liability for which an appropriation is now required would therefore be incurred by their appointment. But the power of the National Government to protect them in the discharge of their duty at the polls would be taken away. The States may employ both civil and military power at the elections, but by this bill

even the civil authority to protect Congressional elections is denied to the United States. The object is to prevent any adequate control by the United States over the national elections, by forbidding the payment of deputy marshals, the officers who are clothed with authority to enforce the election laws.

"The fact that these laws are deemed objectionable by a majority of both Houses of Congress is urged as a sufficient warrant for this legislation.

"There are two lawful ways to overturn legislative enactments. One is their repeal; the other is the decision of a competent tribunal against their validity. The effect of this bill is to deprive the executive department of the Government of the means to execute laws which are not repealed, which have not been declared invalid, and which it is, therefore, the duty of the Executive and of every other department of Government to obey and to enforce.

"I have in my former message on this subject expressed a willingness to concur in suitable amendments for the improvement of the election laws; but I cannot consent to their absolute and entire repeal, and I cannot approve legislation which seeks to prevent their enforcement.

"RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 23, 1879."

Vote in the House on passage of the bill.

The bill, which had originally passed the House, June 10, 1879, by a strict party vote of 102 yeas to 84 nays, was amended and passed by the Senate June 16. The House disagreed June 18, and a committee of Conference on the disagreement between the two Houses reported, and on June 19, the report was adopted in the House by the following vote:

YEAS.—Messrs. Acklen, Armfield, Atkins, Backman, R. L. T. Beale, Beltzhoover, Bicknell, Blackburn, Blount, Bouck, Bright, J. W. Caldwell, Clardy, J. B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Colerick, Cook, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibrell, Elam, Elkins, J. H. Evans, Felson, E. B. Finley, Forney, Goode, Gunter, Hatch, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, Herndon, Hill, Hooker, Hosteller, House, Hull, Hunton, Hurd, Johnston, Kimmel, King, Kiots, Lounsbury, Manning, B. F. Martin, E. L. Martin, McKennie, McLane, McMahon, McMullin, Mills, Morrison, Myers, New, O'Connor, Persons, Phelps, Phister, Reagan, J. S. Richardson, E. W. Robertson, Rothwell, J. W. Ryan, Samford, Sawyer, Seales, Shelley, Simonton, O. R. Singleton, Slemmons, Sparks, Springer, Steel, Stephens, Stevenson, Talbot, Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, R. W. Townsend, O. Turner, Upson, Vance, Waddill, Wellborn, Whitaker, Whitthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wilson, Wise, Wright, C. Young—102.

NAYS.—Messrs. N. W. Aldrich, W. Aldrich, Anderson, J. H. Baker, Barber, Bayne, Blake, Bingham, Blake, Bowman, Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Burrows, Butterworth, Calkins, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Conger, Cowgill, Crapo, Daggett, G. B. Davis, Deering, Dunnell, Errett, Farr, Field, Fisher, Fort, Garfield, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Haskell, Hawk, Hayes, Hazelton, Henderson, Horr, Houk, Hubbell, Humphrey, Jorgensen, Joyce, Keifer, Killinger, Marsh, J. J. Martin, Mason, McCoid, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, Miller, Mitchell, Monroe, Morton, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Orth, Osmer, Overton, Price, D. P. Richardson, G. D. Robinson, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Sapp, Shallenberger, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Thomas, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Van Aernam, Voorhis, Wait, C. G. Williams, Willis—81.

Vote in the Senate.

The Senate amended and passed the Bill, June 16, by 27 yeas to 15 nays—a strict party vote—and on June 21 adopted the report of the Committee on Conference by the following vote:

YEAS.—Messrs. Bayard, Beck, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Davis of Illinois, Davis of West Virginia, Eaton, Garland, Groome, Hampton, Harris, Hill of Georgia, Houston, Jones, Jones of Florida, Kernan, McDonald, McPherson, Mazey, Morgan, Pendleton, Randolph, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Vest, Walker, Wallace, Withers—36.

NAYS.—Messrs. Allison, Blair, Booth, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Dawes, Ferry, Hill of Colorado, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillan, Platt, Rollins, Saunders, Wisdom—17.

Vote in House to pass the bill over the veto.

June 23rd, a motion to pass the bill notwithstanding the President's objections, lacked the requisite two-thirds, and the bill failed, by the following vote:

YEAS.—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Armfield, Atkins, Backman, R. L. T. Beale, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Bouck, Bright, J. W. Caldwell, Clardy, J. B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Colerick, Converse, Cook, Covert, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibrell, Dickey, Elam, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felson, E. B. Finley, Forney, Gibson, Goode, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, Hatch, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, Herndon, Hill, Hooker, Hosteller, House, Hull, Hunton, Johnston, Kimmel, King, Kiots, Manning, B. F. Martin, E. L. Martin, McKennie, McMahon, McMullin, Mills, Morrison, Myers, New, O'Connor, Persons, Phelps, Phister, Reagan, J. S. Richardson, E. W. Robertson, Ross, Rothwell, E. W. Ryan, Samford, Sawyer, Seales, Shelley, Simonton, O. R. Singleton, Slemmons, Sparks, Springer, Steel, Stephens, Stevenson, Talbot, Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, R. W. Townsend, O. Turner, Upson, Vance, Waddill, Wellborn, Whitaker, Whitthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wilson, Wise—102.

NAYS.—Messrs. W. Aldrich, Anderson, J. H. Baker, Barber, Bayne, Blake, Bowman, Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Burrows, Butterworth, Calkins, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Conger, Cowgill, Crapo, Daggett, G. B. Davis, Deering, Dunnell, Errett, Farr, Fordon, Field, Fisher, Fort, Garfield, J. Hammond, B. W. Harris, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Henderson, Hiscock, Hoar, Houk, Hubbell, Humphrey, Jorgensen, Joyce, Keifer, Killinger, Marsh, J. J. Martin, Mason, McCoid, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, Mitchell, Monroe, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Orth, Osmer, Overton, D. P. Richardson, G. D. Robinson, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Sapp, Shallenberger, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Thomas, A. Townsend, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Van Aernam, Wait, Ward, C. G. Williams, Willis—78.

PART VI.

Veto of United States Marshals' Appropriation Bill—Votes in House and Senate on Passage of Bill, and in the House to Pass it despite the Objections of the President.

Following is the President's veto:

"To the House of Representatives:

"I return to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, the bill entitled, 'An act making appropriations to pay fees of United States marshals and their general deputies,' with the following objections to its becoming a law:

"The bill appropriates the sum of \$600,000 for the payment, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, of United States marshals and their general deputies. The offices thus provided for are essential to the faithful execution of the laws. They were created and their powers and duties defined by Congress at its first session after the adoption of the Constitution in the judiciary act, which was approved September 24, 1789. Their general duties, as defined in the act which originally established them, were substantially the same as those prescribed in the statutes now in force.

"The principal provision on the subject in the Revised Statutes is as follows:

"SECTION 787. It shall be the duty of the marshal of each district to attend the district and circuit courts

when sitting therein, and to execute, throughout the district, all lawful precepts directed to him, and issued under the authority of the United States; and he shall have power to command all necessary assistance in the execution of his duty.

"The original act was amended February 28, 1795, and the amendment is now found in the Revised Statutes in the following form:

"SECTION 788. The marshals and their deputies shall have, in each State, the same powers, in executing the laws of the United States, as the sheriffs and their deputies in such State may have, by law, in executing the laws thereof."

"By subsequent statutes additional duties have been from time to time imposed upon the marshals and their deputies, the due and regular performance of which are required for the efficiency of almost every branch of the public service. Without these officers there would be no means of executing the warrants, decrees, or other process of the courts, and the judicial system of the country would be fatally defective. The criminal jurisdiction of the courts of the United States is very extensive. The crimes committed within the maritime jurisdiction of the United States are all cognizable only in the courts of the United States. Crimes against public justice; crimes against the operations of the Government, such as forging or counterfeiting the money or securities of the United States; crimes against the postallaws; offenses against the elective franchise, against the civil rights of citizens, against the existence of the Government; crimes against the internal revenue laws, the customs laws, the neutrality laws; crimes against laws for the protection of Indians, and of the public lands—all of these crimes and many others can be punished only under United States laws—laws which, taken together, constitute a body of jurisprudence which is vital to the welfare of the whole country, and which can be enforced only by means of the marshals and deputy marshals of the United States. In the District of Columbia all of the process of the courts is executed by the officers in question. In short, the execution of the criminal laws of the United States, the service of all civil process in cases in which the United States is a party, and the execution of the revenue laws, the neutrality laws, and many other laws of large importance, depend on the maintenance of the marshals and their deputies. They are in effect the only police of the United States Government. Officers with corresponding powers and duties are found in every State of the Union and in every country which has a jurisprudence which is worthy of the name. To deprive the National Government of these officers would be as disastrous to society as to abolish the sheriffs, constables, and police officers in the several States. It would be a denial to the United States of the right to execute its laws—a denial of all authority which requires the use of civil force. The law entitles these officers to be paid. The funds needed for the purpose have been collected from the people, and are now in the Treasury. No objection is therefore made to that part of the bill before me which appropriates money for the support of the marshals and deputy marshals of the United States.

"The bill contains, however, other provisions which are identical in tenor and effect with the second section of the bill entitled, 'An act making appropriations for certain judicial expenses,' which, on the 23d of the present month, was returned to the House of Representatives with my objections to its approval. The provisions referred to are as follows:

"SECTION 2. That the sums appropriated in this act for the persons and public service embraced in its provisions are in full for such persons and public service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880; and no department or officer of the Government shall, during said fiscal year, make any contract or incur any liability for the future payment of money, under any of the provisions of title 26 mentioned in section 1 of this act, until an appropriation sufficient to meet such contract or pay such liability shall have first been made by law."

"Upon a reconsideration in the House of Representatives of the bill which contained these provisions, it lacked a constitutional majority, and therefore failed to become a law. In order to secure its enactment, the same measure is again presented for my approval, coupled in the bill before me with appropriations for the support of marshals and their deputies during the

next fiscal year. The object manifestly is to place before the Executive this alternative: either to allow necessary functions of the public service to be crippled or suspended for want of the appropriations required to keep them in operation or to approve legislation which in official communications to Congress he has declared would be a violation of his constitutional duty. Thus in this bill the principle is clearly embodied that, by virtue of the provision of the Constitution which requires that 'all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives,' a bare majority of the House of Representatives has the right to withhold appropriations for the support of the Government unless the Executive consents to approve any legislation which may be attached to appropriation bills. I respectfully refer to the communications on this subject which I have sent to Congress during its present session for a statement of the grounds of my conclusions, and desire here merely to repeat that, in my judgment, to establish the principle of this bill is to make a radical, dangerous and unconstitutional change in the character of our institutions.

"RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 30, 1879."

Vote in House on passage of the bill.

June 26, 1879.—After debate of one hour, the bill passed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Armfield, Atkins, R. L. T. Beale, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bouck, Bright, J. W. Caldwell, Clardy, J. B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Converse, Cook, Covert, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibrell, Dickey, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Gibson, GILLETTE, Goode, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, Hatch, Henkle, Herbert, Herndon, Hill, Hooker, House, Hull, Hunter, Johnston, Kimmel, King, Le Fevre, Lounsbury, Manning, B. F. Martin, McKenke, McMahon, McMillin, Mills, Morrison, Myers, New, Persons, Phelps, Pfister, Reagan, J. S. Richards, Rothwell, J. W. Ryan, Sanford, Sawyer, Soales, Skelley, Slenons, H. B. Smith, Springer, Stephens, STEVENSON, Talbot, Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, R. W. Townsend, O. Turner, Upson, Waddill, Walburn, Whiteaker, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wilson, Wise—90.

NAYS—Messrs. W. Aldrich, Anderson, J. H. Baker, Barber, Bayne, Blake, Bowman, Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Burrows, Butterworth, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Conger, Cowgill, Crowley, Daggett, G. R. Davis, Deering, Dannel, Erratt, Farr, Field, Fisher, Ford, Fort, Gardfield, Godshalk, J. Hammond, Harner, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Henckerson, Hancock, Horr, Hubbell, Jorgensen, Joyce, Keifer, Lapham, Marsh, Mason, McOrd, McGowan, Mitchell, Monroe, Neal, O'Neill, Orch, Osmer, Pound, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Sapp, Shallenberger, Sherwin, Thomas, Tyler, T. Updegraff, Valentine, Van Aernam, Voorhis, Wait, Ward, H. White, Willis—69.

Vote in the Senate on passage of the bill.

June 28, the bill passed the Senate by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Beck, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Eaton, Garland, Groome, Hampton, Harris, Hereford, Houston, Jonas, Jones of Florida, Kernan, McPherson, Macey, Morgan, Pendleton, Ransom, Sausbury, Slater, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Williams—26.

NAYS—Messrs. Blair, Burnside, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conkling, Ferry, Hill of Colorado, Kellogg, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillin, Morrill, Platt, Rollins, Saunders, Windom—15.

Vote in the House on passing the bill over the veto.

June 30, the bill, lacking a two third's vote, failed of passage over the veto by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Armfield, Atherton, Atkins, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bouck, Bright, J. W. Caldwell, Chalmers, Clardy, J. B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Converse, Cook, Covert, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, L. H. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Elam, J. H. Evans, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Frost, Gibson, Gunter, N. F. Hammond, Hatch, Henkle, Herbert,

Herdson, Hill, Hooker, House, Hull, Hunton, Johnston, Kenna, King, Le Fevre, Manning, B. F. Martin, E. L. Martin, McMullin, Mills, Morrison, Myers, New, Persons, Phelps, Ruster, Reagan, J. S. Richardson, Rothwell, J. W. Ryan, Sanford, Sawyer, Scales, Shelley, Simonton, Slemens, H. B. Smith, Springer, Stephens, STEVENSON, Talbott, Taylor, F. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, R. W. Townsend, O. Turner, Upton, A. J. Warner, Wellborn, Whiteaker, T. Williams, Wise—35.

NAYS—Messrs. W. Aldrich, Anderson, Barber, Bayne, Blake, Bowman, Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Burrows, Butterworth, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Conger, Cowgill, Daggett, G. R. Davis, Deering, Errett, Farr, Field, Ford, Fort, Garfield, Goddard, J. Hammond, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Henderson, Horr, Hubbell, Joyce, Keifer, Ketchum, Killinger, Lapham, Marsh, Mason, McOder, McGowan, Mitchell, Monroe, Neill, O'Neill, Osmer, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Sollenberger, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Thomas A. Townsend, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Valentine, Van Aernam, Voorhis, J. Van Voorhis, Ward, Willis—63.

PART VII.

Message from the President to Congress urging the necessity of immediate Appropriations for U. S. Marshals and their Deputies—The Democratic Congress contemptuously declines to do anything.

Following is the President's message of urgency:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives:

"The bill making provision for the payment of the fees of United States marshals and their general deputies, which I have this day returned to the House, in which it originated, with my objections, having upon its reconsideration by that body, failed to become a law, I respectfully call your attention to the immediate necessity of making some adequate provision for the due and efficient execution by the marshals and deputy marshals of the United States of the constant and important duties enjoined upon them by the existing law. The appropriations to provide for the performance of these indispensable duties expire to-day. Under the laws prohibiting public officers from involving the Government in contract liabilities beyond actual appropriations, it is apparent that the means at the disposal of the executive department for executing the laws through the regular ministerial officers will, after to-day, be left inadequate. The suspension of these necessary functions in the orderly administration of the first duties of the Government for the shortest period is inconsistent with the public interests, and at any moment may prove inconsistent with the public safety.

"It is impossible for me to look without grave concern upon a state of things which will leave the public service thus unprotected, and the public interests thus unprotected. And I earnestly urge upon your attention the necessity of making immediate appropriations for the maintenance of the services of the marshals and deputy marshals for the fiscal year which commences to-morrow.

"RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 30, 1879."

In the House

nothing further was attempted or done at the Special session. Both House and Senate treated the message with marked contempt.

Senate Proceedings.

In the Senate, same day, Mr. Windom brought in a bill making appropriations to pay U. S. marshals and their general deputies, whereupon the Democratic majority—the vote being 27 yeas to 19 Nays—amended it by adding the following:

"And no part of the money hereby appropriated is appropriated to pay any compensation, fees, or expenses under any of the provisions of title twenty-six of the Revised Statutes of the United States authorizing the appointment, employment, or payment of general or special deputy marshals for services in connection with registration or elections on election day.

"Sec. 2. That the sums appropriated in this act for the persons and public service embraced in its provisions are in full for such persons and public service for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and eighty; and no department or officer of the Government shall, during said fiscal year, make any contract or incur any liability for the future payment of money under any of the provisions of title twenty-six mentioned in section one of this act until an appropriation sufficient to meet such contract or pay such liability shall have first been made by law; and that any officer of the Government or any other person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section, or of sections 3678, 3679, 3680, 3681, 3682, 3683, and 3690 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment for not exceeding five years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court."

The bill was then indefinitely postponed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Eaton, Gariand, Groome, Hamplon, Harris, Hereford, Houston, Jonas, Kernan, McPherson, Mazy, Morgan, Pendleton, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Whyte, Williams—21.

NAYS—Messrs. Blair, Burnside, Cameron of Wisconsin, Carpenter, Chandler, Conkling, Ferry, Hill, of Colorado, Kellogg, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Rollins, Saunders—17.

CHAPTER V.

Regular Session of 1879-80—U. S. Marshals and their Deputies—Veto and Votes.

PART I.

The First Deficiency Bill—Political Riders—Veto and Votes.

Following is the President's veto:

"To the House of Representatives:

"After mature consideration of the bill entitled 'An act making appropriations to supply certain deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and

for other purposes,' I return it to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with my objections to its passage.

"The bill appropriates about \$8,000,000 of which over \$600,000 is for the payment of the fees of United States marshals, and of the general and special deputy marshals, earned during the current fiscal year, and their incidental expenses. The appropriations made in the bill are needed to carry on the operations of the Government and to fulfill its obligations for the payment of money long since due to its officers for service and expenses essential to the execution of their duties under the laws of the United States. The neces-

sity for these appropriations is so urgent, and they have been already so long delayed, that if the bill before me contained no permanent or general legislation unconnected with these appropriations, it would receive my prompt approval. It contains, however, provisions which materially change, and by implication repeal, important parts of the laws for the regulation of the United States elections. These laws have for several years past been the subject of vehement political controversy, and have been denounced as unnecessary, oppressive, and unconstitutional. On the other hand, it has been maintained, with equal zeal and earnestness, that the election laws are indispensable to fair and lawful elections, and are clearly warranted by the Constitution. Under these circumstances, to attempt in an appropriation bill the modification or repeal of these laws is to annex a condition to the passage of needed and proper appropriations, which tends to deprive the Executive of that equal and independent exercise of discretion and judgment which the Constitution contemplates.

The objection to the bill, therefore, to which I respectfully ask your attention, is that it gives a marked and deliberate sanction, attended by no circumstances of pressing necessity, to the questionable and, as I am clearly of opinion, the dangerous practice of tacking upon appropriation bills general and permanent legislation. This practice opens a wide door to hasty, inconsiderate, and sinister legislation. It invites attacks upon the independence and Constitutional powers of the Executive, by providing an easy and effective way of constraining Executive discretion. Although of late this practice has been resorted to by all political parties, when clothed with power, it did not prevail until forty years after the adoption of the Constitution, and it is confidently believed that it is condemned by the enlightened judgment of the country. The States which have adopted new Constitutions during the last quarter of a century have generally provided remedies for the evil. Many of them have enacted that no law shall contain more than one subject, which shall be plainly expressed in its title. The Constitutions of more than half of the States contain substantially this provision, or some other of like intent and meaning. The public welfare will be promoted in many ways by a return to the early practice of the Government, and to the true rule of legislation, which is that every measure should stand upon its own merits.

"I am firmly convinced that appropriation bills ought not to contain any legislation not relevant to the application or expenditure of the money thereby appropriated, and that by a strict adherence to this principle an important and much needed reform will be accomplished.

"Placing my objection to the bill on this feature of its frame, I forbear any comment upon the important general and permanent legislation which it contains, as matters for specific and independent consideration.

"BUTTERFORD B. HAYES.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 4, 1880."

Test vote on the Marshal section, and vote on passage of bill in House.

The Deficiency Bill, March 18 and 19, 1880, was amended in the House Committee of the Whole by adding the following provisions.

"For the payment of fees and expenses of United States marshals and their general deputies, appointed during the fiscal year ending June 30, A. D. 1880, \$600,000.

"For special deputy marshals of elections, the sum of \$7,600: *Provided*, That hereafter special deputy marshals of elections, for performing any duties in reference to any election, shall receive the sum of \$5 per day in full for their compensation, and that the appointments of such special deputy marshals shall be made by the judge of the circuit court of the United States for the district in which such marshals are to perform their duties, or by the district judge in the absence of the circuit judge, said special deputies to be appointed in equal numbers from the different political parties; and the persons so appointed shall be persons of good moral character, and shall be well-known residents of the voting precinct in which their duties are to be performed."

March 19, the Speaker refused a demand for division of the question, and the amendment was agreed to, by—

YEAS—Messrs. Atherton, Atkins, Bachman, Belford, Beltschoover, Berry, Bicknell, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Bouck, Bright, Butterworth, Cabell, Carlisle, Clardy, J. B. Clark, Jr., Cobb, Coffroth, Colerick, Cook, Covert, Cravens, Culbertson, J. J. Davis, L. H. Davis, DE LA MATTE, Deuster, Dibrell, Dickey, Ellis, J. H. Evans, E. B. Finley, Forney, Frost, Geddes, Gibson, Goode, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, J. T. Harris, Hatch, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, Herndon, Hostetter, House, Hull, Huntton, Hutchins, Johnston, Kenna, Kimmel, King, Kitchen, Klotz, Knott, Ladd, Lewis, Manning, B. F. Martin, E. L. Martin, McMahon, McMillin, Mills, Morrison, Morse, Muldrow, MURCH, Myers, New, Nicholls, O'Connor, O'Reilly, Persons, Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Piester, Poehler, Reagan, J. S. Richardson, E. W. Robertson, Rothwell, Sanford, Sawyer, Scales, Shelly, Simonton, O. R. Singleton, Slemons, Spear, Springer, Steele, STEVENSON, Talbot, Taylor, P. B. Thompson, J. R. Tillman, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, Upson, Vance, Waddill, A. J. Warner, WEAVER, Wellborn, Wells, Whitthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wilson, F. Wood, WRIGHT, C. Young—118.

NAYS.—Messrs. N. W. Aldrich, W. Aldrich, Anderson, Armfield, J. H. Baker, Ballou, Barber, Bayne, Bingham, Blackburn, Blake, Bowman, Brewer, Briggs, Brigham, Browne, Burrows, Calkins, Camp, Cannon, Carpenter, Claflin, Conger, Converse, Cowgill, G. R. Davis, H. Davis, Deering, Dunnell, Dwight, Einstein, Errett, Farr, Fardon, Field, Fisher, Ford, Fort, Frye, Garfield, Godshalk, J. Hammond, B. W. Harris, Hawk, Hawley, Hayes, Hazelton, Henderson, Hiecock, Hooker, Hook, Humphrey, Hurd, James, G. W. Jones, Joyce, Lindsey, Marsh, J. J. Martin, Mason, McOoid, McKenzie, McKinley, Miles, Monroe, Morton, Neal, Newberry, Norcross, O'Neill, Orth, Osmer, Overton, Pacheco, Page, Pierce, Reed, W. W. Rice, D. P. Richardson, Robeson, G. D. Robinson, D. L. RUSSELL, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Shallenberger, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, W. E. Smith, Starin, J. W. Stone, Thomas, W. G. Thompson, A. Townsend, O. Turner, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Valentine, Van Aernam, Voorhis, Wait, Washburn, C. G. Williams, Willits, W. A. Wood, YOCUM, T. L. Young—107.

The bill, as amended, then passed by a vote of 111 yeas to 104 nays.

Senate action and vote.

In the Senate, March 31, the clause touching special deputy marshals of elections was amended so as to read:

"For special deputy marshals of elections, the sum of \$7,600: *Provided*, That hereafter special deputy marshals of elections, for performing any duties in reference to any election, shall receive the sum of \$5 per day in full for their compensation; and that all appointments of such special deputy marshals shall be made by the Circuit Court of the United States for the district in which such marshals are to perform their duties; but should there be no session of the Circuit Courts in the States or districts where such marshals are to be appointed, then and in that case the district judges are hereby authorized to convene their courts for the aforesaid purpose; and said special deputies to be appointed in equal numbers from the different political parties. And the persons so appointed shall be persons of good moral character, and shall be well known residents of the voting precinct in which their duties are to be performed."

By the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Bayard, Beck, Butler, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Davis of West Virginia, Eaton, Farley, Garland, Gordon, Groome, Harris, Hereford, Hill of Georgia, Jonas, Jones of Florida, Kerman, Lamar, McAd nald, Mazey, Morgan, Pendleton, Pryor, Slater, Vance, Voorhees, Wallace, Whyte, Williams, Withers—81.

NAYS.—Messrs. Anthony, Baldwin, Blaine, Blair, Bruce, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Dawes, Ferry, Kellogg, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Rollins, Saunders, Windom—16.

April 1, the bill passed by a strict party vote of 35 yeas, to 21 nays; and the House subsequently concurred in the amendment. The bill went to the President April 29, and was vetoed, as before stated.

PART II.

**Special Bill Regulating Pay, etc.,
of Deputy Marshals—Veto and
Vote.**

Following is the President's veto :

"To the Senate:

"After mature consideration of the bill entitled 'An act regulating the pay and appointment of deputy marshals,' I am constrained to withhold from it my approval and to return it to the Senate, in which it originated, with my objections to its passage.

"The laws now in force on the subject of the bill before me are contained in the following sections of the Revised Statutes:

"Sec. 2021. Whenever an election at which Representatives or Delegates in Congress are to be chosen is held in any city or town of 20,000 inhabitants or upward, the marshal for the district in which the city or town is situated shall, on the application in writing of at least two citizens residing in such city or town, appoint special deputy marshals, whose duty it shall be when required thereto to aid and assist the supervisors of election in the verification of any list of persons who may have registered or voted; to attend in each election district or voting precinct at the times and places when and where the registration may by law be scrutinized and the names of registered voters be marked for challenge; and also attend at all times for holding elections the polls in such district or precinct.

"Sec. 2022. The marshal and his general deputies shall keep the peace and support and protect the supervisors of elections in the discharge of their duties, preserve order at such places of registration and at such polls, prevent fraudulent registration and fraudulent voting thereat, or fraudulent conduct on the part of any officer of election, and immediately, either at the place of registration or polling place or elsewhere, and either before or after registering or voting, arrest and take into custody, with or without process, any person who commits or attempts or offers to commit any of the acts or offenses prohibited herein, or who commits any offense against the laws of the United States; but no person shall be arrested without process for any offense not committed in the presence of the marshal or his general or special deputies, or either of them; or of the supervisors of elections, or either of them; and for the purposes of arrest or the preservation of the peace the supervisors of elections shall, in absence of the marshal's deputies, or if required to assist such deputies, have the same duties and powers as deputy marshals; nor shall any person on the day of such election be arrested without process for any offense committed on the day of registration.

"Sec. 2023. Whenever any arrest is made under any provision of this title the person so arrested shall forthwith be brought before a commissioner, judge, or court of the United States for examination of the offenses alleged against him, and such commissioner, judge, or court, shall proceed in respect thereto, as authorized by law in case of crimes against the United States.

"Sec. 2024. The marshal or his general deputies, or such special deputies as are thereto specially empowered by him in writing, and under his hand and seal, whenever he or either or any of them is forcibly resisted in executing their duties under this title, or shall, by violence, threats, or menaces, be prevented from executing such duties or from arresting any person who has committed any offense for which the marshal or his general or special deputies are authorized to make such arrest, are, and each of them is, empowered to summon and call to his aid the bystanders or posse comitatus of his district.

"Sec. 2025. No person shall be appointed a supervisor of election or a deputy marshal under the preceding provisions who is not at the time of his appointment a qualified voter of the city, town, county, parish, election district, or voting precinct in which his duties are to be performed.

"Sec. 5521. If any person be appointed a supervisor of election or a special deputy marshal under the provisions of title, "the elective franchise," and has taken the oath of office as such supervisor of election or such special deputy marshal, and thereafter neglects or

refuses, without good and lawful excuse, to perform and discharge fully the duties, obligations, and requirements of such office until the expiration of the term for which he was appointed, he shall not only be subject to removal from office with loss of all pay or emoluments, but shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than six months nor more than one year, or by a fine of not less than \$200 and not more than \$500, or by both fine and imprisonment, and shall pay the cost of prosecution.

"Sec. 5522. Every person, whether with or without any authority, power or process or pretended authority, power or process of any State, Territory, or municipality, who obstructs, hinders, assaults, or by bribes, solicitation, or otherwise, interferes with or prevents the supervisor of elections, or either of them, or the marshal or his general or special deputies, or either of them, in the performance of any duty required of them, or which he, or they, or either of them, may be authorized to perform by any law of the United States in the execution of process or otherwise, or who, by any of the means before mentioned, hinders or prevents the free attendance or presence at such places of registration or at such polls of election, or full and free access and egress to and from any such place of registration or poll of election, or in going to and from any such place of registration or poll of election, or in any going to such place of registration or poll of election, or to and from any room where any such registration or election or canvass of votes or of making any returns or certificates thereof, may be had, or who molests, interferes with, removes or ejects from any such place of registration or poll of election or of canvassing votes cast thereat, or of making returns or certificates thereof, any supervisor of election, the marshal or his general or special deputies, or either of them, or who threatens or attempts or offers so to do, or refuses or neglects to aid and assist any supervisor of election, or the marshal or his general or special deputies, or either of them, in the performance of his or their duties when required by him or them, or either of them, to give such aid and assistance, shall be liable to instant arrest without process, and shall be punished by imprisonment not more than two years, or by a fine of not more than \$3,000, or by both such fine and imprisonment, and shall pay the cost of prosecution.

"The Supreme Court of the United States, in the recent case of *ex parte Siebolt* and others, decided at the October term, 1879, on the question raised in the case as to the constitutionality of the sections of the Revised Statutes above quoted, uses the following language:

"These portions of the Revised Statutes are taken from the act commonly known as the enforcement act, approved May 31, 1870, and entitled 'An act to enforce the right of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union, and for other purposes,' and from the supplement to that act, approved February 28, 1871. They relate to elections of members of the House of Representatives, and were an assertion on the part of Congress of a power to pass laws for regulating and superintending said elections, and for securing the purity thereof and the rights of citizens to vote thereat peaceably and without molestation. It must be conceded to be a most important power, and of a fundamental character. In the light of recent history and of the violence, fraud, corruption, and irregularity which have frequently prevailed at such elections, it may easily be conceived that the exertion of the power of it may be necessary to the stability of our form of government.

"The greatest difficulty in coming to a just conclusion arises from the mistaken notions with regard to the relations which exist between the State and National Governments. It seems to be often overlooked that a National Constitution has been adopted in this country, establishing a real government therein, and which, moreover, is or should be as dear to every American citizen as his State Government is. Whenever the true conception of the nature of this Government is once conceded, no real difficulty will arise in the just interpretation of its powers. But if we allow ourselves to regard it as a hostile organization opposed to the proper sovereignty and dignity of the State Governments, we shall continue to be vexed with difficulties as to its own jurisdiction and authority. No greater jealousy is required to be exercised toward this Government in reference to the preservation of our liberties than is proper to be exercised toward the State Governments.

Its powers are limited and clearly defined, and its action within the scope of these powers is restrained by a sufficiently rigid bill of rights for the protection of its citizens from oppression. The true interests of the people of this country require that both the national and State government shall be allowed, without jealous interference on either side, to exercise all the powers which respectively belong to them according to a fair and practical construction of the Constitution. State rights and the rights of the United States should be equally respected; both are essential to the preservation of our liberties and the perpetuity of our institutions. But in endeavoring to vindicate the one we should not allow our zeal to nullify or impair the other. The true doctrine, as we conceive, is this: That while the States are really sovereign as to all matters which have not been granted to the jurisdiction and control of the United States, the Constitution and Constitutional laws of the latter are, as we have already said, the supreme law of the land; and when they conflict with the laws of the States they are of paramount authority and obligations. This is the fundamental principle on which the authority of the Constitution is based, and unless it be conceded in practice as well as theory, the fabric of our institutions, as it was contemplated by its founders, cannot stand. The questions involved have respect not more to the autonomy and existence of the States, than to the continued existence of the United States as a government to which every American citizen may look for security and protection in every part of the land. Why do we have marshals at all, if they cannot physically lay hands on persons and things, in the performance of their proper duties? What functions can they perform if they cannot use force? In executing the process of the courts must they call on the nearest constable for protection? Must they rely on him to use the requisite compulsion and to keep the peace while they are soliciting and entreating the parties and bystanders to allow the law to take its course? This is the necessary consequence of the position assumed. If we indulge in such impracticable views as these and keep on refining and re-refining, we shall drive the National Government out of the United States, and relegate it to the District of Columbia or perhaps to some foreign soil. We shall bring it back to a condition of greater helplessness than that of the old Confederation. The argument is based on a strained and impracticable view of the nature and powers of the National Government. It must execute its powers or it is no government. It must execute them on the land as well as on the sea, on things as well as persons, and to do this it must necessarily have power to command obedience, preserve order, and keep peace, and no person or power in this land has the right to resist or question its authority so long as it keeps within the bounds of its jurisdiction.

"I have deemed it fitting and proper to quote thus largely from an important and elaborate opinion of the Supreme Court, because the law before me proceeds upon a construction of the Constitution as to the powers of the national Government, which is in direct conflict with the judgment of the highest judicial tribunal of our country. Under the sections of the present law, above quoted, officers of the United States are authorized, and it is their duty in the case of Congressional elections, to keep the peace at the polls, and at the place of registration to arrest immediately any person who is guilty of crimes against the United States election laws; to protect all officers of election in the performance of their duties, and whenever an arrest is made to bring the person so arrested before a commission, judge or court of the United States, for examination of offenses alleged against him. Such special deputy marshals as are specially empowered thereto by the marshal in writing, if forcibly resisted, may call to their aid the bystanders as a *posse comitatus*. It is made a crime punishable with fine or imprisonment to hinder, assault, or otherwise interfere with a marshal or his special deputies, or to threaten, or to attempt to do so. If any person appointed such special deputy marshal has taken the oath of office, and thereafter neglects or refuses to fully discharge the duties of such office, it is punishable not only by removal from office, but by fines and imprisonment. The functions of the special deputy marshals now provided for by law being executive, they are placed under the authority of the well-known chief executive officer of the courts of the United

States. They are in fact, and not merely in name, the deputies of the marshal, and he and his bondsmen are responsible for them. A civil force for the execution of the laws is thus instructed in accordance with long-established and familiar usage, which is simple, effective, and under a responsible head. The necessity for the possession of these powers, by appropriate officers, will not be called in question by intelligent citizens who appreciate the importance of peaceable, orderly and lawful elections. Similar powers are conferred and exercised under State laws with respect to State elections. The executive officers of the United States, under the existing laws, have no other or greater power to supervise and control the conduct of the Congressional elections than the State executive officers exercise in regard to State elections. The bill before me changes completely the present law, by substituting for the special deputy marshals of the existing statutes, new officers hitherto unknown to the law, and who lack the power, responsibility and protection which are essential to enable them to act efficiently as executive officers.

"The bill under consideration is as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled, that from and after the passing of this act the pay of all deputy marshals for services in reference to any election shall be \$5 for each day of actual service, and no more.

"SECT. 2. That all deputy marshals to serve in reference to any elections shall be appointed by the circuit court of the United States for the district in which such marshals are to perform their duties in each year, and the judges of the several circuit courts of the United States are hereby authorized to open their respective courts at any time for that purpose, and in case the circuit courts shall not be open for that purpose at least ten days prior to a registration, if there be one, or if no registration be required, then at least ten days before the election the judges of the district courts of the United States are hereby respectively authorized to cause their courts to be opened for the purpose of appointing such deputy marshals, who shall be appointed by the said district courts, and the officers so appointed shall be in equal numbers from the different political parties, and shall be well-known citizens of good moral character and actual residents of the voting precincts in which their duties are to be performed, and shall not be candidates for any office at such election, and all laws and parts of laws inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed; provided that the marshals of the United States for whom deputies shall be appointed by the courts under this act, shall not be liable for any of the acts of such deputies."

"It will be observed that the deputy marshals proposed by the bill before me are distinctly different officers from the special deputies of the marshal, as such officers are now provided for in the statutes. This bill does not connect the new officers with the existing laws relating to special deputy marshals, so as to invest the proposed deputy marshals with the same powers, to impose upon them the same duties, and to give them the same protection by the means of the criminal laws. When new officers are created, distinct in character and appointed by different authority, although similar in name to officers already provided for, such new officers are not held by similar responsibilities to the criminal law; do not possess the same powers, and are not similarly protected, unless it is expressly so provided by legislation.

"The so-called deputy marshals provided for in this bill will have no executive head. The marshal can neither appoint nor remove them. He cannot control them, and he is not responsible for them. They will have no authority to call to their aid, if resisted, the *posse comitatus*. They are protected by no criminal statutes in the performance of their duties. An assault upon one of these deputies, with an intent to prevent a lawful election, will be no more than an ordinary assault upon any other citizen. They cannot keep the peace. They cannot make arrests when crimes are committed in their presence. What powers they have are confined to the precincts in which they reside. Outside of the precincts for which they are appointed, the deputy marshals of this bill cannot keep the peace, make arrests, hold prisoners, take the prisoner before a proper tribunal for hearing, nor perform any other duty. No oaths of office are required of them, and they give no bond. They have no supervisor who is

responsible for them, and they are not punishable for neglect of duty or misconduct in office. In all these respects this bill makes a radical change between the powers of the United States officers at National elections and the powers uniformly possessed and exercised by State officers at State elections. This discrimination against the authority of the United States is a departure from the usage of the Government, established by precedents beginning with the earliest statutes on the subject, and violates the true principles of the Constitution. The Supreme Court, in the decision already referred to, says: 'It is argued that the preservation of peace and good order in society is not within the powers confided in the Government of the United States, but belongs exclusively to the States.'

"Here again we are met with the theory that the Government of the United States does not rest upon the soil and territory of the country. We think that this theory is founded upon an entire misconception of the powers of that government. We hold it to be an incontrovertible principle that the government of the United States may, by means of physical force, exercised through its official agents, execute in every foot of American soil the powers and functions that belong to it. This necessarily involves the power to command obedience to its laws, and hence the power to keep the peace to that extent. This power to enforce its laws and execute its functions in all places does derogate from the power of the State to execute its laws at the same time and in the same place. The one does not exclude the other, except when both cannot be executed at the same time. In that case the words of the constitution itself show which is to yield: 'This constitution, and all laws which shall be made in pursuance thereof * * * shall be the supreme laws of the land.' In conclusion, it is proper to say that no objection would be made to the appointment of officers to act with reference to the elections by the courts of the United States, and that I am in favor of appointing officers to supervise and protect the elections without regard to party. But the bill before me, while it recognizes the power and duty of the United States to provide officers to guard and scrutinize the congressional elections, fails to adapt its provisions to the existing laws so as to secure efficient supervision and protection.

"It is, therefore, returned to the Senate, in which it originated, for that further consideration which is contemplated by the constitution.

"RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, June 18, 1880."

Previous action in Senate.

MAY 19, 1880.—After numerous vain attempts by the Republican side to amend it, a special bill concerning deputy marshals which had been reported by the Judiciary Committee passed in the following shape:

"Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act the pay of all deputy marshals for services in reference to any election shall be \$5 for each day of actual service, and no more.

"SECTION 2. That all deputy marshals to serve in reference to any election shall be appointed by the circuit court of the United States for the district in which such marshals are to perform their duties, in which year at the term of court next preceding any election of Representatives or delegates in Congress; but if from any cause there should be no session of the circuit courts in the State or districts where such marshals are to be appointed, then, and in that case, the judges of the district courts of the United States are hereby respectively authorized to cause their courts to be opened for the purpose of appointing such deputy marshals, who shall be appointed by the said district courts; and the officers so appointed shall be in equal numbers from the different political parties, and shall be well-known citizens of good moral character, and actual residents of the voting precincts in which their duties are to be performed, and shall not be candidates for any office at such election; and all laws and parts of laws inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed. *Provided*, That the marshals of the United States for whom deputies shall be appointed by the court under this act, shall not be liable for any of the acts of such deputies."

The vote on its passage was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Davis, of Illinois, Eaton, Farley, Garlan, Gordon, Hampton, Harris, Johnston, Jonas, Kerman, McDonald, Morgan, Pendleton, Pryor, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Thurman, Vance, Walker, Wallace, Williams—28.

NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blair, Booth, Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Cameron, of Wisconsin, Dawes, Edmunds, Hoar, Kellogg, Kirkwood, McMillan, Morrill, Rollins, Saunders, Teller, Windom—17.

Action in the House.

In the House, June 11, similar amendments to those which had been offered and defeated in the Senate by a party vote, were offered and defeated in the House. The bill was amended so as to read as quoted in the veto message, without a division, and passed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Bachman, E. L. T. Beale, Belford, Beltzhoover, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Carlisle, Chalmers, J. B. Clarke, Jr., Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Cole-
rick, Cook, Covert, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Culberson, J. J. Davis, L. H. Davis, Denster, Dibrell, Dickey, Elam, J. H. Evans, FORD, Forney, Geddes, Goode, N. J. Hammond, F. T. Harris, Hatch, Hendle, Henry, Herbert, Hooker, Hosteller, House, Hunton, Hutchins, Johnston, G. W. Jones, Kenner, Kimmel, Kiots, Knott, LADD, Lewis, Lounsbury, Lowe, Manning, B. F. Martin, McLane, McMahon, McMillin, Mills, Morrison, Morse, New, Nicholls, O'Connor, O'Reilly, Persons, Phelps, J. F. Philips, Poehler, Reagan, J. S. Richardson, E. W. Robertson, Ross, J. W. Ryan, Samford, Sawyer, Scales, Shelly, Simonon, O. R. Singleton, Slemons, Sparks, Speer, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, E. W. Townsend, Tucker, O. Turner, Upson, Vance, Waddill, Wellborn, Wells, Whiteaker, Withthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wilson, Wise, WRIGHT—110.

NAYS—Messrs. N. W. Aldrich, W. Aldrich, Anderson, J. H. Baker, Ballou, Bayne, Bingham, Blake, Bowman, Boyd, Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Daggett, G. E. Davis, H. Davis, Deering, Dunnall, Errett, Ferdon, Field, Fisher, Fort, Frye, Goddalk, Hall, J. Hammond, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Hayes, Henderson, Hisecock, Horr, Houk, Humphrey, Hurd, Joyce, Keifer, KELLEY, Ketcham, Lapham, Lindsey, Mason, McCold, McCook, Mitchell, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Omer, Overton, Pound, D. P. Richardson, Robeson, G. D. Robinson, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Shallenberger, Sherwin, W. E. Smith, J. W. Stone, Thomas, W. G. Thompson, A. Townsend, Tyler, T. Updegraff, Valentine, Van Aernam, Van Voorhis, Voorhis, Ward, Washburn, H. White, C. G. Williams, Wil-
lits, T. L. Young—35.

Subsequent action.

The Senate, June 14, agreed to the House amendment, the bill went to the President, and was vetoed as heretofore stated.

PART III.

Latest action in both Houses— Payment of Marshals and Deputies for 1880—Votes in both Houses on various propositions.

An attempt in the Senate, May 26, 1880, to amend the Deficiency Bill (H. R. 6238), by adding a clause: "For the payment and expenses of United States Marshals and their deputies, earned during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, \$600,000."—was defeated by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Baldwin, Blair, Booth, Bruce, Cameron, of Wisconsin, Conkling, Edmunds, Ferry, Hill, of Colorado, Hoar, Ingalls, Kellogg, Kirkwood, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Teller, Windom—22.

NAYS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Brown, Call, Cockrell, DAVIS, of Illinois, Davis, of West Virginia, Eaton, Farley, Garland, Groome, Hampton, Harris, Hereford, Hill, of Georgia, Johnston, Jonas, Jones, of Florida, Kernan, McDonald, Masey, Morgan, Pendleton, Pryor, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Thurman, Voorhees, Walker, Wallace, Withers—33.

In the House, May 31, the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill was amended by adding to it the following clause:

"For payment of marshals and their general deputies, except for services of the latter rendered at elections, \$650,000."

Which subsequently passed the Senate without a dissenting vote.

In the House, June 3, a motion to amend The General Deficiency Bill (H. R. 6325) so as: "To pay deputy marshals for services in the State of California at the election of September last, \$7,000, or so much of said sum as may be necessary," was defeated by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. W. Aldrich, Anderson, Bailey, J. H. Baker, Ballou, Barber, Bayne Blake, Boyd, Brewer Briggs, Brigham, Browne, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Claflin, Cowgill, Crapo, H. Davis, Deering, Dunnell, Dwight, Errett, Fardon, Field, Fisher, GILLETTE, Hall, J. Hammond, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Hawk, Hawley, Hayes, Hazleton, Hiscock, Hubbell, Humphrey, G. W. JONES, Joyce, KELLEY, Ketcham, Lapham, Loring, LOWE, Marsh, Mason, McCook, Miles, Miller, Mitchell, Monroe, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Overton, Pacheco, Page, Prescott, Robeson, G. D. Robinson, T. Ryan, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Thomas, W. G. Thompson, T. Updegraff, Urner, Valentine, Van Aernam, Voorhis, Ward, WEAVER, H. White, C. G. Williams, Willis, YOCUM—78.

NAYS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atherton, Atkins, Belthoover, Berry, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Blount, Bouck, Bragg, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Carlisle, Clardy, J. B. Clarke, Jr., Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Cole-

rick, Converse, Cook, Cravens, Culberson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Dunn, Elam, J. H. Evans, Ewing, E. B. Finley, Goode, N. J. Hammond, J. T. Harris, Hatch, Henry, Herbert, Hooker, House, Hunton, Hutchins, Johnston, Kenna, Klotz, Le Fevre, E. L. Martin, McKensie, McLane, McMillin, Money, Morrison, Muldrow, New, Nicholls, O'Connor, O'Reilly, Phelps, Poehler, Reagan, E. W. Robertson, Ross, J. W. Ryan, Samford, Sawyer, Scales, O. R. Singleton, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stephens, STEVENSON, Talbott, P. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, R. W. Townsend, O. Turner, Vance, Waddill, A. J. Warner, Wellborn, Wells, Whiteaker, Whitthorne, Wilson, F. Wood, WRIGHT—91.

And an amendment providing "That no part of this appropriation shall be used for the payment of general or special deputy marshals for services rendered at any election," was agreed to by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Atherton, Atkins, Belthoover, Berry, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Bouck, Bragg, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Carlisle, Clardy, Clymer, Cobb, Coffroth, Colerick, Converse, Cook, Cravens, Culberson, J. J. Davis, Deuster, Dibrell, Dunn, Elam, J. H. Evans, Ewing, E. B. Finley, Gibson, Goode, N. J. Hammond, J. T. Harris, Hatch, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, Hooker, House, Hunton, Hutchins, Johnston, Kenna, Kimmel, Klotz, Le Fevre, E. L. Martin, McKensie, McLane, McMillin, Money, Morrison, Morse, Muldrow, New, Nicholls, O'Connor, O'Reilly, Persons, Phelps, Poehler, Reagan, E. W. Robertson, Ross, J. W. Ryan, Samford, Sawyer, Scales, O. R. Singleton, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Speer, Springer, Steele, Stephens, STEVENSON, Talbott, P. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, R. W. Townsend, O. Turner, Vance, Waddill, A. J. Warner, Wellborn, Wells, Whiteaker, Whitthorne, Wilson, F. Wood, WRIGHT—96.

NAYS—Messrs. W. Aldrich, Anderson, Bailey, J. H. Baker, Ballou, Barber, Bayne, Blake, Boyd, Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chittenden, Claflin, Cowgill, Crapo, Daggett, H. Davis, Deering, Dwight, Errett, Fardon, Field, Fisher, GILLETTE, Hall, J. Hammond, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Haskell, Hawk, Hawley, Hayes, Hazleton, Horr, Hubbell, Humphrey, G. W. JONES, Joyce, KELLEY, Ketcham, Lapham, Loring, LOWE, Marsh, Mason, McCook, Miles, Miller, Mitchell, Monroe, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Osmer, Overton, Pacheco, Page, Prescott, Robeson, G. D. Robinson, T. Ryan, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Thomas, W. G. Thompson, T. Updegraff, Urner, Valentine, Van Aernam, Voorhis, Ward, H. White, C. G. Williams, Willis, YOCUM—79.

CHAPTER VI.

A History of Democratic Election Frauds.

The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.—Declaration 5, National Democratic Platform, 1880.

PART I.

"Counting in"—A Democratic Invention, and peculiarly a Democratic Practice—"Counting in" of James K. Polk as President in 1844—of James Buchanan in 1857—The Disastrous Consequences to the Nation—The

attempted "counting in" of Samuel J. Tilden in 1876—A Brief Review of the immense Democratic Frauds in the Campaigns of 1844-57 compared with those of 1876,

In 1844, in the Presidential campaign of that year, James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was notoriously "counted into" the Presidency over Henry Clay, of Kentucky, who had been elec-

ted President fairly by the voice of the American people.

Who was Henry Clay? Who James K. Polk? Who the arch conspirators by whom Clay was robbed of the Presidency—by whom the American people were cheated of their choice as Chief Magistrate; and what the agencies or means by which a result so disastrous to the nation was accomplished? What the motives or ends which influenced the agencies for a result so lamentable?

Just now, in presence of the Democratic design to seize the presidency by Mexicanizing the Republic—by subverting the Constitution and the laws, by bulldozing, by ballot-box stuffing, and by all other possible nefarious means—these inquiries are pertinent and pregnant ones. We will answer them as briefly as possible.

The "great commoner," Henry Clay, who would "rather be right than be President!"—His unknown Democrat opponent, James K. Polk.

For nearly a half century, in 1844, from 1797, when Kentucky was framing a new State constitution, Henry Clay had been active in the service of his country. A Senator of the United States in 1806, when only twenty-nine years old, and distinguished, even at that early age, for eminent ability and eloquence; unrivaled subsequently as the Speaker and leader of the House; equally brilliant in the Senate and Cabinet, in war as in peace, as a statesman, orator and diplomat; pre-eminent for his chivalrous courage and lofty patriotism, and probably the only man of his time who could, without personal ridicule, have uttered his celebrated apothegm, "*I would rather be right than President!*"

Such was Henry Clay, "the great commoner," the Whig candidate for President in 1844; while his opponent, Polk, was so little known, his services to the nation of so little consequence, that upon his nomination by the Democracy the cry went throughout the Republic, "Who is James K. Polk?"

The vote by which Clay was rightfully elected and entitled to the Presidency—The villainous Democratic frauds by which he was "counted out."

Henry Clay was the choice of the American people for President, and a decided majority of the votes actually cast was thrown for him. He was chosen President by the voice of his countrymen, and under the Constitution and laws—by all the rules of right—was entitled to the presidency. None now doubt that. As a matter of history it is notorious. Nevertheless, in the House, in 1845, the electoral vote counted was: For Polk, 170; for Clay, 105; while Polk's minority on the popular vote was 24,119. The electoral colleges counted for Polk included that of New York (36), Pennsylvania (26), Georgia (10), Louisiana (6)—in all 78 votes—to all of which Clay was entitled by decided popular majorities in all those States. Hence, add those 78 votes to Clay's 105, and deduct them from Polk's 170, will

give Clay 183 votes and reduce Polk's to 92, making Clay's majority in the electoral colleges 91, the real result of the canvass, but which was defeated by the deliberately-planned frauds of the Democracy. Even strike from Polk's 170 New York's 36 votes, which State Clay confessedly carried by from 5,000 to 10,000 majority, will leave Polk but 134 electoral votes and give Clay 141, a majority of 7 in the colleges.

Samuel J. Tilden's guilty complicity in the Democratic villainy!

In all these villainous frauds, Samuel J. Tilden, in New York, aided by the notorious Isaiah Rynders and his cohort of unprincipled ruffians, and in Louisiana by the equally notorious John Slidell, a New Yorker by birth, was, as a leading Democrat of the Empire State, the headquarters of the conspiracy for the defeat of Clay, an active and efficient co-worker. It is not strange, therefore, that Tilden, who in the campaign of 1876, simply attempted, in behalf of himself, to repeat the frauds of 1844 against Clay, should be chagrined at his failure, and that he and his partisans should so fiercely denounce fraud against the Republicans as they did in 1844 denounce Clay and the Whigs.

Gamblers' conspiracy at the bottom of these grave Democratic crimes—And Tilden's guilty participation in them.

That Henry Clay was entitled, and confessedly entitled, to the electoral votes of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Louisiana—seventy-eight in all—which, by fraud, by the "counting in" process which the Democracy now charge against the Republicans, were counted for Polk, we have before us the proofs in a number of shapes. They cannot be questioned. In 1844 a combination of gamblers, through a system of betting all over the country in favor of Polk, as in the canvass of 1876 in favor of Tilden, secured by their winnings the means of defraying the expenses of the frauds. That was notoriously so in New York, Pennsylvania, and Louisiana.—Horace Greeley, in 1848, in one of his "*Open Letters to a Politician*"—to Samuel J. Tilden—reminds Tilden of these grave crimes, and of his participation in them. All may see the details at length in Greeley's *Life of Henry Clay*, in Calvin Colton's, in "The Whig Review," and kindred works, of the wholesale and systematic villainy, the great crime, by which the illustrious Clay was defrauded of New York and the other States—by agencies similar to those which, in 1868, in New York, Tilden "counted in" Seymour and Hoffman when Grant and Griswold had carried the State.

"Counting in" peculiarly a Democratic process—The bogus Democratic vote of New York in 1844—The Pennsylvania Democratic frauds of that year.

This "counting in" is peculiarly a Democratic process—an invention to which the

Democracy, and only the Democracy, have a sole and undisputed right.

In New York, in 1844, of the popular vote Polk was in a minority of 10,706 votes. His plurality over Clay was only 5,106. That he obtained in the city and its surroundings by fraudulent naturalization, by repeating and ballot-box stuffing; by the manufacture and count, through such infamous agencies, of from 10,000 to 15,000 bogus votes. Some place the number as high as 20,000.

In Pennsylvania the frauds were equally flagrant. At the October election it was admitted by the best posted of the Democracy that Clay in the State was at least 10,000 votes stronger than General Markle, the Whig candidate for Governor. Hence, in order to beat Clay in November, Shunk's majority must reach 10,000. It was only 4,282, fully 6,000 less than the Democratic estimate as absolutely necessary to beat Clay. Nevertheless, Clay was beaten. His vote, as the Democracy had calculated, was 5,200 greater than Markle's, and was drawn principally from Shunk's; yet Polk's majority in the State was 6,332.

The Democratic "model" which inspired Tilden's infamous Democratic secret circular of 1868.

It was in this canvass in Pennsylvania that the model of Tilden's infamous confidential circular of 1868, by which he arranged the machinery for the fraudulent count of New York for Seymour and Hoffman, appeared as a secret circular, dated "Harrisburg, January, 1844," and signed by Edward A. Penniman and seventeen Democratic members of the Pennsylvania Legislature as an executive committee. It was distributed only among the faithful, with the injunction that its "contents should be made known only to such of our (Democratic) friends as will keep their own council and assist in organizing the party;" and urged that "it is very desirable that it should not appear in any newspaper or be communicated to our political opponents." It particularly enjoined the faithful "to secure a large turn out at the election of judges and inspectors (of the polls). This done, we shall have the vantage ground, and an easy victory will be ours." So it proved. By securing the judges and inspectors of the polls, the count of any number by the Democracy was a very easy matter.

The Democratic frauds that in 1844 gave Georgia to Polk.

In Georgia, in 1844, and it may be so now, by the tax-list, the exact number of legal voters in the State could be readily ascertained. By that list there were in the State 78,611 votes. At the Presidential election 86,277 votes were cast. Even supposing, therefore, that every legal voter in the State attended at the polls—the decrepid, aged, sick, and dying—there was still a fraud of 7,666 votes. By whom were these polled?

In the Whig counties less than the legal vote as shown by the tax-list was polled; but in the Democratic counties of Forsyth Lumpkin, Habersham and Franklin the lawful vote was 3,202. They returned a vote of 4,014 for Polk and 1,825 for Clay—in all 5,835—a fraud in these four counties alone of 2,633; and so on throughout all the Democratic counties of Georgia. Nevertheless, Polk's majority in the State was only 2,077.

The infamous Democratic frauds in Louisiana—Open, notorious, shameful.

In Louisiana the frauds were truly villainous. No attempt was ever made to disguise or cover them. They were open, notorious, and shameful. John Slidell was their infamous engineer, and under his manipulation thousands of fraudulent votes were counted for Polk in New Orleans and all along the Mississippi river. A single instance will illustrate all. Up to the day of the rebellion—up to 1861—the largest aggregate vote polled in Plaquemine parish was 550; in 1844 it gave Polk 1,007 majority, while his majority in the State was only 699.

Thus Tilden and the Democracy of 1844 "counted" Polk "in."

Thus in 1844, throughout the country, fraud by Tilden and the Democracy was reduced to a system. Through its results James K. Polk, the weak but ambitious tool of the pro-slavery oligarchy, was "counted in," and the gallant and patriotic Clay, the illustrious "great commoner," whose services to the nation in war and peace constitute the brightest pages in its civil history, was robbed of the Presidency—was robbed by Tilden and the Democracy.

The Pennsylvania Democratic frauds by which, in 1857, intrepid Fremont was robbed of his rights and weak Buchanan "counted in."

Later in 1857, by similar frauds in Pennsylvania, by the same parties, accomplished through like agencies, John C. Fremont was cheated of the same high office, and James Buchanan, another weak and equally pliant tool of the oligarchal conspirators of 1844, was fraudulently placed in the chair of Washington, manifestly under pledges to complete the traitorous work for the destruction of the Republic begun by Polk.

Tilden's wholesale frauds in 1876 at the North—His Mississippi shot-gun policy at the South.

The campaign of 1876 modeled upon that of 1844. By similar agencies or arts, by wholesale and systematic frauds in the North, he succeeded in carrying New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana; and in the South, by the murderous Mississippi shot-gun policy, effected the manufacture of the fictitious figures which constitute his pretended popular majority.

What miseries the success of the Democratic frauds of 1844 and 1857 entailed upon the Nation.

In 1844 and 1857 the oligarchal conspirators succeeded in disfranchising the nation. In 1876 they failed only by a count of one. In 1844 their fraudulent success entailed upon the nation the crimes of Polk's disastrous reign—the "unholy" Mexican war for the aggrandizement of slavery, exacting of the nation a sacrifice of thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of treasure; his iniquitous free-trade tariff; his hostility to internal improvements, and kindred measures, all in the interest of the pro-slavery oligarchy; the fatal reopening of the slavery question, precipitated by the struggle of the sections for the possession of the territory seized from Mexico, and which, in 1861, under the manipulation of Buchanan and the Democracy, culminated in the appalling crimes of the rebellion.

The success of the Democratic frauds of 1876 would have brought upon the Republic humiliation and ruin.

In 1876 their success was intended to be as disastrous as those of 1844 and 1857. The Confederacy had failed in its attempt to destroy the Republic. Its prestige and pride were humbled, and in the murderous struggle provoked by its crimes its losses had been immense. Tilden's success was intended to redress all that. A restoration of the Confederate to power and place in the Government was to be followed by the humiliation of loyalty—the abasement of the nation at the feet of the rebel; and the ruin of the Republic was to be effected by the confiscation of its property and means in the payment of thousands of millions of fraudulent claims as indemnity to the Confederate for losses in the rebellion. Hancock's success now would be equally disastrous.

PART II.

Popular and Electoral Votes of Harrison and Van Buren, Polk and Clay, Harrison and Cass—Tilden's pretended "Immense" Popular Majority—Some Voting Statistics Touching the Gulf and other States—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina all fairly Republican States—How Southern States were "counted in" for Tilden.

A persistent effort has been made by Mr. Tilden and his friends, ever since his defeat, to impress the country with the idea that he had received an immense majority of the popular vote for President. The facts warrant no such conclusion. Nor does it follow that such a majority would necessarily secure his election, whether it was small or large.

"Popular votes" not necessary to the election of a President—It is the electoral vote that tells—Some Presidential examples.

Under our electoral system the popular majority is a secondary consideration. Thus Delaware and Nevada, which together cast only 43,824 votes, all told, for President in 1876, had six electoral votes, as many as California, which cast 154,459 votes.

In 1840, in a total vote of 2,410,782, Harrison had a popular majority of only 139,250, but carried 234 electoral votes to Van Buren's 60.

In 1844, Polk had 24,119 popular majority against him, yet he counted 170 electoral votes to Clay's 105.

In 1848, General Harrison had 151,808 popular majority against him, but received 163 electoral votes to 127 for Mr. Cass.

These examples might be multiplied, and serve to show that a popular majority is not necessary to the election of a President.

The facts in the Presidential election of 1876—What vote on the surface.

But while this is true, the facts in the election of 1876 show that the case of Mr. Hayes was not exceptional, like the examples cited; that he was, in fact, the first choice of a majority of the voters of the country.

The aggregate vote for President was 8,399,297, divided as follows: Hayes, 4,033,295; Tilden, 4,284,265, and Cooper, 81,737. Tilden's majority on these figures, 157,394.

Ordinarily this result would be regarded as conclusive, and would show the relative strength of the candidates before the people; but the election of 1876 warrants no such conclusion. On the other hand, the facts conclusively prove that these figures, like Mr. Tilden's boasted election and majority, are utterly fictitious and false—that they do not represent the popular will at that time. This will appear by a further analysis of the vote of 1876.

The popular vote in the free States, border States, and slave States, grouped and compared with census of voting population.

In the former (or present) free States there was cast a total of 5,622,210 votes, of which Hayes received 2,939,729 and Tilden 2,682,481; majority for Hayes, 257,248.

In the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Missouri, Arkansas and Texas the total vote was 1,830,219. For Hayes, 744,747; for Tilden, 1,085,472; Tilden's majority, 340,825.

In South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana the vote was 890,811, of which Hayes received 362,231 and Tilden 528,590; Tilden's majority, 166,359.

According to the census of 1870, the latest enumeration available, there were in the Northern States at that time 4,850,151 male citizens over twenty-one years of age. The

vote for President in those States, as has already been shown, was 5,622,210. Increase over the enumeration, 772,059.

In the second group of States the enumeration was 1,800,639; total vote for President, 1,815,009. Increase over the enumeration, only 14,370.

In the last group, or Gulf States, the enumeration was 973,714; total vote for Hayes and Tilden, 890,811. Loss on the enumeration, 82,903.

Recapitulation: In the free States, where the election was free, fair, and full, there was a gain of 772,059 voters. In the border slave States, where Republicans are kept in hopeless minorities, and did not cast their full vote, the increase was only 14,370. In the Southern Republican States, where Republican majorities were subverted by armed violence, the loss was 82,903.

Assuming that the increase of voters in these States was of equal ratio to the free States, the increase over the enumeration would have been 114,714. Adding the loss of 82,903 to this amount, and we have 197,617 votes, or about one in six, not cast in the six States last named.

The real voting strength of the Gulf States—Showing, in 1870, a total colored majority of 57,335.

But there is another and still more reliable method of ascertaining the real voting strength and popular will of those States. In 1870 the voters were divided as follows:

	White.	Color'd.
Alabama	104,276	105,612
Florida	19,211	20,170
Georgia	127,785	119,920
Louisiana	72,413	80,126
Mississippi	76,577	97,724
South Carolina	57,933	91,978
Total	458,195	515,530

Colored majority..... 57,335

And exhibiting a total Republican majority of 183,335 in 1870.

In ascertaining the Republican strength South, two estimates may be made that are perfectly reliable. First, that the colored vote is solidly Republican; secondly, that a small per cent. of the white vote is Republican; much depending on the locality and the freedom of election. The division of voters on this basis is shown in the following table:

	Republican.		Democratic.
	Colored.	White.	White.
Alabama	105,612	15,000	89,276
Florida	20,170	3,000	16,211
Georgia	119,920	20,000	107,785
Louisiana	80,126	10,000	62,413
Mississippi	97,724	10,000	66,577
South Carolina	91,978	6,000	52,933
	515,530	63,000	395,195
Total Republican vote.....			578,530
Total Democratic vote.....			395,195

Republican majority..... 183,335

These figures are based on the population and enumeration of 1870.

Subsequent changes of population favored the Republicans, especially in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Whatever changes had taken place since that time, and they were considerable, were favorable to the Republicans. This was notably true of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. These three States continued under Republican control long after the States adjoining had fallen under Democratic dominion. Democratic rule was accompanied by the abolishment of colored schools and harsh and proscriptive administration. Thereupon there was an exodus of negroes from those States to the others, where the rights and interests of their race were respected, their children educated, and the ruling powers were friendly. The States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas contributed many thousands of their colored voters on this account to South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The last Presidential election affords abundant proof of this statement. Take

South Carolina

for example. The vote in this State for the years named was as follows:

1868—Republican.....	62,301
Democratic.....	45,207
Republican majority.....	17,094
1870—Republican.....	65,071
Democratic.....	51,637
Republican majority.....	33,534
1872—Republican.....	72,290
Democratic.....	22,703
Republican majority.....	49,587

It has already been shown that the total white vote in 1870 was 57,933, and the colored vote 91,978, the total being 149,911, and the colored majority 34,545.

1876—Republican vote.....	91,870
Democratic vote.....	91,076
Total.....	182,946
Vote of 1870.....	149,911
Increase.....	33,035

A passing reference to the past white population of South Carolina leaves no doubt that this increase was almost wholly colored. The United States census furnishes the following figures:

1830.....	257,863
1840.....	259,064
1850.....	274,563
1860.....	291,309
1870.....	299,687

Thus it will be seen that the white population of the State has been almost stationary for the past half century. It will not be argued by the Opposition that it has received marvelous increase under the very odious (!) Republican Administration since reconstruction. Whence, then, the 33,035 votes added to the poll-books? If they are not white they must be colored, and this is the fact. Then we have the actual vote of South Carolina, confirmed by this test, as follows:

Colored.....	124,033
White.....	57,933
Colored majority.....	66,100

Mississippi Republican by 40,000 majority, yet "counted in" by "51,500 majority" for Tilden.

Next take Mississippi. The colored majority in 1870 was 21,157. Alcorn was elected Republican Governor in 1869 by a majority of 38,089. Grant's majority in 1872 was 35,119. It is admitted by all conversant with the political affairs of the State that the present colored majority is fully 40,000. Yet Mr. Tilden carried the State, much as a storming party carries intrenchments, by a majority of 51,468. How was this done? Take the five following counties to illustrate:

	1869.		1872.		1876.	
	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.
Hinds....	8,819	1,415	4,015	1,589	1,474	4,503
Lowndes..	4,082	844	3,217	696	2	2,073
Madison..	2,508	629	2,512	765	13	1,473
Warren ...	4,641	1,006	4,709	1,284	923	2,086
Yazoo	2,642	815	2,433	922	2	3,672
	17,692	4,708	16,886	5,208	2,114	13,757

Here was an actual loss of 15,578 Republican votes in four counties, and of 6,223 on the aggregate vote of 1872, in counties where the colored vote has been increased by immigration fully 25:10 since that year. The returns from other parts of the State are in keeping with these. It is needless to recount the means that operated to effect this change. Suffice to say that a Government which allows its citizens to be outraged in this manner and suffers itself directly from the outrage does not appear to be worth preserving. The State of Mississippi as rightfully belonged to Hayes and the Republican cause as Massachusetts or Vermont. Yet it was counted for Mr. Tilden by 51,500 majority, without even allowing the Republicans of the State the poor privilege of protesting against the fraud.

Mr. Potter might boast of 300,000, and Mr. Tilden exult over 157,394, majority on the face of the returns; but the facts, as herein shown, establish the utter falsity of the claim.

PART III.

Florida—Bloody Violence failing, Fraud and Judicial Usurpation resorted to—A Brief History of the entire series of Fraudulent Proceedings by which Tilden strove to Capture that one needed Electoral Vote—Facts, Figures, and Incidents.

Following is a summary of the entire "Florida case" in brief:

Bloody violence and ballot-box debauchery.

At the election in Florida of Presidential electors, November 7, 1876, every expedient,

whether fraudulent or violent, was employed by the Tildenites to secure a majority at the polls—at least to secure a majority on the face of the returns. In the Democratic counties all the election machinery was in the hands of the Tildenites. The "Mississippi shot-gun policy" was their favorite; but when that failed, the resort was to debauch the ballot-boxes or manipulate the returns. A denial of bloody violence during the canvass is not seriously pretended; it cannot be successfully maintained.

The State at first conceded to Hayes—One vote needed for Tilden—The whole situation thereupon changes—The Attorney General denies his master, the people—"And immediately the Cooke crew."

Early after the day of voting the returns from the Republican counties were received at Tallahassee—Escambia, Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, Madison, Alachua, Duval, Nassau, and Marion; and their aggregate majority (7,418 for Hayes) was publicly known. The returns from Baker and Dade subsequently increased that to 7,463. The State by the Democracy was conceded to Hayes by a handsome majority. It was not considered probable that the Republican majority would or could be overcome in the Democratic counties; nor was it pretended as possible until the vote of the State became necessary to Tilden's election. Instantly, then, the whole situation was changed. The State was claimed by the Democracy. A clamor of fraud was raised by them as a blind to the villainy by which the Tildenites, in the Democratic counties, remote from the capital and difficult of access, proposed to destroy Hayes' majority; and, as a part of the conspiracy to that end, the Democratic Attorney General of the State telegraphed North:

"Tallahassee, Fla., November 14, 1876.
"The returns from the county managers not yet in. The Board of State Canvassers, of which I, as Attorney General, am one, does not meet for thirty-five days after the election, but you may rest assured that Tilden has carried the State and Drew is elected. I do not think the Radicals can cheat the Democrats out of the State."
WILLIAM ARCHER COCKE."

Now, if the returns were not yet in at the date of this dispatch, where did Cocke get his information? How did he know that the State had voted for Tilden? The Republicans, from the returns actually in, from their aggregate majority as compared with the results of previous elections, knew that the State had voted for Hayes by a decisive majority. But how and where did Cocke obtain his information? What special means had he of communicating with the Democratic counties, so remote from Tallahassee and so difficult of access? Is not the answer plain?

First warning to the Republicans—The Tilden Democrats cut the wires, wreck trains and bulldoze the Governor's couriers.

This dispatch of the Democratic Attorney General of the State was a warning to the Republicans of the fraudulent plots at work. It

aroused them to action. But all the efforts of Governor Stearns to secure the actual results of the election—to protect the ballot-boxes and returns from mutilation and fraud—were resisted by the most violent agencies. The telegraph wires were cut, a train, in which were some of the Governor's messengers to the western counties, was ku-kluxed and wrecked; and his couriers were intercepted and turned back with the warning threat that if they dared to proceed without a pass from Mr. Pasco, the chairman of the Democratic committee at Tallahassee, they would be assassinated.

But in spite of all this, and much more, Hayes has a majority on the face of the returns of 43.

Even under such circumstances, with violence and fraud rampant throughout the Democratic sections of the State, the returns of all the counties, excepting those of Dade, when opened on the 28th of November, showed on their face a majority of 43 for the Hayes electors, to-wit :

<i>Hayes Electors.</i>		<i>Tilden Electors.</i>	
Humphreys	24,328	Yengo	24,284
Pearce	24,324	Call	24,268
Long	24,323	Hilton	24,283
Holden	24,328	Bullock	24,282

The returns from Dade, which were received on Monday, December 4, were : For Hayes, 9 ; for Tilden, 4.

Clamor of "fraud" against the Republicans—Bribery rampant—Tilden's "barrel of gold" at work.

This result, although a serious disappointment to the Democracy, yet incited and nerved the Tildenites to renewed clamors of fraud against the Republicans, and they now settled down in dead earnest to the desperate work of wresting the State from its Republican majority. Falsehoods and false charges of fraud against the Republicans were systematically telegraphed over the country as a means of prejudging the canvass of votes, perjurers were recruited with bribes to sustain these charges, and unscrupulous partisan counsel, feed from the notorious "barrel of gold," were imported from the North to superintend and manage the efforts to capture the State for Tilden.

The Board of State Canvassers—The law governing their action.

Under the fourth section of the law of Florida, approved February 27, 1872, the Board of State Canvassers consisted of the Secretary of State, Samuel B. McLin, who was elected its president ; Comptroller of Accounts, Clayton A. Cowgill, and Attorney General, William Archer Cocke. The two former were classed as Republicans ; the latter is a Democrat, and all three are native sons of the South. Under the same section the canvassing board is required to meet in the office of the Secretary of State within thirty-five days after any general or special election, and proceed to canvass the returns and determine and declare who shall

have been elected, as shown by such returns. It commands : "If any such returns shall be shown, or shall appear to be so, *irregular, false or fraudulent*, that the board shall be unable to determine the true vote for any such officer or member, they shall so certify, and *shall not include such return in their determination and declaration.*"

Attorney General Cocke objected to as a member of the Board because of pre-judgment—He goes on his knees and is forgiven.

Hence the canvassing board began its sessions on the 27th of November. Attorney General Cocke's unfitness to serve with the board was urged, on the ground that he had prejudged the case, even before the receipt of the returns, and that consequently he could not render an impartial judgment ; but that gentleman, having earnestly pledged himself that he would be governed in his action by his oath and the facts, the objection to his acting was withdrawn.

The Board, under Democratic counsel, rule, and precedent, proceed to business and find a majority for Hayes.

Under the written opinion of this gentleman, the Democratic Attorney-General of the State, and the legal adviser of the Board, given in 1874, with the applause of the Democracy, and in accordance with the practice adopted under that opinion in the canvass of that year, by which the Democracy so greatly profited, a contest of the county returns, or of the vote of any county or of any precinct of a county, was allowed. The Democratic Attorney General in substance declared : "It is the duty of the Board to seek the true returns." Accordingly the Canvassing Board proceeded to find the true vote of the State. The returns of the counties were opened, and upon their face, as stated above, showed a majority of 43 for Hayes. The subsequent return from Dade increased that majority to 48.

The Democracy at once cry "fraud"—The Republicans tax Democratic counties with "shenanigan."

The Democracy immediately assailed the returns from Baker and other counties, and the Republicans filed objections to the returns from a number of Democratic counties and precincts. All these, under the express commands of the laws of the State, the written advice of the Democratic Attorney General, and the previous practice of the Board under both, the Board determined to inquire into. But the twenty-four uncontested counties—to wit, Brevard, Bradford, Calhoun, Dade, Escambia, Franklin, Gadsden, Hillsborough, Holmes, Lafayette, Liberty, Madison, Marion, Putnam, Polk, Santa Rosa, Sumter, St. John's, Suwanee, Taylor, Volusia, Wakulla, Walton, and Washington—were first taken up and canvassed according to the face of the returns.

The Board investigates for the "true" returns—Much unanimity in its findings
The counties of Baker, Clay, Hernando, Nassau, Levy, Orange, Leon, Hamilton, Munroe, Jefferson, and Manatee.

The Board then entered into an investigation for the true returns in the contested counties. The investigation was public. In all its proceedings, in all its findings, or means of ascertaining the true return, it acted upon the opinions and advice of its legal adviser, the Democratic Attorney-General of the State. It of course consulted other counsel. But those, in their opinions, only confirmed the general principles laid down for their rule of action by the Attorney-General. Indeed, there was little actual discord or difference among its members. Thus, in the counties of Baker, Clay, Hernando, Nassau, Levy, Orange, Leon, Hamilton and Monroe the true return was found, as nearly as was possible, by the *unanimous vote* of the Board, Attorney-General Cocke voting with his Republican associates in the findings and count. In Jefferson county sixty votes were unanimously deducted from the Republican count; the remainder of the county was counted. The vote of Manatee county was rejected because of the entire absence of all legal preparation for holding the election. No election, in fact, was held.

Alachua County—Democratic ballot-box stuffing—Bold perjuries and Confessed Bribes.

In Alachua county a determined effort was made by the Democracy to destroy the count of Archer precinct No. 2. It was largely Republican. All election day it was made the rendezvous of leading Democrats. All day they plotted to destroy the vote of the precinct. But how? At night, after the close of the polls, the vote was canvassed, counted, and compared with the poll-lists, duly certified and signed by all the election officers—two Democrats and two Republicans—and, after the sealing of the ballot-boxes, the vote and majority was announced—about the usual and previously unquestioned majority. The ballot-boxes were then placed in the court house, an insecure building, with loose shutters, and yielding fastenings. This the Democrats guarded at night on the pretence of protecting the ballot-boxes; but so negligently that some one entered, opened the boxes, extracted some of the ballots, and substituted others. But who? The Republicans had no motive for the act. The safety of those ballots was the guarantee of their returns. Their manipulation so as to change the announced and returned result was their loss, but was an immense gain for the Democracy. There was no doubt in the matter. Even the bold perjuries and confessed bribes of the Democratic witnesses, Green R. Moores and Floyd Dukes, demonstrate who were the guilty parties and what the manifest object of the crime. That no doubt should be had about the accuracy of the canvass, the Republicans verified their votes by the affidavits of the persons voting;

but the Democrats utterly failed in their attempt at a verification of their pretended vote. Hence the canvassing board accepted and counted the returns thus verified.

Baker and Duval counties—The Democratic deviltries in Jackson county—The canvass completed.

In canvassing Baker county, a Democratic county, the Republican members of the board voted with Cocke; and in Duval county the board, after verifying the county returns by a comparison with the precinct returns, determined to count the vote.

In Jackson county, Campbellton and Friendship Church precincts were thrown out because the elections and returns were frauds upon the election laws. At the Campbellton precinct the ballot-box, at the adjournment for dinner, was taken from the polling-booth, placed in an adjoining store unsealed, and concealed from the public. At the close of the poll the ballots were not counted nor compared with the number of names on the poll-list, and only 76 Republican votes were returned where 133 swore that they had voted. At Friendship Church precinct the ballot-box was hidden from the view of the public and of the voters, even when voting; a supervisor—not an inspector—received the ballots at a window above the heads of the voters, below the sill of which, out of sight, was placed the ballot-box. Instead of making and completing the canvass at the polling-booth, without adjournment and in view of the public, the boxes were removed two miles away to a bedroom, where the returns were made up without counting the ballots or comparing them with the poll-lists. The county, with these deductions, was canvassed. That completed the canvass.

An "emphatic" weather-Cocke's admissions—Manton Marble and the other Tilden agents "see" the Attorney General.

And in all its decisions the canvassing board was governed by the advice of the Democratic Attorney General. In the rejection of Hamilton county, Cocke was emphatic in his declaration that it should be rejected. He was equally decided in the rejection of Monroe. When appealed to for his legal opinion, he said: "*It must be thrown out.*" But when the extent and reckless character of the Democratic frauds began to dawn upon him, he got frightened and nervous at the results of his advice. When compelled to reject Hamilton county, he said: "*This elects Hyer.*" When Jackson, with its eighty unpunished murders was passed in review and rejected, he said: "*This elects Stearns.*" And he only proposed to recede from his action after an interview with Manton Marble & Co. But there was no retreat. The board could only act upon the facts under the law in the light of its duty impartially performed. It could not exclude or count votes for the single purpose of electing Tilden and Drew; it must reject all returns vitiated by proved fraud. That it did, and that only.

The final result of the count—Hayes' majority 923—What it "might have been."

The result, as found by the board, was as follows :

FOR HAYES ELECTORS.	FOR TILDEN ELECTORS.
Humphreys.....23,849	Yonge.....23,923
Pearce.....23,844	Call.....22,919
Holden.....23,848	Hilton.....22,921
Long.....23,843	Bullock.....22,919

Majority for Hayes 923 ; and the evidence of their own witnesses before the Congressional investigating committee of 1876 demonstrates that if there had been a fair election, even an honest return of the election actually held, Hayes' majority, instead of being only 923, would have ranged between 2,000 and 3,000 votes.

The baffled Tildenites self-stultification—

They fly to the Democratic courts to force the defunct State Canvassing Board to come to life and action.

Yet the Democracy were not happy. Their situation was as deplorable as it was desperate. They had been baffled at every turn. Violence, fraud, bribery, and perjury had all failed them, and yet the State must be captured for Tilden. All will remember the situation. South Carolina had been surrendered. In Louisiana they had no hope. Hence Florida must be wrested from Hayes. But how to do it? How to assail the finding of the canvassing board? It had acted under the law—under the Democratic theory of its meaning, and under the opinion and advice of the Democratic Attorney General, the highest law officer of the Government of Florida. Stultification was their only recourse. They must assail the powers of the board. They had contended that it was clothed with judicial powers ; that its duty was to go behind the returns and find the true vote. They now assailed that position. They appealed to the State Court to compel the canvassing board, a political body, and that body *functus officio* under the law creating it—it having performed the functions imposed upon it by law and adjourned *sine die*. They appealed to the judiciary to force the board to revive, to review its canvass of the votes of the State, and to count in Tilden and Drew ; to the court to perform a political and partisan act for the maintenance of crimes, of which murder, ballot-box stuffing, forgery of returns, bribery, and perjury were the demonstrated elements.

The Democratic court complies—An usurpation—Yet still Hayes had a majority.

The Democratic court readily complied. Its *mandamus* to the canvassing board was an usurpation as violent as it was novel. It was a process unknown to the law. It violated the laws of Florida. It changed the court from a judicial to a political and partisan body—into a canvassing board—and transferred the powers and duties of the board, a body constituted of three members, under the laws of Florida, to the court, in the person of a single judge. Now, a *mandamus* may issue

compelling an officer to act, to perform the functions of his office, but a *mandamus* instructing a political body in the manner of performing its duties, dictating to a canvassing board what it shall count in determining the result of a political election, was an usurpation without a precedent. Even under the re-canvass thus forced through the judiciary in violation of law, the Hayes electors had still a majority by the very vote which elected Drew.

Further usurpations by the Democratic Judiciary, and Democratic State Legislature—All parts of the Tilden plot.

Like its *mandamus* to the canvassing board, the *quo warranto* proceedings of this debauched court against the electoral college of the State—an inquiry to a body *functus officio* (dead in law), by what right it performed certain functions before it expired?—was an "absolute novelty" in law ; an usurpation as violent as its purposes were fraudulent. The acts of the Democratic Legislature of Florida were of a like character—simply usurpation without a precedent, retroactive acts to reverse proceedings complete, legal, and final under the laws of the United States and the laws of Florida at the date of their performance—all acts, indeed, in pursuance of a conspiracy for the triumph of fraud and crimes without a parallel in the history of the Republic.

PART IV.

Louisiana—Its Population and Votes—The Ku-Klux Crimes of 1868—The Tilden Rifle Clubs of 1876—Terrible Outrages and Murders in the Seventeen Parishes—The State Returning Board—Its Duties—How and Why it Acted—Infamy of Tilden and the Democracy.

The following facts and figures prove the Republicanism of Louisiana and the crimes of the Tilden Democratic conspiracy against it :

Population and voters—Republican majority of 20,000 at least.

In 1875 the male population of Louisiana, according to the State census, was : Whites, 404,916 ; colored, 450,611. Of the white males thousands were aliens and non-voters, merely residents of the State, engaged in commercial pursuits under the treaties with France ceding Louisiana to the United States. In November, 1876, on the day of the Presidential election, the registration in the State stood : Whites, 92,996 ; colored, 115,310, showing a Republican majority on the face of the register, upon the color line alone, of 22,314. It is estimated that in the State there were not less than 10,000 white Republicans, while not half that number of colored men voted the Democratic

ticket. It is therefore a moderate estimate, justified by an overwhelming array of facts, developed during the campaign, that on election day, with a legal and quiet poll of the entire vote of the respective parties, the Republican majority in the State, at the smallest figure, was 20,000 votes.

The Democratic plot—The Tilden conspirators' secret circular.

The Tilden Democratic conspirators, backed by no end of Tilden "barrels of gold," and their minds inflamed by the lust of untold millions in fraudulent rebel claims, decided to overcome this large Republican majority by a deep and devilish plot.

In a "confidential" circular of the Democratic Conservative State Central Committee, at New Orleans, signed by J. W. Patton, president, and P. J. Sullivan, secretary, the organization of clubs was directed in the different parishes. The circular urged that in conversation no gloomy forebodings should be indulged in, and that the result of the election should be spoken of as a foregone conclusion, "*as we have the means of carrying the election, and intend to do so.* But be careful to say and do nothing that can be construed into a threat or intimidation of any character." Frequent meetings of all these clubs were enjoined. Their members were instructed to occasionally assemble at their several places of meeting, and to proceed thence on horseback to the central rendezvous. "Proceedings of that character would impress the negroes with a sense of the united strength" of the Democracy. And it directed that on election day, at each polling place, affidavits should be prepared, affirming "that there has been no intimidation and no disturbance on account of any efforts by the Democratic Conservative party to prevent any one from voting on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

How these secret instructions were carried out—Rifle clubs and "Knights of the White Camelia"—dragooning the Parish-es—Mutilation, maiming, whipping, murdering, and general terror.

It was a villainous conspiracy and literally pursued to its devilish consequences. Clubs were formed in the parishes. The old murderous white-Leaguers re-organized as rifle-clubs, as "Knights of the White Camelia." These, mounted, masked, and armed, dragooned the parishes night and day, and ruled in terror and blood, amid assassination and outrages, and violence of every degree and kind—mutilation, maiming, and whippings. No age or sex was respected—none was spared. The evidence, multiplied in a hundred shapes, is overwhelming, and is as revolting in its terrible details as it is conclusive in its proofs. The historical sanguinary violence of the "Franco-Spanish blood"—the sources of Louisiana's white population—was indulged without restraint. The old hellish terrorism of Murat, Couthon and St. Just, those cruel

demons of the French revolution of 1798, were revived in Louisiana in all its frightful horrors. Indeed, throughout the canvass, prior to election day, murder was king—intimidation rioted as absolute tyrant.

The election held—How the true result was to be determined—The State Returning Board—Its duties under the law.

The election was held. To determine the true result was the duty, under the laws of Louisiana, of the State canvassing board. "The statute organizing that board declares in substance" as stated by Senator Sherman, "that whenever from any poll or voting place there shall be received by the board the statement of any supervisor of registration or commissioner of election, confirmed by the affidavits of three or more citizens, of any riot, tumult, acts of violence, intimidation, armed disturbance, bribery, or corrupt influences, which prevent, or tend to prevent, a fair, free, and peaceable vote of all qualified electors entitled to vote at such polls, the board shall proceed to investigate the facts, and if from such statement and affidavits they shall be convinced that such causes did not materially interfere with the purity and freedom of such election, or prevent a sufficient number of qualified voters from voting to materially change the result of the election, then such votes shall be canvassed and compiled; but if they are not thus fully convinced, it shall be their duty to examine further testimony in regard thereto, and to that end shall have power to send for persons and papers; and if, after examination, the board shall be convinced that such acts of violence, intimidation, &c., did materially interfere with the purity and freedom of the election at such poll, or did prevent a sufficient number of qualified voters from registering or voting to materially change the result of the election, then the board shall not canvass or compile the vote of such poll, but shall exclude it from their returns."

Why the State Returning Board was created—Terrible Ku-Klux doings of 1868—Democratic intimidations and murders—The parishes of Orleans, Caddo, and Saint Landry, and others.

What compelled the State to create this Canvassing Board? It was to protect the State against the "Ku-Klux Klan," which by a series of sanguinary atrocities in 1868 had endeavored to intimidate the colored vote, uproot in the State all the guarantees by which freedom and the suffrage is protected, to purge the State of the "stigma of negro equality," and seize the State government. Thus one-half of the State—those counties in which colored majorities prevailed—was, just preceding the Presidential campaign of 1868, "overrun by violence, midnight raids, secret murders, and open riots. Ku-Klux notices were scattered everywhere, warning the colored men not to vote."

In the documents accompanying President Grant's special message to the Senate, Jan-

uary 13, 1875, communicating the proofs of numberless atrocities at Celfax and elsewhere in Louisiana, is a communication from Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan, dated New Orleans, January 10, 1875, to the Secretary of War, in which he says :

"Since the year 1866 nearly 3,000 persons, a great majority of whom were colored men, have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1868 the official record shows that 1,884 were killed and wounded. From 1868 to the present time no official investigation has been made, and the civil authorities, in all but a few cases, have been unable to arrest, convict, and punish perpetrators. Consequently there are no correct records to be consulted for information. There is ample evidence, however, to show that more than 1,200 persons have been killed and wounded during this time on account of their political sentiments. Frightful massacres have occurred in the parishes of Boesier, Caddo, Catahoula, Saint Bernard, Saint Landry, Grant, and Orleans. The general character of the massacres in the above-named parishes is so well known that it is unnecessary to describe them. * * *

The "glorious Democratic victory" which ensued in 1868 was preceded by one of the most terrible massacres on record. The Republicans, colored and white, for days were hunted through swamps and fields, and over two hundred were killed and wounded. Thirteen helpless captives were taken from the jail and shot, and a pile of twenty-five dead bodies was found in the woods buried. Having thus conquered the Republicans, having thus murdered or expelled their white leaders, the masses were captured by the Ku-Klux, marked with badges of red flannel, enrolled in clubs, led to the polls, and compelled to vote the Democratic ticket. They were then given certificates of the fact.

The effect of this devilish system of terrorism is shown by selecting a few illustrations out of the frightful mass, as developed by Congressional investigation :

In the parish of Orleans, of its 29,910 voters 15,020 were colored, and in the spring of 1868 the parish had polled 13,973 Republican votes, but in the fall, for General Grant, only 1,178 were polled, a falling off of 12,795 votes.

In the parish of Caddo there were 2,987 Republicans. In the spring of 1868 the Republicans carried the parish; in the fall it gave General Grant one vote.

In the parish of St. Landry, in 1868, the Republicans had a registered majority of 1,071 votes. In the spring the Republicans in the parish had polled a majority of 678 votes; in the fall not a vote was cast for General Grant. Seymour and Blair polled the full vote of the parish—4,787 votes.

It was this systematic, organized devilry which compelled the State to create the State Canvassing Board with extraordinary powers to sit in judgment upon the violent conspiracy of the White League Democracy to wrest the local government from the control of its lawful majority. Its duties were not merely to receive and count any and all returns which might be forwarded to it. Its grand duty was to sit in judgment upon all such returns, to sift and purge them of all fraud, and particularly of fraud perpetrated through organized violence. Its legality was affirmed by the Electoral Commission.

What the Returning Board did in 1876.

How, then, in November, 1876, at its canvass of the vote of Louisiana for the appointment of Presidential electors, did this board execute its responsible and perilous duties? Wisely, justly, equitably, or the contrary? What are the facts?

Under the laws of Louisiana, under the express commands of those laws, requiring them to reject the votes of all parishes in which intimidation and violence had defeated a free election, the board rejected the votes of seventeen parishes—all of them Republican parishes by large majorities, but in which the Democracy claimed 10,000 majority. Why did they reject them?

Why they did it—Another Democratic secret circular—The dreadful work in seventeen rejected parishes.

In obedience to the "confidential" circular of the Democratic Central Committee of the State, organized clubs of masked men, mounted and armed, for months prior to the Presidential election, dragooned the parishes night and day, "marking their course by the whipping, shooting, wounding, maiming, mutilation, and murder of women, children, and defenceless men, whose homes were forcibly entered while they slept, and, as their inmates fled through fear, the pistol, the rifle, the knife, and the rope were employed to do their horrid work." For this "horrid work," through systematic intimidation, through organized murder and outrage, heavy Republican parishes were selected, like East and West Feliciana, East Baton Rouge, Morehouse, Ouachita, etc., all of which in every previous election had voted heavily Republican, and were manifestly selected because of their contiguity to Mississippi and Arkansas, to whose "border ruffians the appalling villany of the clubs might be charged." In these seventeen parishes on election day there was a registered Republican majority of nearly 7,000 votes; but the returns from those parishes to the returning board were: For Tilden, 21,123; for Hayes, 10,970—making a Democratic majority of 10,153. The Democracy demanded that such returns, with fraud stamped upon their face, with the horrible agencies by which that fraud had been perpetrated notorious, should be counted for Tilden. Of course, with the certified proofs before it, the board demurred. Under the command of the law it was their duty to investigate. It did investigate, and the facts developed were revolting.

The parish of Ouachita as an example—The Dinkgrave murder—The Pinkston tragedy.

Take any one of those parishes; take Ouachita, for example. In 1868 it gave a Republican majority of 1,071; in 1870 it gave a Republican majority of 798; in 1872 a Republican majority of 798; in 1874 a Republican majority of 927. At the Presidential election in 1876, with a registered Republican majority of 1,040, a Democratic majority of 1,072 was returned. Early in August the Vienna *Sentinel*,

a leading Democratic organ of the parish, boasted that in Ouachita the canvass had been reduced to a single ticket, the Democratic nominees. It boasted that the Republicans were wavering, disheartened, *scared*. A few Republicans still dared to keep the field, but it warned them that they were well known and watched, "and that the halter for their necks is already greased." Bernard H. Dinkgrave, one of those resolute few, a "white man, a cultivated man, and a native of Louisiana," and against whose character no one has breathed a word," except that he was a Republican, was subsequently brutally assassinated. The details of the murder of Henry Pinkston, the murder of his babe in the arms of his wife, and the revolting outrage and mutilation of the person of his wife by a band of masked men, shocked even the humanity of the Democratic visitors at New Orleans. These are but instances, illustrations, of a multitude of like cases attested by a "cloud of witnesses." Was it singular, therefore, that in these parishes the spirit of the colored man should be broken; that he was "impressed" with the "strength" of the Democracy; that hundreds in their terror fled from the polls, as they had from their homes, into the swamps and fields.

A comparison of results in the "bulldozed parishes with the parishes not "bulldozed" — The Returning Board could not act otherwise than they did—Infamy of Tilden and his Democracy.

Thus throughout these seventeen parishes these were the agencies, this the diabolical system of terrorism through organized murder and outrage employed by the chivalrous "Knights of the White Camelia," in "bulldozing" a Democratic majority of 10,000 out of parishes entitled to a Republican majority of 7,000! In the other forty parishes of the State, where intimidation failed, a registered Republican majority of 15,000 yielded an actual Republican majority of 6,000. Under a fair or free election in the unfortunate "bulldozed" parishes, the majority in Louisiana for Hayes and Wheeler would have been greatly increased. Under the Laws of the State the returning board could not restore the Republican majority. Although the proofs that thousands of Republican voters were disfranchised through intimidation were as overwhelming as their details were shocking and disgraceful to the State and nation, although simple justice demanded the restoration of the Republican vote, yet the board was powerless to remedy the great wrong in that way. It could only reject the "bulldozed" returns. Could it have rendered real justice by the restoration of the legal vote which would have been polled in these parishes in the absence of intimidation, Hayes and Wheeler's majority in the State would have been between 10,000 and 15,000 votes. No legal poll, such as is contemplated by the Constitution and the laws, would have depressed that majority.

What, then, in the light of the facts, is the attitude of the Democracy declaring Tilden entitled to the Presidency upon the votes of Louisiana? Is it not simply infamous?

PART V.

The Hale Amendment to the one-sided Potter Resolution—The Florida frauds—The Oregon corruption and bribery—The Louisiana bull-dozing and frauds—The South Carolina bribery and corruption — The Mississippi shot-gun frauds.

The following is the amendment hitherto referred to in Chapter III. as intended to be proposed by Mr. Hale to the Potter resolution appointing an investigating committee.

The Florida Frauds.

Resolved, That the select committee to whom this House has committed the investigation of certain matters affecting, as is alleged, the legal title of the President of the United States, to the high office which he now holds, be, and is hereby, instructed, in the course of its investigations, to fully inquire into all the facts connected with the election in the State of Florida, in November, 1876, and especially into the circumstances attending the transmission and receiving of certain telegraphic dispatches sent in said year between Tallahassee, in said State, and New York city, viz.:

"Tallahassee, November 9, 1876.

"A. S. Hewitt, New York:

"Comply if possible with my telegram.

"GEO. F. RABBY."

Also the following:

"Tallahassee, December 1, 1876.

"W. T. Pelton, New York:

"Answer Mac's dispatch immediately, or we will be embarrassed at a critical time.

"WILKINSON CALL."

Also the following:

"Tallahassee, December 4, 1876.

"W. T. Pelton:

"Things culminating here. Answer Mac's dispatch to-day.

"W. CALL."

And also the facts connected with all telegraphic dispatches between one John F. Coyle and said Pelton, under the latter's real or fictitious name, and with any and all demands for money on or about December 1, 1876, from said Tallahassee, on said Pelton, or said Hewitt, or with any attempt to corrupt or bribe any official of the State of Florida by any person acting for said Pelton, or in the interest of Samuel J. Tilden as a Presidential candidate.

Also to investigate the charges of intimidation at Lake City, in Columbia county, where Joel Niblack and other white men, put ropes around the necks of colored men, and proposed to hang them, but released them on their promise to join a Democratic club and vote for Samuel J. Tilden.

Also the facts of the election in Jackson county, where the ballot-boxes were kept out the sight of voters, who voted through openings or holes six feet above the ground, and where many more Republican votes were thus given into the hands of the Democratic inspectors than were counted or returned by them.

Also the facts of the election in Waldo precinct, in Alachua county, where the passengers on an emigrant train, passing through on the day of election, were allowed to vote.

Also the facts of the election in Manatee county, returning 235 majority for the Tilden electors, where

there were no county officers, no registration, no notice of the election, and where the Republican party, therefore, did not vote.

Also the facts of the election in the third precinct of Key West giving 342 Democratic majority, where the Democratic inspector carried the ballot-box home, and pretended to count the ballots on the next day, outside of the precinct and contrary to law.

Also the facts of the election in Hamilton, where the election officers exercised no control over the ballot-box, but left it in unauthorized hands that it might be tampered with.

Also the reasons why the Attorney General of the State, William Archer Cocke, as a member of the Canvassing Board, officially advised the Board, and himself voted, to exclude the Hamilton county and Key West precinct returns, thereby giving, in any event, over 500 majority to the Republican electoral ticket, and afterwards protested against the result which he had voted for, and whether or not said Cocke was afterwards rewarded for such protest by being made a State judge.

The Oregon bribery and corruption.

And that said committee is further instructed and directed to investigate into all the facts connected with an alleged attempt to secure one electoral vote in the State of Oregon for Samuel J. Tilden for President of the United States, and Thomas A. Hendricks for Vice President, by unlawfully setting up the election of E. A. Cronin as one of such presidential electors elected from the State of Oregon on the 7th of November, the candidates for the presidential electors on the two tickets being as follows:

On the Republican ticket: W. C. Odell, J. C. Cartwright, and John W. Watts.

On the Democratic ticket: E. A. Cronin, W. A. Laswell, and Henry Klippel.

The votes received by each candidate as shown by the official vote as canvassed, declared, and certified to by the Secretary of State under the seal of the State—the Secretary being, under the laws of Oregon, sole canvassing officer, as will be shown hereafter—being as follows:

W. K. Odell received.....	15,206 votes.
John C. Cartwright received.....	15,214 "
John W. Watts received.....	15,206 "
E. A. Cronin received.....	14,157 "
W. B. Laswell received.....	14,149 "
Henry Klippel received.....	14,136 "

And by the unlawful attempt to bribe one of said legally elected electors to recognize said Cronin as an elector for President and Vice-President, in order that one of the electoral votes of said State might be cast for said Samuel J. Tilden as President and for Thomas A. Hendricks as Vice President; and especially to examine and inquire into all the facts relating to the sending of money from New York to some place in said Oregon for the purposes of such bribery, the parties sending and receiving the same, and their relations to and agency for said Tilden, and more particularly to investigate into all the circumstances attending the transmission of the following telegraphic dispatches:

"Portland, Oregon, November 14, 1876.

"Gov. L. F. Grover:

"Come down to-morrow, if possible.

"W. H. EFFINGER,

"A. NOLTINGER,

"C. P. BELLINGER."

"Portland, November 16, 1876.

"To Gov. Grover, Salem:

"We want to see you particularly on account of dispatches from the East.

"WILLIAM STRONG,

"C. P. BELLINGER,

"S. H. REED,

"W. W. THAYER,

"C. E. BRONAUGH."

Also the following cipher dispatch sent from Portland, Oregon, on the 28th day of November, 1876, to New York city:

"Portland, November 28, 1876.

"To W. T. Pelton, No. 15, Gramercy Park, New York:

"By vizier association innocuous to negligence cunning minutely previously readmit doltish to purchase afar act with cunning afar sacriestry unweighed

afar pointer tigress cattle superannuated syllabus dilatoriness misapprehension contraband Kountz bisulcuous top usher spiniferous answer.

"J. H. N. PATRICK.

"I fully endorse this.

"JAMES K. KELLY."

Of which, when the key was discovered, the following was found to be the true intent and meaning:

"Portland, November 28, 1876.

"To W. T. Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park, New York: "Certificate will be issued to one Democrat. Must purchase a Republican elector to recognize and act with Democrats and secure the vote and prevent trouble. Deposit \$10,000 to my credit with Kountz Brothers, Wall street. Answer.

"J. H. N. PATRICK."

"I fully endorse this.

"JAMES K. KELLY."

Also the following:

"New York, November 25, 1876.

"A. Bush, Salem:

"Use all means to prevent certificate. Very important.

"C. E. TILTON."

Also the following:

"December 1, 1876.

"To Hon. Sam. J. Tilden, No. 15 Gramercy Park,

New York.

"I shall decide every point in case of post-office elector in favor of the highest Democratic elector, and grant certificate accordingly on morning of 6th inst. Confidential.

"GOVERNOR."

Also the following:

"San Francisco, December 5.

"Ladd & Bush, Salem:

"Funds from New York will be deposited to your credit here to-morrow when bank opens. I know it. Act accordingly. Answer.

"W. C. GRISWOLD."

Also the following, six days before the foregoing:

"New York, November 29, 1876.

"To J. H. N. Patrick, Portland, Oregon:

"Moral hasty sidental vizier gabble cramp by hemistic welcome licentiate muskeete compassion neglectful recoverable hathouse live innovator brackish association dime afar idolator session hemistic mitre."

[No signature.]

Of which the interpretation is as follows:

"New York, November 29, 1876.

"To J. H. N. Patrick, Portland, Oregon:

"No. How soon will Governor decide certificate? If you make obligations contingent on the result in March, it can be done, and slightly if necessary."

[No signature.]

Also the following, one day later:

"Portland, November, 30, 1876.

"To W. T. Pelton, No. 15 Gramercy Park, New York:

"Governor all right without reward. Will issue certificate Tuesday. This is a secret. Republicans threaten if certificate issued to ignore Democratic claims and fill vacancy, and thus defeat action of Governor. One elector must be paid to recognize Democrat to secure majority. Have employed three lawyers. Editor of only Republican paper as one lawyer, fee \$3,000. Will take \$5,000 for Republican elector; must raise money; can't make fee contingent. Sail Saturday. Kelly and Bellinger will act. Communicate with them. Must act promptly."

[No signature.]

Also the following:

"San Francisco, December 5, 1876.

"To Kountze Bros., No. 12 Wall street, New York:

"Has my account credit by any funds lately? How much?

"J. H. N. PATRICK."

Also the following:

"New York, December 6.

"J. H. N. Patrick, San Francisco.

"Davis deposited eight thousand dollars, December first.

"KOUNTZE BROS."

Also the following:

"San Francisco, December 6.

"To James K. Kelly:

"The eight deposited as directed this morning. Let not technicality prevent winning. Use your discretion."

[No signature.]

And the following:

"New York, December 6.

"Hon. Jas. K. Kelly:

"Is your matter certain? There must be no mistake. All depends on you. Place no reliance on any favorable report from three southward. Sonetter. Answer quick." [No signature.]

Also the following:

"December 6, 1876.

"To Col. W. T. Pelton, 18 Gramercy Park, N. Y.:
"Glory to God! Hold on to the one vote in Oregon!
I have one hundred thousand men to back it up!"
"Comss."

And said committee is further directed to inquire into and bring to light, so far as it may be possible, the entire correspondence and conspiracy referred to in the above telegraphic dispatches, and to ascertain what were the relations existing between any of the parties sending or receiving said dispatches and W. T. Pelton, of New York, and also what relations existed between said W. T. Pelton and Samuel J. Tilden, of New York.

The Louisiana bulldozing and frauds.

And said committee is further instructed and directed to make inquiry into all the circumstances and facts attending and connected with the alleged attempts to violently and fraudulently secure the electoral vote of the State of Louisiana for Samuel J. Tilden as President and Thomas A. Hendricks as Vice President of the United States, by organizing armed bands of men, who overran certain parishes in said State, particularly the parishes of Morehouse, Ouachita, East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, and West Feliciana, burning the houses of colored Republicans, murdering the inmates or driving them from their homes, and by these and other methods of intimidation establishing a reign of terror such as prevented any approach to a fair expression of the legal votes of such parishes, and to make a full report upon the same; and also upon any attempt made to corrupt or bribe any presidential elector of said State, or any of the officials of the State, whose legal duty it was, by the laws of said State, to count or declare the vote of said State, to wrongfully and unlawfully count and declare said vote for the electors representing said Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks.

The South Carolina bribery and corruption.

And said committee is further instructed and directed to investigate all the facts and circumstances connected with an alleged attempt to bribe and corrupt any Presidential elector of the State of South Carolina, so that a part or all of the electoral vote of said State should be wrongfully cast for Samuel J. Tilden as President and Thomas A. Hendricks as Vice President.

The Mississippi shot-gun frauds.

And said committee is further instructed and directed to make full inquiry and investigation into all the methods of violence, intimidation, and fraud by which the voters of the State of Mississippi are alleged to have been prevented from casting their votes freely and peaceably for the candidates of their choice in the Presidential election of November, 1876, and the causes which led to the transformation in said State of a Republican majority of 40,000 to a Democratic majority nearly as large, and to extend such inquiries into all other States where such intimidation, violence, and fraud are alleged to have influenced the result in said Presidential election; and, in investigating into such alleged violence, intimidation, and fraud in the State of Mississippi, said committee is directed to examine especially into the facts of the population, colored and white, in the Sixth Congressional district in said State of Mississippi, and the registration for the year 1876, when it is alleged that more than five thousand colored men were improperly refused registration, and also to inquire into the facts which led to the radical change in the colored vote in said district, after such alleged intimidation and fraud were resorted to to prevent colored voters from casting their ballots freely and according to their wishes, some of which facts are set forth in the following statement:

REGISTRATION STATISTICS, SIXTH DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI, 1876.

	Whites.	Blacks.
Tunica County.....	*300	1,500
Coahoma County.....	735	2,003
Bolivar County.....	850	2,850
Washington County.....	1,284	4,648
Issaquena County.....	245	1,402
Sharkey County.....	*300	700
Warren County.....	2,019	1,689
Claiborne County.....	917	1,279
Jefferson County.....	786	2,154
Adams County.....	964	3,213
Wilkinson County.....	754	2,507

*Estimated.

ELECTION STATISTICS IN FOUR COUNTIES.

	1869.	1872. Presi- dential Election.	1876. Presi- dential Election.
Washington County—			
Total vote polled.....	2,670	2,757	4,496
Republican vote.....	2,530	2,562	1,591
Democratic vote.....	140	195	*2,905
Jefferson County—			
Total vote polled.....	2,384	2,152	1,965
Republican vote.....	1,919	1,698	420
Democratic vote.....	415	454	*1,545
Claiborne County—			
Total vote polled.....	2,548	2,724	1,924
Republican vote.....	2,091	2,238	426
Democratic vote.....	457	484	*1,498
Warren County—			
Total vote polled.....	5,638	6,014	2,618
Republican vote.....	4,560	4,729	615
Democratic vote.....	1,078	1,285	*2,043

*As returned.

PART VI.

The Page Resolution condemning Tilden's attempt to steal the Oregon Vote and denouncing the infamy of Cronin is defeated by the Democrats—Only two decent men in all Israel.

March 3, 1877, Horace F. Page, of California, Republican, moved to suspend the rules and pass the following:

"Resolved, That this House condemns the recent attempt to defeat the will of the people of Oregon by the refusal of the Governor of that State to certify the election of an elector having a majority of the legal votes fairly cast and issuing a commission to a defeated candidate. And the House also condemns and denounces the corrupt use of money to aid in this outrage, and especially the payment of \$3,000 to one Cronin, the defeated elector, for his part in the infamous transaction."

The vote by which Cronin was endorsed.

The above resolution was disagreed to; yeas 87 (all Republicans, save two Democrats), nays 90 (all Democrats): not voting 113 (22 Republicans and 91 Democrats), as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, G. A. Bagley, Ballou, Banks, Belford, Blair, Bradley, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Burleigh, Buttz, Cannon, Cason, Caswell, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Danford, Davy, Denison, Dunnell, Eames, J. L. Evans, Flye, Fort, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Haralson, Hathorn, Henderson, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Kimball, Lapham, Lawrence, Leavenworth, *Le Moine*, Lynch, Lynde, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, McMill, Miller, Monroe, Norton, Oliver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, W. A. Phillips, Pierce, Plaisted, Platt, Pratt, Rainey, M. S.

Robinson, S. Ross, Ruak, Sampson, Seelye, Stanickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Stowell, Strait, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, G. W. Wells, J. D. White, Willard, A. Williams, W. B. Williams, J. Wilson, A. Wood, Jr., Woodworth—87.

NATS—Messrs. Abbott, Ainsworth, Ashe, Atkins, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Beebe, Blackburn, Boone, Bradford, Bright, Buckner, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Caulfield, J. B. Clarke, J. E. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Collins, Culberson, J. J. Davis, Durham, Feltton, Finley, Forney, Franklin, Goode, Gunter, Hardenberg, J. Harris, Hartzell, Hatcher, A. S. Hewitt, Holman, House, A. Humphreys, Hutton, Hurd, T. L. Jones, Knott, Lamar, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, McMahon, Meade, Mills, Money, Morrison, Mutchler, New, O'Brien, Payne, Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Poppleton, Reagan, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Biddle, W. M. Robbins, Saylor, Seales, Scheickler, Sheakley, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, W. H. Stone, J. K. Tarboe, Terry, Thomas, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Walling, Warner, E. Wells, Whitehouse, Wigginton, Wike, A. N. Williams, J. N. Williams, B. Wilson, Yeates, Young—90.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. Anderson, Bagby, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Banning, Bass, S. N. Bell, Bland, Bliss, Blount, J. Y. Brown, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, A. Campbell, Carr, Cale, Chapin, Cochran, Cook, Cowan, S. S. Cox, Cutler, Darrall, De Bolt, Dabrell, Dobbins, Douglas, Durand, Eden, Egbert, Ellis, Faulkner, D. D. Field, Fuller, Garfield, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goodin, Hale, H. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hancock, B. W. Harris, H. R. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Haymond, C. Hays, Hendee, Henkle, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hoar, Hoge, Hooker, Hopkins, Hoskins, Jenks, F. Jones, Kehr, King, Lane, Levy, Lewis, Lord, Luttrell, Mackey, Maish, McFarland, F. B. Metcalf, Milliken, Morgan, Nash, L. T. Neal, Odell, Piper, Potter, Powell, Purman, Rea, J. Reilly, J. Robbins, Roberts, M. Ross, Savage, Schumaker, Singleton, Stanton, Stephens, Stevenson, Swann, Teese, Van Vorhes, Wait, Waldron, C. C. B. Walker, G. C. Walker, Walsh, E. Ward, Warren, Watterson, Wheeler, Whiting, Whitthorne, C. G. Williams, J. Williams, B. A. Willis, Wilshire, F. Wood, Woodburn—113.

PART VII.

"The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden, not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regarded him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party."—Declaration of National Dem. Platform, 1880.

Shameful story of the Cipher Dispatches and the Tilden barrel—Bribery and attempted Bribery to secure Electors in Florida, South Carolina and Oregon.

The story of the captured cipher dispatches and the secret efforts made by Tilden through his Democratic emissaries, to defraud Florida, South Carolina and Oregon of an Electoral vote, is one of the most damnable in the whole history of Democratic Election Frauds, and the exposure by the *N. Y. Tribune* of the entire nefarious business, was perhaps one of the most startling disclosures ever made to a disgusted Nation. Nearly 200 of the captured telegraphic dispatches were in cipher, and, although several perplexing systems had been adopted, all were at last deciphered with an

accuracy amounting to mathematical demonstration. The original cipher dispatches with the translations were published side by side, and cannot be disputed. In the language of the *Tribune*, they comprised :

"1. Telegrams between the Democratic managers in New York and their agents in California and Oregon, relative to the granting of a certificate to one of the Democratic electors who was not elected, and the 'purchase of a Republican elector to recognize and act with him.'

"2. Telegrams between the Democratic managers in New York and their friends and secret agents in Florida during the progress of the count.

"3. Telegrams between these New York managers and their friends and secret agents in Louisiana during the same critical period.

"4. Telegrams between these New York managers and their friends and secret agents in South Carolina during the operations of the Canvassing Board at Columbia, and the argument before the State Supreme Court, by whose interference Mr. Tilden's representatives hoped to control the action of the Board.

"5. Various dispatches between local Democratic politicians in Florida and South Carolina, including the series of telegrams on the subject of an armed opposition to Chamberlain's inauguration.

The Florida cipher dispatches—Gramercy Park and Tallahassee in communication—A \$200,000 bribe proposed—A \$50,000 offer for one electoral vote accepted—A mistake occurs and the thing falls through.

The story of the contest for the electoral votes of Florida in 1876, as told for the first time by the *Tribune*, in its translations of the cipher dispatches between the Democratic agents in that State and Gramercy Park, New York, is this :

"The translations of these dispatches show that the confidential agents of Mr. Tilden in that State were Manton Marble, C. W. Woolley and John F. Coyle ; that these agents went to Tallahassee with prearranged ciphers for communication with the residence of Mr. Tilden ; that they first labored by lawful means to secure for him the votes of that State, and failed therein because the official returns gave a majority for Mr. Hayes. Cipher dispatches regarding the bribery of a member of the Canvassing Board then passed between Mr. Tilden's residence and his confidential agents in Tallahassee. One proposition to pay \$200,000 for a member was held too high, because another dispatch from a different agent promised a cheaper bargain. Then by both agents separate propositions were sent in separate ciphers, to buy a member for \$50,000. The reply from Gramercy Park was, 'Proposition accepted if done only once,' and the two agents were separately ordered to consult with each other in haste. It does not clearly appear that the goods would have been delivered. But the scheme fell through because four words were dropped from the dispatch authorizing the purchase, thus making it unintelligible. It was after some delay repeated from Gramercy Park in full and intelligible form, but arrived too late, and the visiting statesman so reported to Gramercy Park."

The South Carolina cipher dispatches—Proposed bribery of the Returning Board—\$50,000 the price—The proposition accepted—Delay upsets the plan—Subsequent propositions of violence and corruption.

The story of the attempt to steal or vitiate the electoral vote of South Carolina—extending over the entire period, from election day to the assembling of the Electoral Colleges, Dec 6, 1876, is similarly told as follows :

"In South Carolina the purchasing agent was Smith M. Weed. He telegraphed to Colonel Pelton, on the

very day of his arrival at Columbia, a proposal to buy the Canvassing Board for \$30,000, to which Pelton appears to have readily assented. This figure was too low, and the negotiation, after lasting six days, was closed at the price of \$80,000. Weed went to Baltimore to meet a messenger there who was to carry the money in three packages; but again a little delay upset the scheme. Subsequently a plot was formed to buy four members of the South Carolina Legislature, for \$20,000, and having thus obtained control of the State government, to put the Hayes electors in jail, and lock them up in separate cells until the day for casting the electoral votes had passed. The result of this villainy would have been to deprive South Carolina of any vote and to throw the choice of a President into the House of Representatives, which would have elected Tilden. The plan failed because the four members could not be bought."

The Oregon ciphers—Plot to create a Tilden college out of the Hayes college—Cronin, and the proposed bribe of \$5,000 for a Republican elector—The money gets there too late.

"The plot of the Democratic managers in Oregon was to create a Tilden Electoral College after the election, by causing Governor Grover to issue a certificate to one Democrat (Cronin), who had not been elected, in the place of one of the Republican electors who was said to be ineligible. Cronin was then to develop himself into a full Electoral College by 'filling vacancies' in his own body, and was to cast the single vote which Mr. Tilden needed in order to become President. But, for the success of this plan it was necessary that one of the two Republican electors who held regular certificates should be bribed to recognize and act with Cronin. Accordingly the Democratic Governor (Grover) withheld a certificate from one of the Hayes electors on the ground of ineligibility, and instead of allowing the other electors to fill the vacancy, gave the certificate to a Tilden elector named Cronin, who had clearly been defeated. The secret agent in Oregon was one J. H. N. Patrick. He telegraphed to Colonel Pelton that it was necessary to 'purchase a Republican elector to recognize and act with' Cronin, and the price was \$5,000. This proposal likewise was accepted, and the money was sent to Oregon, where it arrived only on the 6th of December, just too late to be of any use."

For specimens of these cipher dispatches and other matter connected with the attempted frauds, bribery and corruption in Florida and other states, see pages 67 to 69.

PART VIII.

The Maine "Steal"—Brief History of the Garcelon Iniquity—How it comes to Grief.

No more authoritative statement of the Democratic attempt to steal Maine can be given than the unanimous* report of the Joint Select committee of the Maine Legislature appointed "to inquire into the condition of the Election Returns of Sept. 8, 1879, and the expenditure of public moneys under the direction of Gov. Garcelon and Council." A condensation of that report and the evidence upon which it is founded will tell the outrageous story in a nut-shell.

Peculiarities of the Maine Election Laws—The vote for Governor — The election thrown into the Legislature.

In Maine a majority is requisite for the

popular choice of governor and of State senators, in their several districts, while representatives of the Legislature are chosen by a plurality vote. The representative districts are nearly or quite all composed of several towns, no town sending more than one representative, and no city more than five. In case no person has a majority for governor, or for senator in any district, the vacancy is filled by the members and senators elected, in a manner not necessary to be stated. The vote cast at the Maine election, held September 8, 1879, was the largest ever thrown in that State, aggregating 138,355. It was thus divided between the gubernatorial candidates: Davis (Rep.), 68,766; Smith (Greenb.), 47,590; Garcelon (Dem.), 21,668; scattering, 311. It will be seen that although Davis, the Republican candidate, had 21,176 more votes than his chief competitor, he lacked 402 votes of an absolute majority over all others. So the selection devolved upon the Legislature, as above stated; and the choice would, of course, be determined by the political complexion of that body.

The "Fusion"—How "fusion did not fuse."

Though three candidates had been put in nomination for Governor, there had been a "fusion" between the Democrats and Greenbackers throughout the State upon Senatorial and Representative tickets. The day after the election it was well known, and everywhere conceded, that so far as the people could, by their action at the polls, determine the character of the Legislature of 1880, the Senate would contain 19 Republicans and 12 Fusionists, and the House 90 Republicans to 61 Fusionists. The aggregate of all the votes cast in the several Senatorial districts for the Republican nominees exceeded the aggregate of those thrown for their opponents by about 5,000, showing that "fusion would not fuse."

Constitutional requirements disregarded—All precedents overturned—The Governor and Council usurp judicial functions.

The Constitution requires each separate town to transmit to the Secretary of State, to be by him laid before the governor and council, a return of all the votes cast therein for Senators and Representatives. It is, then, a simple process of addition and subtraction to determine the result as to any particular district. The constitution requires the governor and council to perform this duty; to examine the returns so sent from the several towns, and "issue a summons to such persons as appear to be elected" in each district to attend and take their seats in the Legislature on the first Wednesday of the next January. Governor Garcelon and his "fusion" council, instead of following the unbroken precedents of fifty-eight years since the erection of Maine into a State—observed by all parties who have administered the government in that period—and performing the purely ministerial duty

*The statement of facts thereby established being expressly admitted by seven members of the committee, consisting of five Republicans and three fusionists, the eighth indicating his assent only by silence.

required of them, assumed that the constitution invested them, with judicial functions, making them "judges of elections," and then proceeded to the most flagrant and outrageous abuse of this wrongfully assumed power in order to defeat the will of the people as emphatically expressed at the polls.

The declaration that 8 Senators and 29 Representatives do not "appear to be elected"—Every one of these a Republican—No Democrat or Greenbacker under ban—Frivolous pretexts by which large cities were denied representation.

Their duty is to examine the returns and see who "appear to be elected," according to those returns, and then to summon such persons. They declared the condition of these returns to be such that eight senators and twenty-nine representatives, who, in fact, received the requisite number of votes to elect them, did not "appear to be elected." Every one of these senators and representatives was a Republican; not a single Democrat or Greenbacker failed to receive a summons by reason of any defect in the returns; and thus those who were in a minority at the polls were to be made a majority in each branch of the Legislature. By rejecting returns for frivolous alleged informalities and technical inaccuracies, eight Republican senators were to give place to eight fusion senators, and twenty-nine Republican representatives were refused their seats, to which seventeen fusionists were admitted, and twelve were left vacant. Those twelve represented the cities of Portland, Saco, Lewiston, Bath, and Rockland. The average Republican majority in Portland was 629. Of the whole number of votes cast 143 were returned as "scattering." If all of these were counted for the highest candidate on the fusion ticket, he would have been still several hundred behind the lowest upon the Republican ticket. Yet, because the name of every man who received even a single vote was not written in full upon the returns, the Governor and council, acting under the obligation of official duty, and the sanction of an official oath, declare that it does not "appear" by such a return that anybody was chosen to represent Portland in the Legislature, and her five representatives, having an average majority of 629, are excluded. Upon pretexts equally frivolous the four cities of Bath, Saco, Lewiston and Rockland, having seven representatives, were disfranchised, the Governor refusing even to order a new election; thus denying to these principal cities in the State any voice in a Legislature which was to establish a valuation as a basis of taxation for the next decade. It was the most odious form of taxation without representation.

Fraudulent counting in of Fusionists who had the smallest votes—Fraudulent reasoning conclusive to fraud-loving minds—Specimens coming under the Governor's remarkable ruling.

The cases in which fusion senators and re-

presentatives were summoned to take seats belonging to their Republican opponents show still more flagrant frauds, perpetrated while the returns were in the custody of the governor and council. For instance, in York county, constituting the first senatorial district, two fraudulent alterations of the same character were made to have different effects, though both subserved the same purpose—that of seating men who obtained the fewest votes at the polls. The return from Berwick, when sent to the Secretary of State, gave to George H. Wakefield, a Republican nominee for senator, 258 votes. In Dayton, a strongly Democratic town, Josiah H. Stover was returned as receiving 96 votes. After these returns reached Augusta, the H in each case was converted into an A by closing at the top, so as (under the ruling of the governor and council) to deprive Geo. H. Wakefield, Republican, of the vote of Berwick, and to give to Josiah A. Stover, Democratic fusionist, the vote of Dayton; thereby depriving the former of his seat in the Senate. Again, Oliver P. Bragdon was the Republican candidate for representative in the district composed of Gouldsboro' and several other towns in Hancock county and received a majority of the votes cast therein. In Gouldsboro' he received 207 against 125 cast for James Flye, Greenbacker. After the returns came into the hands of the governor and council, some one changed the P into a B, by adding a loop, and thereupon these 207 votes were counted for a supposititious Oliver B. Bragdon, instead of for the proper man, and he was thus deprived of his summons, which was sent to his opponent, Flye, upon the ground that he had more votes than either Oliver P. Bragdon or Oliver B. Bragdon—wrongfully and fraudulently assuming the Republican vote to have been divided between two Bragdons, when there was but one. Skowhegan cast 595 Republican to 302 fusion votes; yet the representative so chosen was denied his seat because the governor was informed that the Republican votes had the names thereon in two columns instead of one! No law prescribes aught as to the arrangement of names, which is a matter of taste with the printer or voter. The "h" accidentally omitted by the town clerk from the name of Burnham, Republican, defeats him, while votes returned for Tabbot and Talbart elect Talbot, Democrat.

In all the 37 cases, no instance of ambiguity in the returns—All "appeared" to be elected—Only 15 cases of doubt in 60 years—Favors to the Fusionists—Different sauces for goose and gander.

The foregoing are merely given as samples of the whole. There were very many other instances of similar changes and frauds, made and committed to keep out Republicans who were elected, and to seat fusionists who were not. There was not one solitary instance out of the thirty-seven in which there was any ambiguity in the returns, or in which it did not plainly thereby "appear" who was elected. In the sixty years of the history of that State but fifteen such instances of fatal

defects have occurred—15 out of more than 10,000 persons elected to the Legislatures convened within that time; yet Governor Garcelon's astuteness, aided by the wisdom of his council, discovered 37 among the 182 persons making up the Legislature of 1880. Every error counting out a Republican, and 25 of them also counting in a fusionist. No error could affect a fusionist, because new blanks were surreptitiously sent out from the capitol to several towns electing fusion representatives, that they might be correctly filled according to the new strict requirements of the governor and council, and were substituted for the original ones, which contained errors similar to those held fatal to Republican success. In other cases errors fatal to a Republican were held not to prejudice a fusionist. Had the law, as previously and correctly administered, been observed, the Republicans would have had a majority in each branch, and had the technical rules wrongfully established by Governor Garcelon been faithfully and impartially applied to both parties, the Republicans would still have had a majority; but they were only enforced to exclude Republicans and were disregarded to seat fusionists.

Intense indignation throughout the State—Garcelon calls to his aid convicts and jail birds—He abstracts \$4,000 from the special fund for free high schools, with which to pay them.

Naturally, this course created intense excitement and indignation throughout the State. At first, Governor Garcelon was disposed to disregard it, and summoned to his support an illegal body of men, among whom were convicts and jail birds (one of them having been recently pardoned out of States' prison by Governor Garcelon himself), whom he paid by a misappropriation of the public funds. To make his conduct harmoniously infamous throughout, the governor took \$4,000 from the free high school fund to pay these men; being the fund of all others that should not have been touched, not only on account of the importance of the purpose to which it was devoted, but because it is a special fund raised and pledged to aid towns in the maintenance of such schools.

The storm still rising—Garcelon quails at last—Refers the case to the Supreme Court—It unanimously declares him utterly wrong in all respects—Sudden collapse of the whole damnable conspiracy.

At last, however, the governor quailed before the rising storm, and consented to ask the opinion of the Supreme Court in a method authorized by the Constitution upon the legality of his conduct. The *unanimous* reply of this tribunal, in which both parties were represented, was that he had been utterly wrong from the beginning and in every particular; that the senators and representatives were not dependent upon the governor and council for their seats, but upon the suffrages

of their fellow-citizens; and that if they received no notice or "summons" (which is merely a notification and not a judgment) to attend the convening of the Legislature they could convene without one. Thereupon the whole fusion conspiracy collapsed for want of popular support and not from any acquiescence on the part of the fusion leaders in the supremacy of the law. The Legislature, as chosen by the people, went on and performed its appropriate functions, first choosing Daniel F. Davis (Republican), governor.

PART IX.

The Infamous New York Election Frauds—Supervisor John I. Davenport's Startling Revelations on the Stand—For Twelve Years the Tammany Democracy has Voted Thousands of Men who Never Lived!—64,000 Votes Fraudulently added, in 1868, to the Lawful Votes of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut—"Whole Streets Taken and Naturalized from House to House!"—The Various Systems in Operation,

Following is from the sworn testimony of Supervisor John I. Davenport, given before the Wallace Senate Investigating Committee, July 16, 17, 19, and 20, 1880, in New York city, after which the testimony was abruptly terminated because, as Senator McDonald (Democrat) said: "the chairman (Senator Wallace) was unwilling to have the investigation go on." The Democratic members of the committee had evidently had enough of it. It is a most interesting bit of history.

Who John I. Davenport is, and what he has been attending to these many years—How he commenced work.

Said the witness, Mr. Davenport (July 16, 1880):

"I am a United States Commissioner, and Supervisor of Elections. In 1876 I issued a number of warrants for the arrest of persons using fraudulent naturalization papers. In 1868 I was employed as counsel for the Union League Club to investigate the frauds that had been and were still going on, and to prepare proof and to secure witnesses. I sifted the mass of evidence obtained; and laid it before the committee, known as the Lawrence Committee, and following that came their report. At the first election after I was appointed Chief Supervisor I gave notice to all persons having naturalization papers issued in 1868 to be careful in their use, and proceeded to accumulate additional evidence to reach those who had committed the frauds. I found that there were persons who acted as witnesses for hundreds and thousands of people, and I accumulated information relative to the conduct of naturalization proceedings in that year, and in 1866 and 1867 also.

How these wholesale frauds began—60,000 bogus naturalizations in one year.

"These wholesale naturalization proceedings began in 1866, before Judge Cardozo, in the Court of Common Pleas. In 1867 they were transferred to the Superior Court, before Judge McCunn. The Court of Common Pleas had done the bulk of the naturalization business, until it was stopped by Mr. Jarvis, the clerk of the court, a Democrat, but a man of strict integrity. I have here a mass of applications (exhibiting a pile of papers) on which the clerk utterly refused to offer certificates.

"In 1868 the Court of Common Pleas was neglected, and only issued 3,145 certificates, while the Superior Court issued 20,000, and the Supreme Court, for the first time in its history, was opened for purposes of naturalization. In the Superior Court there were issued in December, 1868, 26,226; in January, 1869, the deputy clerk of the court issued 27,897. In October alone 18,472 certificates were given out.

"In the Superior Court, before one judge, there were issued in fifteen days of October, 1868, according to the files of the court, 18,837 certificates. There was, as nearly as can be ascertained, an additional issue of 20,000 in the two courts, of which no records appear on the books. In 1868 there were 64,000 such naturalization papers manufactured in these courts.

Dirty work in the Supreme Court—8,754 more naturalization papers issued than the Court files show.

"In the Supreme Court, before Judge Barnard, there were 18,824. In the Superior Court, during October, five judges took part in the proceedings. Judge Barber naturalized 75; Anthony M. Robinson, the same number; Samuel Jones, 1,000. From seven to eight-tenths of the number were before Judge McCunn, and Judge Garvin had the remainder. All except Judges Garvin and McCunn attended to their ordinary duties during the month, and Garvin did so part of the time, doing chamber business occasionally. This total of 18,824 in the Supreme Court, is 8,754 more than appears on the files of the court for 1869, as I learn from testimony other than that given by M. Plum.

Davenport begins the fight—His offer to Tammany—Results of his good work.

"In 1872 and 1874 instructions were given to regard those specific cases where information was obtained relative to fraudulent naturalization papers. In 1876, I issued a notice to the supervisors to challenge peremptorily every person who appeared for the purpose of registering on the 1868 certificate. I had obtained so much information that it was my desire to give each person notice that his right to the possession of such certificate would be contested, and to place him on his guard as to their use. By 1878, I had obtained additional facts, as I desired to sustain myself, but not to act hastily. I believed that a large number of those holding such certificates had been imposed upon. I sought Mr. Kelly and proposed to him the appointment of a joint committee of Republicans and Democrats, and said that if they would work with me I would sit during the evening, in order to allow the laboring men more facilities for appearing than they would have during the daytime. And I proposed that the committee from Tammany Hall should aid me in having the holders of '68 papers appear before me in the Spring and Summer of 1878; that these fraudulent papers should be taken up, and the holders be permitted to declare their intentions where they had not declared them; and that those who had declared their intentions should obtain proper papers. Thus I wanted to save the issuing of warrants, and to prevent arrests and the complications which would arise if such action was taken at the election.

"Henry L. Clinton, of Tammany Hall, wrote to me, and subsequently a committee was appointed by Mr. Kelly's organization, namely, Luke Cozzens, Judge Quinn, and Henry D. Purroy. They appointed one of their number to sit in my office during the proceedings. They sat for two or three days and then withdrew, for reasons unknown to me, although I have my views. They opened an office in Beade street, and sent out circulars printed in English and German, to all holders of papers of 1868.

[Mr. Davenport here read a copy of the circular. Its purport was to render the persons referred to suspicious of the Government's supervisors, and seemed especially to warn them against appearing before Mr. Davenport. An early call at their office was advised].

"I proceeded during the Summer with the business, and between 2,000 and 3,000 persons appeared before me, surrendered their false papers, and made affidavits as to how they obtained them. Of these 1,000 men had voted on the papers for eight years. They were considerably over age when they arrived in this country—from forty to sixty years of age—yet they were naturalized as minors, without declaring their intentions. In 1878 the number of fraudulent certificates registered was reduced to 3,197, as against 10,000 in 1876. I issued warrants for 3,100 holders of these papers, and prevented all except 1,240 from voting, and in these cases it was not my fault. Some of the 3,197 procured new papers."

Specimen Frauds—Certificates issued in blank.

"In sifting this matter I learned first that the number of applications on file nowhere nearly approached the number issued in 1868. Certificates in blank were issued, under the seal of the Court, and with the clerk's signature attached; and in 1867 the same thing was done. [Mr. Davenport here showed a certificate.] Where they were so issued, he continued, they were ready to use by filling in the names. I have in my possession blanks with one name erased by a knife, and another filled in. Later this kind of work was done with acid, and is almost impossible to detect. This practice was carried on to a considerable extent. I also learned that many certificates were issued in names of fictitious persons for whom applications were made out and filed in the court. Many of them were signed, in good handwriting, by witnesses who cannot write at the present time."

Professional false witnesses.

"Many of the persons engaged in this work were acting as standing professional witnesses. For instance: Patrick Goff was a witness for 2,162 persons, and John Moran for 1,397. Ten persons were witnesses for 8,245 applicants. In one month, as shown by the files of the Court, these witnesses, about 100 in number, made affidavits for above 20,000 people. They were, in fact permanently attached to the Courts during the naturalization proceedings, in that capacity, and for that purpose. For October, 1868, there were 37,000 applications, to which they made affidavit. They acted in both Courts on the same day.

"Patrick Goff was witness in the Supreme Court as follows: On October 9th, for 63; 10th, 325; 12th, 391; 13th, 357; 14th, 114; 15th, 196; 16th, 165; 17th, 13; 19th, 72; 20th, 56; 21st, 20; 22d, 18.

"John Moran was witness as follows: October 7th, for 9; 8th, 34; 9th, 6; 10th, 29; 12th, 96; 13th, 136; 14th, 115; 15th, 30; 16th, 265; 17th, 1; 19th, 60; 20th, 51; 21st, 98; 22d, 61; 23d, 71.

"John Ward appeared for applicants as follows: In the Supreme Court, October 8th, 44; 9th, 40; 10th, 17; 12th, 136; 13th, 162; 14th, 52; 15th, 107; 16th, 29; 17th, 23; 19th, 63; 20th, 58; 21st, 46; 22d, 89; 23d, 44; and in the Superior Court, October 1st, 8; 2d, 22; 3d, 32; 5th, 17; 6th, 26; 7th, 27; 8th, 83; 9th, 15; 10th, 7; 12th, 10; 14th, 7; 15th, 4; 16th, 2; 17th, 3; 19th, 11; 20th, 2.

"Patrick McCaffery in the Superior Court made affidavits for 273 persons, and in the Supreme Court for 676. John Ward appeared for a total of 1,069 applicants. In these applications the signatures of the applicants were not there, but their names were used. The witnesses obtained the certificates in the names of the applicants, and sold the papers to them at rates varying from 50 cents to \$2."

Spreading the work to other counties.

"In the Supreme Court, Goff, in one day, obtained certificates for 1,000 persons, and took to Kings County 400. Numbers were also delivered to nearly all the river counties—Westchester, Putnam, Orange, Rockland. I know of 500 that were offered in Saratoga County, in blank, to Mr. Curtis of the State Committee, at \$1 apiece. * * * I believe that a very large number of certificates were issued for which there are no records and no application on file any where in

court. I call the attention of the committee to the testimony before the Congressional Committee on Contested Seats in the case of Van Wyck against Green, and that from Orange and other counties before the Lawrence Committee, and to a letter written by me to County Clerk Gumbleton on October 22, 1878, asking him if any naturalizations had been made by the Supreme Court in 1866, and to Mr. Gumbleton's reply in the negative. Certificates were printed for the Supreme Court until 1869."

Not informed on history—"Standing witnesses" under criminal indictment!

"Here is a certificate in which the person who filled up the blank forgot that 1872 was not the ninety-first year of the independence of the United States, and filled up the blank as he had been accustomed to do in 1868, instead of making it the ninety-sixth year of independence. In a certificate issued to James Phelan and in two others the '6' is erased and '8' written over it. The name of Max Weinheim was not on the '66 certificate, as none were presented to the Superior Court in that year, so the Court sent another paper to his house (tossing the certificate to Senator McDonald). I also believe that naturalization papers were given out in blanks, because I have in my possession several papers for which there is no application on file. The clerks so informed me, and I have also inspected the records.

"Many persons whom I questioned said they got their papers at the City Hall, and this was undoubtedly true. But the Court only sat two nights at that place; the papers were given out from the clerk's office. The room in the basement was occupied in October, 1868, by a large number of men sent from the different wards of the city, as standing witnesses, and the applications were filled up by them. Out of 39,000 certificates printed for the Supreme Court, only 1,862 were left when they got through, as Mr. Lowe testified upon the Lawrence Committee, and none was issued except by the clerk. From certain facts obtained I learned that certificates of naturalization were obtained at club-rooms and bar-rooms. Very many of the professional witnesses were under five or six indictments each on criminal charges, and both McCunn and Barnard, who had long been criminal judges, knew the men personally. In 1868 United States Marshal Murray, believing this work was being done, sent a number of fictitious names to the Democratic National Committee and in a few hours obtained certificates of naturalization for all, on the payment of \$2.00 each. Applications were made out at Democratic headquarters, and residences were given in stone-yards and vacant lots."

Making citizens for New Jersey, and Connecticut also—Whole streets naturalized from house to house—Various systems.

"Nor did the Courts confine their naturalization to this and adjoining counties; they naturalized many persons from New Jersey and other States. I know of the seizure of 3,000 certificates, contracted for regularly to be delivered in Connecticut, at 50 cents each. They were seized in a liquor store at Prince and Mercer streets by the police.

"[Mr. Davenport here gave the names of two persons from New Jersey naturalized in New York, Peter E. Krankie, of Hoboken, and George Hooten. The latter was naturalized on a declaration form to which no declaration is attached, but which contains this peremptory order:

"Give this man his certificate.

"JOHN H. MCCUNN.""]

"According to the ratio in the Courts since 1868, from 40 to 50 per cent. of the persons naturalized should have been on previous declarations of intention. In 1868, out of 18,824 on file, only 400 were on declaration. In the Supreme Court the ratio should be the same. Out of 26,000 only 4,000 were on declaration and discharges. In the Court of Common Pleas a large number was on declaration, made within two years. Whole streets were taken and naturalized from house to house. From one disreputable place in Green Street, forty-two persons were registered. The numbers ran as high as 348 on the register when there were but 263 in the street. In City Hall Place men were registered as high as No. 342 when there were only forty houses there. Out of forty-four houses in Vandewater street 103 men were

naturalized in the Supreme Court. In Greenwich, James, Spring, Thames, and other streets, numbers were given in excess of the houses, and Patrick Goff, as a witness for these, gave his address in thirteen different places—all 'No. 44.'

"Another system adopted was for two aliens to appear for each other, although the statute requires that a witness must be a citizen of the United States. Some of the standing witnesses who had appeared during the month turned up on the last day, and were themselves duly naturalized.

"[In reply to Senator McDonald's question, Mr. Davenport stated that he knew of this fact, of applicants appearing for each other, by the indices of the Courts. These indices, he said until after arrests were made, in 1868, were simply alphabetical lists, made up months afterward, and no pretence was made that they were anything else; as, for instance, in the Supreme Court, on February 19, 1871, the clerk had just begun to make up the indices for 1868. There was no record of these naturalization proceedings, except in these indices.]"

Papers issued to those who had not even declared their intentions—The witnesses sworn in droves of 100 to 150—Papers sent through by mail to non-applicants!

I find that many persons who held certificates of naturalization which were granted upon these applications have not, in fact, declared their intentions, and have not sworn to these applications which appeared upon the file of the Court. Others were not asked whether they had done so or not, or in regard to their age. Others came here over the age of eighteen who had declared their intentions, but yet were made to appear on file as if they had not done so. Others had made previous declarations, yet the originals which, if they had been properly naturalized, would have been returned to the Court and attached to their applications, were still in their possession. I know as a fact, from observation, that in 1868, when these witnesses to the naturalization papers were sworn, they were sworn in large companies, frequently from 100 to 150 at a time, the Bible being held in the hands of the clerk and the witnesses holding up their hands, and being sworn, as I stated yesterday, to the number of the affidavits by them signed. With regard to the professional interests, they really signed no affidavits, and therefore did not have any hesitation in taking such an oath. I also learned that papers were sent to people through the Post Office without any application on their part.

Lists of 18,824 and of 18,653 Naturalizations in two courts within twenty-three days! One Judge makes 2,543 Citizens in one day!

The Supreme Court sits ordinarily about four hours a day. Upon two or three occasions it sat for a period of from five to six hours. The actual number purporting to be naturalized, so far as any applications now on file show in the Supreme Court, and so far as can be seen from the index in the Superior Court, is as follows:

	Supreme Court.	Superior Court.
1868.		
October 1.....		429
October 2.....		746
October 3.....		894
October 4.....		
October 5.....		1,388
October 6.....	5	1,829
October 7.....	38	1,439
October 8.....		1,092
October 9.....	1,073	821
October 10.....	1,257	710
October 12.....	2,543	2, 77
October 13.....	2,107	1,389
October 14.....	920	1,673
October 15.....	1,696	945
October 16.....	1,556	594
October 17.....	867	426
October 19.....	1,898	715
October 20.....	1,586	540
October 21.....	1,144	437
October 22.....	822	465
October 23.....	657	615
Total.....	18,824	18,653

This makes a total of 37,477 attempted naturalizations in the two courts in the month of October. On October 12 it will be seen that 2,543 naturalization papers were granted in the Supreme Court by one man—Judge Barnard. On the same day in the Superior Court, according to the index of the office, 2,077 were granted, making 4,620 for the day.

Testimony of experienced judges that 8 or 10 persons only can be naturalized in one hour—Judge McCunn naturalizes 2 in one minute, and Judge Barnard 2,543 in 5 hours!

I call your attention to the testimony of Nathaniel Jarvis, of the Court of Common Pleas, in the year 1868. On one occasion he was in the Superior Court when naturalization was going on, and he testifies that the applicants were not allowed to be present. Also to the testimony of John R. Brady, of the Court of Common Pleas, before the Lawrence Committee, in which he expresses an opinion that men could be naturalized properly at the rate of one every five minutes. Also to the report of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate made on January 1, and March 9, 1845, with testimony concerning violations of naturalization laws contained in the same volume. The Judiciary Committee was empowered by the Senate to take testimony in the cities of Philadelphia, New Orleans and New York with reference to violations of the naturalization laws. The Commissioner who took testimony in this city was John A. Hamilton, John Lloyd and Alexander W. Bradford. They brought before them all the judges of the Superior Court who had been engaged in naturalization, together with the judges of the Marine Court, which at this time naturalized foreigners. Judge Hamilton, of the Marine Court, testified that "the greatest number of naturalizations I ever found myself able to administer in a session of eight hours was, think, eighty." All the judges, with one single exception, testified that eight or ten an hour was all they could possibly naturalize. Judge McCunn has since testified that he naturalized two a minute, but Judge Barnard must have naturalized even more rapidly, as on October 12 he naturalized 2,543 in five hours.

Many applicants born in the United States—Prominent citizens signing as witnesses with a "mark" who did not appear at all—Other illegalities.

It is well that I should call attention to the fact that those fraudulently naturalized in 1868 were made to appear as minors on the files of the Court. I also found that a great number of the applicants were born in the United States, and even in this city. I also find, Mr. Davenport continued, "the names of prominent citizens as witnesses, who never appeared in court and who were not witnesses, and most of whose signatures were made with a mark. Among them are August Belmont, John Hoffman, William M. Tweed, Peter B. Sweney, John J. Bradley Alderman Seery, Coroner Woltman, J. S. McGowan, William H. Vanderbilt, Samuel G. Courtney, then United States District Attorney, engaged in prosecuting the frauds at that time, and numerous others.

[Mr. Davenport then quoted legal authorities and precedents to show that two citizens were required as witnesses for naturalization, until the issue of the Revised Statutes, wherein it was declared that one witness was sufficient. He also drew attention to the fact that in many cases of naturalization in 1868 there was no renunciation of allegiance to other authority.]

Commissioner Davenport draws attention to many other gross informalities.

Mr. Davenport proceeded to show, by a decision of Judge Pratt, that the testimony showing five years' residence must be taken in open Court by an oral examination of the witness, previously prepared affidavits not being in evidence. In these cases in 1868 no record was taken by the Court. On the minutes of the Supreme Court six names appeared during the month of October up to October 4. On the next day

the Court adjourned, and not a line appeared on the minutes in regard to the other 18,818 persons. Mr. Davenport was interrupted in his legal quotations to show that a Court record was necessary by Senator McDonald. He replied that he was simply stating the authority under which he acted. Senator McDonald did not see any need for it, and complained that he could not tell when the witness was reading and when he was commenting.

Senator Blair—I can tell. Mr. Davenport, pray proceed.

Mr. Davenport quoted several authorities showing the necessity of Court decisions being recorded in naturalization cases, and said in the Superior Court in this city the records were kept in 1844 and down to 1868, but when the naturalizations began on a large scale the clerks abandoned the custom because it was a little trouble; and not until 1872 or 1873 did they resume the practice of recording the minutes of the Court. Judge Blatchford, although expressing the opinion that where the applicants were upon the files, and it had been the custom of the Court to treat these files as records, they should be treated as records, yet admitted that such records might be impeached.

Senator McDonald—Will you speak of Judge Blatchford.

Mr. Davenport—I am speaking of Judge Blatchford. A short discussion ensued, in the course of which Senator Hoar said:

If it be true that there were some 6,000 of these naturalization papers that were void and bogus all through, that they were obtained by a mere sham, it is not necessary, perhaps, in this distant time, to consider if there was a mistake as to the quality or character of the record. I do not think it necessary to spend so much time on this point. Mr. Davenport has given his reasons.

His opinion or action upon the illegal papers of 1868—He will act in the Presidential Election of 1880 as he did in 1878.

This little having ended, Mr. Davenport was allowed to proceed with his citation of authorities, but in a short time Senator Blair interrupted with a question as to his opinion of the naturalization papers of 1868, in regard to which warrants had been issued.

Mr. Davenport—I believed that they were fraudulent and void, and I still believe the same.

Senator Blair—Are there any of those papers still outstanding?

Mr. Davenport—There are, and during the coming Presidential election I intend pursuing the same course in regard to them as I did in 1878. The holders of them have received the fullest kind of notice, and I do not believe there is any voter on an 1868 paper who does not believe that the validity of this paper is questioned. Their validity was first questioned in 1868, and the holders have been frequently warned since by publication in the papers, by official notification, by challenges, by personal notices to the holders, and by the various investigations which have followed my actions.

The number naturalized in each year from 1856 to 1876 inclusive, and since.

I have here some facts in regard to naturalization from the year 1856 to 1876, as follows:

Year.	No. natu- ralized.	Year.	No. Natu- ralized.	Year.	No. Natur- alized.
1856....	16,516	1863....	2,641	1870.....	4,074
1857....	8,998	1864....	12,202	1871.....	3,528
1858....	6,975	1865....	7,239	1872.....	9,965
1859....	7,649	1866....	11,40	1873.....	4,197
1860....	3,568	1867....	15,486	1874.....	4,752
1861....	13,58	1868....	7,742	1875.....	4,907
1862....	417	1869....	3,7	1876.....	10,830

There have been about 1,000 since, added Mr. Davenport.

Senator Blair—Have you any statistics showing the ratio of foreign population and increase of naturalized citizens?

Mr. Davenport—I have the emigration statistics from 1847 to 1876, but there is nothing to indicate what became of the immigrants.

Senator Blair—Have you read the testimony of Mr. Boese, the Clerk of the Superior Court, and have you any statement to make in regard to it?

Immigration Statistics—The State Census of 1875 Pulled to Pieces.

Mr. Davenport—Well, he takes the State census of 1875, and tries to show that it is correct. There are no means by which they can make it correct. A committee was appointed by the Legislature, and the members went over with me, in the office of the Secretary of State. We found that the census, so far as the population was concerned, was fair; but owing to the stupidity and carelessness of the enumerators, so far as voters are concerned, it was grossly wrong. For instance, in my own house it gives myself, my wife and three children, and three female servants, all as voters. In the house of Mr. Howard, jeweler, at Fifteenth ave. and Twenty-ninth st., they had all his children, wife and his servants down as voters. I instance these as individual cases, but there were many others in the Murray Hill and Fifth ave. districts. The only way in which they could correct this, which they endeavored to do, was by striking out the women and children, and then they had no means of distinguishing which of the men were aliens and which were voters. The statement gave 232,252 voters and 141,000 aliens. In 1876 there could not have been over 194,646 voters. There are not at this time 230,000 voters in the county of New York.

The same persons refers to emigration as being the reason why naturalization was larger in 1868 than before, but he entirely overlooks the fact that no person who came here after 1863 could be naturalized in 1868; and that in that year the emigration had fallen from 183,000 down to 8,000. He also says that many persons did not want to get naturalized during the years of the war, and that these came in for naturalization in 1868. To that I answer that there had not been, prior to 1866, in any year, not a Presidential year, over 9,000 persons naturalized. Both 1866 and 1867 ran up very high—13,040 and 15,486—nearly double what had been the average of any Presidential year prior to that. This shows to what extent those who had neglected to naturalize in previous years increased the number of that year.

Extent of Commissioner Davenport's Jurisdiction—Population of wards, &c.

Senator Blair—What does your district comprise?

Mr. Davenport—The district runs on both sides the river from here to Albany County. The city of New York alone had a population in 1876 of 1,100,000, of which 44 per cent. are of foreign birth. Some idea of the density of the population may be obtained from the fact that one-half of the entire population was between the Battery and Fourteenth-street, a territory of only 2,400 acres. The national census of 1870 showed a population in the Sixth Ward of 21,153, of which 17,128, or 81 per cent., lived in tenement houses. Of the 95,411 residents in the Seventeenth Ward, 72,344, or 76 to 80 per cent., found their homes in similar dwellings. There were only fourteen cities in the whole United States in 1875 that had a larger population than that ward.

Pertinent questions and answers as to party majorities and fraudulent naturalization—Naturalization papers in blank secreted in a barroom behind a mirror!

Senator Hoar—What was the majority for the Democratic party in the State of New York in the Presidential year of 1868?

Mr. Davenport—The total Democratic vote was 429,883; the total Republican vote 419,883, making the Democratic majority just 10,000. The Democratic majority in this county was 60,554.

Senator Hoar—What was the number of those who voted on these fraudulent naturalization papers, in your opinion?

Mr. Davenport—In the neighborhood of 40,000. The others voted in various counties in this State, in the State of New Jersey, Connecticut, and in Pennsylvania. Of the number of naturalization papers actually issued in that year, only about 4,500 claimed to live outside the county of New York.

Senator McDonald—Then there were about 87,574 of those who had been naturalized, according to the re-

ords of the Court, who appear to have been residents of the city of New York?

Mr. Davenport—Who appear to have been.

Senator McDonald—How many naturalization papers bearing the seal of the Court, in excess of the number upon the records of the Court, were there issued that year?

Mr. Davenport—About 18,000. The Supreme Court alone issued 3,000 certified blanks of which 18,824 were used. Of these I have seen about 4,000 or 5,000 personally. The papers were issued in blank, with no name to them. They were not naturalization papers legally, but they were used as such. Of these blanks, with the names filled in so as to complete the certificate by which the person might register, I have seen about 100. They were seized by the police on the complaint of Republicans. They were not used, but they were given out for use.

Senator Hoar—Where were they seized?

Mr. Davenport—They were found in a bar-room secreted behind a mirror, where they were waiting for transportation to Connecticut.

Gross irregularities—Many naturalized who had not been in the country more than a few weeks.

“Mr. Davenport then mentioned that in the Supreme Court, and in the Superior Court before Judge McCunn, applicants were seldom if ever admitted to the courtroom. In the room adjoining there was another branch of the Supreme Court where Judge Barnard sat. There were during the time when the naturalization papers were issued in 1868, many professional witnesses who occupied a room connected with that in which Judge Barnard was holding court, by a green door, through which the judge, from time to time, went to laugh and jest with these professional witnesses. Papers were filled up in that room and proceedings generally were conducted in an irregular manner. They had a mock court, elected a judge and jury.

He also had in mind, he said, the fact that many persons who claimed to have been naturalized in these courts had not been in the country five years; many of them, on the contrary, only a few months, and some of them only a few weeks. He had a letter written by one Carl Kroger, who together with August Haeffner Sternfeld and Henry Beer, arrived at the port of New York, landing at Castle Garden from the steamship Allemania from Hamburg. Kroger remained in New York, Sternfeld went to Vermont, and Beer settled in West Troy. Within one month Kroger was made an American citizen, and in his delight thereat on October 13 of the same year he wrote Sternfeld a letter, of which the following is a literal translation:

“NEW YORK, Oct. 13.

“DEAR FRIEND: The purpose of this letter, written by an American citizen, is simply to ask that both you and Henry should come here as soon as possible, if you feel inclined to become citizens. Please write to Henry immediately, as I do not know his address. I am still working at Williamsburg, but that at night since last week. I am, in haste, your sincere friend,

“CHARLES.”

Documentary evidence as to four thousand of these illegal cases.

Mr. Davenport further said that he had also in his mind cases in which men were naturalized within three weeks after their arrival. He had had in his possession, as before stated, nearly 4,000 certificates, accompanied in all instances by affidavits of the persons to whom they referred, setting forth the various facts in regard to their not having been in this country sufficiently long legally to obtain these certificates. He called attention to the fact that instructions to supervisors, found on page 462 of the Lynde Committee testimony, were not issued by him, but were simply extracts from the laws which were printed on the inside of the covers of the supervisors' books. The notices given to persons to surrender these bogus naturalization papers were subsequently renewed to September 21, and afterward to October 13; and every opportunity was given for bringing in the papers before the warrants were issued or any action taken. The notices were published in both English and German, and several thousand of the persons named were informed personally or direct by mail.”

The papers were surrendered from day to day, and each person was handed in return a paper of instructions how to proceed to be naturalized, and all assistance to this end was given to them. When persons who had declared their intentions, or had been discharged from the army, had lost their papers, applications were made for duplicates for them, and they were in every case put upon the right track of obtaining citizenship.

Who paid Davenport's bills?—Himself—His personal labors.

Senator Hoar—At whose cost was this done?

Mr. Davenport—It was done at my personal cost; without charge to them.

Mr. Davenport described the care taken to instruct each person how to apply for citizenship, and the various facilities provided for them, when Senator Blair put a question in reference to the arrests made on the day of election.

"The number registered on these papers," replied Mr. Davenport, "as I have stated, in 1876, was 10,000. In 1878 there were 3,200. If it had not been for the advice which I find had been given to these men from the headquarters, I have before spoken of, but few, if any, of them would have so registered. Of the 3,200 who did so register in 1878, about 1,200 voted; and that any of them voted was due to the fact mainly that the marshals at the polling-places were absent at the time these persons made their appearance at the poll.

"With regard to election day, I had not been out of this building further than the Astor House for a period of forty-eight hours or more. My meals, such as I had, were served in the building here. I remained here the night previous, and went from here the following morning about 6 o'clock. I went to the court and remained there until 9 in the evening. I had requested one of the Commissioners, in order to save bringing people the entire length of the island, to sit in the neighborhood of Harlem Bridge and hold his court there. I also requested another Commissioner to sit on the other side of the Harlem River in what is known as the annexed district, to make more easy the transaction of business there. Commissioners Shields and Denel held a court in this building and certain other Commissioners were appointed to try the cases of certain districts. That was done for the purpose of facilitating business, so as not to keep the people any longer than was necessary. Whenever, on the day of election, the persons arrested stated by themselves or through counsel that they would make no effort to vote upon these papers, they were discharged upon their own recognizances. So far as I knew they suffered no hardship, other than that of having to remain in the court-room for a few hours, and in some instances for a few moments only."

The so-called "slave pen"—The class of persons briefly held there.

Senator Blair—Will you please describe the room where they were kept, and its subdivisions?

Mr. Davenport—It is the room where all persons arrested for offenses against the United States laws in this district, and who are brought before the Commissioners here, are sent, and it is situated on the fourth floor of this building. It was not built by me but by the United States, for the purpose of retaining prisoners until they can be forwarded to Ludlow Street Jail.

Senator Blair—But describe the room.

Mr. Davenport—This slave-pen, as it has been called, is about the size of this, with iron bars dividing off one end.

Senator Blair—What proportion of the room is for the prisoners?

Mr. Davenport—The room is 21½ feet by 44 feet. The so-called cage is 21½ feet by 12 feet. It takes up one end of the room.

Senator Blair—And how is the rest of the room occupied?

Mr. Davenport—By the deputy marshals.

Senator Hoar—Is there any reason why a prisoner should not be as comfortable as a deputy marshal?

Mr. Davenport—None whatever except that he cannot walk out into the hall and the deputy marshal can.

Senator Hoar—That room is as comfortable in all respects as a large well-lighted parlor in the best hotel,

with the exception of the iron grating which prevents persons from getting out.

Mr. Davenport—It is, sir.

Senator Blair—Who were the persons actually confined there?

Mr. Davenport—Those who were held in default of bail, or whose bail was fixed, but who were unable to get it. They were sent from there from time to time, as from other courts, to Ludlow Street Jail. None stayed there all night.

Removal of supervisors of both political parties—The reason for removal—No complaint by Democrats of any misconduct on the part of Davenport.

Senator Blair—In 1878 you removed, or caused to be removed, a number of supervisors. For what reason?

Mr. Davenport—Mainly for the reason that their handwriting was not good enough. I do not remember the number, but it was about eighty or ninety.

Senator Blair—Of both political parties?

Mr. Davenport—Yes. There would have been no object in discharging them on partisan grounds, as the supervisors are chosen by the two parties. There was no citizen who made any complaint to me, either during registration or afterward, as to the supervisors or marshals. I issued warrants and arrested two supervisors, and they were removed for misconduct. Outside of that I know nothing of any improper acts by them. It was suggested before the Lynde Committee that several were arrested who were discharged before they came before me; I never heard of any of these cases.

Senator Blair—I would like to know if there has been no local complaint whether, in this great Democratic city there has been no complaint as to the personal misconduct of Mr. Davenport?

Mr. Davenport—I do not know, sir. I am reminded of one other thing in regard to these naturalization papers of 1868. Each political party had then, as ever since, a naturalization committee. Of the number of naturalization papers issued in that year, 2,800 persons applying came from the Republican party; the balance came from somewhere else.

Attempts at frauds in 1876—Arrests—An incident.

Mr. Davenport—In regard to the arrests made in 1876 I should like to state here an incident. At that time I found some attempts being made in the court, upon a small scale to naturalize men improperly, and I put officers in the courts to follow these people up. It resulted in the arrest of some eight or ten, who were indicted in this court. One of them, W. H. A. Early, had registered fifteen men, fourteen of whom he swore had resided in this country five years and in this State one year, the fact being that they had not so resided. Shortly after his incarceration an effort was made to have him pardoned, which effort I resisted by a letter to the President, dated February 19, 1877. This letter showed that the prisoner was an intelligent, educated person, and must have known that he was wilfully breaking the law. It was by that letter that the pardon was prevented, but within a few months of the time when his sentence expired I found he was walking the streets of New York, and had even visited Tarrytown. He had been sent to the Kings County Penitentiary. I made myself aware of all the facts, and believing that such a system was being carried on in that penitentiary, I made use of Early's knowledge and statement to corroborate what information I had received, and then recommended that he should be pardoned in consideration of the testimony he had given.

How the Supreme Court daily rushed through thousands of illegal citizens in 1868—That was the only year in which the Supreme Court naturalized at all—The Judge a candidate.

Mr. Davenport—Many of the applications for naturalization in 1868 did not bear the signatures of the applicants, and no witness appearing upon them was examined. I also found, on the part of applicants a great

ignorance as to what the proceeding was which they had gone through. Many of them were still unable to read or write English; many of them were unable to read or write at all. One of them had sent to his house a copy of one of the Mayor's proclamations in 1870 relating to the census. He got a certificate in 1868, but thought that was his first paper, and subsequently, when he received the proclamation, he kept them together, believing that the latter was his naturalization paper. These naturalization papers were frequently sent to the residences of persons, and were marked with compliments of the Democratic brethren. I have here an original envelope which was sent out in this way marked "With the compliments of Coroner Woltman." In addition to the list I furnished the other day of persons whose names were used in the courts as witnesses are those of Richard Croker, Joel O. Stevens, J. Campbell and Stephen O'Brien.

There were ordered and printed for the Supreme Court on September 16, 1868, 10,000 blank applications and 9,000 certificates; three days afterward, although they never naturalized a single person until October 5, 10,000 new applications were ordered and printed. On the 5th, when they had naturalized only two persons, 25,000 more blank applications and 5,000 more blank certificates; on the 12th of October, 5,000 applications and 5,000 certificates more; on the 13th, 10,000 more applications; on the 15th, 10,000 more certificates; on the 17th, 5,000 more applications; on the 19th, 5,000 more applications; on the 20th, 10,000 more certificates; and on the 22d, the last day they had in which to naturalize, 5,000 more applications. That was in the Supreme Court alone.

Senator Blair—I think you stated that it was only in that year that the Supreme Court naturalized at all?

Mr. Davenport—I have so testified.

Senator Blair—State whether or not Judge Barnard, who presided over this court and accomplished these things, was himself a candidate for re-election that year?

Mr. Davenport—He was.

The perjurers could not be punished!—But the Statute of 1870 reaches and deters them—Hence the Democratic Fight in Congress to abolish or modify election laws.

I want to call your attention, he continued, to the fact that there was no statute of the United States under which any of the persons swearing to these naturalization papers could be punished for perjury, as the use of affidavits in naturalization proceedings is wholly unauthorized. In the case of Sweetman, who was indicted for swearing to just such affidavits as these, and was convicted in the Court below, on certiorari, to the Court of Oyer and Terminer, the conviction was reversed, upon the ground that if it was perjury it was within the United States and not the State Courts. The United State Courts have no statute under which such perjury could be punished. This was generally known.

Senator Blair—Therefore these persons supposed they could make these statements with impunity. Will you state what was done to rectify this state of things?

Mr. Davenport—The statute of 1870, under which these arrests were made, covers the use of these fraudulent certificates which had been issued previously, and makes it an offense to use them or to be possessed of them. The provisions of the statute were published, and became a matter of common knowledge in the State.

Commissioner Davenport suggests how the election laws might be greatly improved in various ways—Gives his reasons for such changes.

With reference to other changes that might be suggested in the law, I would ask,

First—The enactment of some provision extending to those who have received honorable discharge from the navy the same provisions which are granted to men who are honorably discharged from the army.

Second—The passage of an act legalizing the naturalizations made throughout the United States be-

tween the years 1873 and 1875; for, as it stands to-day, there was no white man in the United States who could be naturalized by law in the period between those years. The courts were ignorant of the fact that the statutes for the naturalization of white aliens had been repealed, and went on naturalizing men as before. The statute that had existed down to 1873 was repealed by the passage of the Revised Statutes, which provided only for the naturalization of persons of African descent. In 1875 the fact was brought before the notice of Congress, and the words "and white aliens" were reinserted; but they neglected to legalize the naturalization of persons who had become naturalized in the intervening period. The fact was brought to the notice of the present Congress in the session of 1879, but I presume they have been too much engaged in investigations to notice it. It may be that some one may want to act arbitrarily in these cases at some future day; therefore I should like to see the question provided for.

Third—The adoption of some amendment of the naturalization laws which will forever prevent courts sitting for the naturalization of aliens from entertaining the application of more than one person seeking to be admitted as a citizen at one and the same time, or to receive evidence from more than one person before the court at the same time.

Fourth—I suggest the enactment of some provision, whereby in one of the departments of Government at Washington there shall be established a National bureau to record the naturalization of citizens; at which bureau every court authorized to admit to citizenship shall be required to certify under its seal and under the hands of its clerk, the name, age, place of birth, time of arrival in the United States, and the port or place of arrival, with the several places of residence in this country, and the actual place of abode of each person who shall have been admitted by such court to citizenship. Now, in the case of such cities as Boston and Chicago—especially of Chicago, where the great fire destroyed all the records—if there had been such a bureau at Washington, there would have been no difficulty in establishing the fact of previous intentions of naturalization. It certainly seems anomalous that the Government of the United States, which alone has the power of granting citizenship, should not have the means of knowing who its citizens are, and who are made so by virtue of its laws. There are questions constantly coming from abroad, where the rights of persons claiming citizenship under naturalization papers are brought into question. The files of the Department of State for twelve years are full of complaints from Ministers abroad, of almost every country, relative to the loose manner in which naturalization in this country has been carried on, and relative to the fraudulent papers which they have found abroad. If the committee will obtain the correspondence between Bancroft Davis and Mr. Evans in 1877 they will find therein many facts and particulars of the difficulties with foreign Governments under which our Ministers abroad labor. Mr. Davis, in one dispatch, says that out of fifty cases of naturalization brought before him in a short time, six of them were found to have been granted on fraudulent certificates. The files of the Department of State will show cases of men released from the army in foreign countries, on certificates of naturalization from America, in which our Ministers certify that such men were never out of those countries, and that the certificates were sent them from here. As touching the case of fire in a city, I suggest that the proposed bureau at Washington might release the certificates which it is proved on good evidence were lost in this way.

Fifth—The enactment of some provision by which certificates of citizenship can be made uniform throughout the United States, the engraving or printing to be of such character as best tends to prevent alteration. I have spoken of the system which has prevailed in this State of erasing the name of a certificate and inserting another. I also believe that some provision should be enacted by means of which naturalization proceedings shall stop or cease for a period of, say six months, immediately prior to the election; or a system by which a naturalization certificate should for a period of six months be open and liable to attack. Much fraud would in this way be prevented, as we have seen from statistics that the naturalization proceedings in these courts were almost entirely confined to the few days before election, when it is done,

and to some extent necessarily done, in a hasty and hurried manner, even when done at its best. I would sooner, so far as I am personally concerned, lengthen the period of residence; with such safeguards as I have suggested, rather than that there should be no safeguards against frauds, as at present.

More specimen frauds—Repeating gangs—One gang of seven Democratic pickpockets registers 220 names!—Arrested by Davenport—Freed by Judge Barnard at once!

Senator Blair—Will you state what measures you have taken to prevent these frauds, and the practical working of the election laws here, and any facts that may be of use to the committee in view of further legislation?

Mr. Davenport—If there is any abuse of the election laws ever heard of that did not take place here in 1868, I do not know of it. False registration, false voting, false canvassing, were here going on throughout the city; this, together with the fact that the entire criminal power was in the hands of one party, which believed itself so strongly entrenched by means of its frauds that it could not be dislodged. As a specimen, take the year 1868—and I refer to that year simply because it may be said that these matters reached their culmination very largely at that time—there was at that time a gang of seven men engaged in repeating registrations, and who did so repeat at the election of that year 220 names. The leader of that gang is there. [Producing a portrait.] He registered under the name of Henry J. Lawrence. He is an Englishman known as Charles Wilson, alias "Nibbs," or "Nibsey," and was a well known pickpocket. This picture was obtained from the Bognes' Gallery, at Police Headquarters. The registration was done most openly by this gang, its members registering under well known names, such as William M. Tweed, Patrick H. Keenan, then coroner, and others. I have here one of the original books used by them in their repeating operations, containing the names of persons whose names they gave. We obtained the book in this way: We had evidence that they were engaged in repeating, and Superintendent, then Inspector, Walling watched the men. I secured this book, and caught them in the act. He found that they were a portion of what was known as "Reddy the Blacksmith's" gang, and by an immediate descent on Reddy's place obtained another book. On comparing the names in these two books with those registered we found that 220 of them had been registered. It was on the 31st of October that these men were arrested. On the evening of that day a writ of habeas corpus was served on the person having them in custody, the writ reading, "Before the Hon. George Barnard, Justice of the Supreme Court, or the office of such Justice, No. 23 West Twenty-third street, in the City of New York, this 31st day of October, 1868, at 7 o'clock in the evening." No time was allowed for the return of the writ, and no return was made to it.

How Judge Barnard did the dirty business—60 of the 220 votes in this case voted upon!—25,000 fraudulent votes cast by "Repeaters!"—The number of votes often exceed entire population—Large Republican gains since the national election laws were enacted.

The men were taken to Barnard's house. One officer with the men remained on the sidewalk, and the writ was taken from the officer at the door of the house by William F. Howe, who was counsel for the men. He, in the hallway, as testified to, wrote upon the writ, "The prisoners being charged with no offense, I order them discharged. October 31, 1868." The writ so indorsed was sent up-stairs to Judge Barnard's room, and he attached his signature thereto. Upon such orders prisoners were discharged. I called attention to the fact that it was in violation of the statutes of this State, which require that notice shall be given to the District Attorney preliminary to the hearing of a writ, and which makes it a misdemeanor for a judge to hear a writ without such notice being given. The result was that the prisoners were immediately discharged, and

about sixty out of the 220 names were voted upon. This repeating was practised to such an extent that about 25,000 fraudulent votes were cast in this county alone in the November election of 1868. Many arrests were made at the instigation of the Republicans, but the prisoners were discharged largely.

Mr. Davenport continued his statements to show the effect of the national laws which were passed in 1870, giving long lists of figures showing that before these laws came into operation, the number of votes was often in excess of the whole male population. He also showed the large Republican gains in a number of the wards of the city, a result directly traceable to the operation of the national laws.

A list of 4000 cases of fraudulent naturalization put in evidence—More, if they want them—Enough to fill a bushel basket or an entire set of "The Congressional Globe!"

Mr. Davenport, continuing, said that in 1868 he received a communication from Secretary Fish in regard to a number of Cubans who had been unlawfully naturalized. With the communication were two cards, one from the chairman of a Democratic organization in an Assembly district, directing the person to whom it was addressed to see the bearer naturalized; and another marked with blue ink, which color signified that the applicant could not understand English. Mr. Davenport then produced the papers called for at the morning session, and read a long list of persons who had been naturalized in 1868, to which were added sworn statements of the persons mentioned, which showed that they were not entitled to naturalization papers and that such papers were often given them at their own house and even on the sidewalks of the street. Many who went up to the City Hall had not declared their intentions and had never before seen the witness who was supposed to identify them.

Some hundreds of these names had been read. Senator McDonald asked if the whole list could not be put in evidence without reading. Senator Blair said there were about 4,000 of the cases, and it was very interesting reading matter. Still, if the committee was tired of it, he would submit to the list being put in after about a score more specimen cases had been read. To these specimen cases Senator McDonald did not object, although he showed signs of impatience at the continuance of the reading of this Democratic black list.

I have between 3,000 and 4,000 of these depositions, observed Mr. Davenport, among which are hundreds who had never declared their intentions, others who took no witnesses with them, and several hundred who had declared their intentions and received their full certificates the same year. I might go on with information of this kind for several days.

Senator Blair—How many bushels of papers have you in regard to these frauds?

Mr. Davenport (smiling)—I scarcely know. I believe I have enough matter to fill an entire set of *The Congressional Globe*.

Senator McDonald—Are these cases that you have now furnished to the committee in addition to those you furnished to the committee some time ago?

Mr. Davenport—They are.

Cross-examination of Mr. Davenport by Senator McDonald.

Senator McDonald then cross-examined the witness relative to his official position, asking when he was appointed to it, what were its duties, how many warrants he had issued in regard to election frauds, and how many convictions followed. In his testimony Mr. Davenport replied that in 1870, among the convictions were Terence Quin, two years; John McLaughlin, two years (the latter was a leading member of Tammany Hall at the time); Lucius M. Sawyer, William Berks and others. The warrants issued in 1878 embraced all the naturalization papers issued in 1868; the warrants issued in previous years did not do so.

Senator McDonald—What objection did you take to the certificate of Antonio Kurehell, against whom you took a warrant?

Mr. Davenport—It is stated on the warrant itself, for using a certain certificate of citizenship; know-

ing that such certificate had been unlawfully issued or made.

Senator McDonald—What facts had you in the case.

Mr. Davenport—The facts that he had but one witness; that there is no record on the minutes of the court, admitting him to be a citizen, together with the general fact that from beginning to end the entire proceedings in that court during the month of October, 1868, were stamped with the intention of fraud, perjury and forgery.

Senator McDonald—Did you know that Kurchell was entitled to naturalization; that he had been a resident of the United States, and was a discharged soldier?

Mr. Davenport—I did not.

Senator McDonald—What objection have you to giving to Kurchell this certificate which you unjustly hold?

Senator Blair—I object to the form of that question.

Mr. Davenport—I have retained it because I believe I have a right to retain it.

Senator McDonald—What defect is there in that certificate of naturalization?

A.—I have stated it.

Q.—Now that you won't give up that paper, I will show you a duplicate of it, which the court has issued to him?

A.—I don't doubt that; I have seen such duplicates by the score; they are rotten throughout.

Q.—Don't you want to examine it?

A.—I do not; I have seen hundreds of them.

Senator McDonald asked that this duplicate, and the honorable discharge of Kurchell from the army, should appear on the minutes, and with this closed his examination.

Senator Wallace takes up the defence.

Senator Wallace then took his place, and gleaned from Mr. Davenport that he was counsel to the Union League Club in 1869, and was employed in that year in reference to the frauds in naturalization perpetrated at the general election of 1868. He helped to get up the Lawrence report, and to draft the National electoral laws based upon that report, and he had administered those laws since to the best of his ability. The fact that he helped to draft the laws he has now to assist in carrying out seemed to be an important point in the opinion of Senator Wallace, and he questioned Mr. Davenport with great minuteness upon it.

He then took up the cases of John Wright, Richard Dingman and others, who were locked up for attempting to vote on 1868 naturalization papers, and afterward discharged. Mr. Davenport replied that he could not speak in regard to individual cases; but, generally speaking, he discharged all those who promised not to vote upon such fraudulent papers. When asked why he did not take steps to have the record of the Court vitiated, he replied that he had purposely abstained from doing so until he could produce the certificates, their production being necessary to obtain their destruction by the courts.

Q.—Have you made any attack or attempted to interfere with the regular naturalization of the Supreme and Superior courts since 1868?

A.—I procured evidence in regard to the naturalization going on in the Courts in 1876, and it resulted in the conviction, as I have shown, of a number of persons engaged in fraudulent processes at that time. I have no money to do much. What I have done has been on my own credit and on money borrowed.

Senator Wallace.—Oh, Brother Blair will vote to refund it to you, and I shall vote against it.

Mr. Davenport.—I did not suppose Senator Wallace would vote against an appropriation for the purpose of preventing naturalization frauds in 1880.

Senator Wallace (hotly).—I shall vote against any such appropriation for the purpose of preventing you from using it in a partisan way, as you have done all these years, sir.

Senator Blair.—I object to that on the ground that it is insulting to the witness.

Senator Wallace.—The witness should be more careful, then.

Senator Blair.—The witness is very careful indeed.

Senator Blair then asked the witness a few questions. "You made a remark," he said, "in regard to the

number of soldiers whose certificates Brother Wallace brings forward."

Mr. Davenport.—Yes, I said it was probably part of the Hancock boom.

Senator Blair.—Do you know any reason why a soldier should be allowed to vote fraudulently any more than any other citizen?

Mr. Davenport.—I do not.

[Senator McDonald, who had been absent most of the afternoon session, entered at this point, and cross-examined the witness upon a number of apparently inconsequential details. He was particularly anxious to get at the number of blank affidavits and blank warrants Mr. Davenport had had printed, what they cost, and who paid for them.]

Mr. Davenport replied that they were paid for by himself. Then the Senator, believing that for once he had the witness in a corner, hurriedly referred to his previous testimony, in which was a charge against the government for some \$60 or \$70 dollars for this description of work. "Yes, it is very likely there is such a charge," replied Mr. Davenport, with a smile, "but it was rejected and I had to pay it myself."

Senator McDonald—You believe that your work in this respect has been beneficial? A. I think the laws are beneficial.

Q.—Your execution of them has been beneficial? A.—As beneficial as I can make it.

Q.—It has been a very expensive luxury, I should think. I noticed that for 1878 your bill was \$19,425.20?

A.—Yes, sir; out of which I have to pay the entire expenses of my office. I have run in debt in excess of what I received from the government over \$35,000 since my appointment.

Q.—Then you are \$35,000 worse off than when you were appointed? A.—I am, on this work.

Sixty bogus papers for \$60—Fourteen Tammany clerks busy—One hundred witnesses offered by Davenport to prove his allegations.

After evidence had been given by Christopher Hies to the effect that he was in Judge Barnard's room in 1868, and saw one Goff buy a bundle of sixty naturalization papers for \$60, and one Childs buy a similar bundle for \$71; and that he observed fourteen Tammany Hall clerks "making out the papers as fast as they could"—of whom he named five as still living; Mr. Davenport was recalled by Senator Blair, and asked if he knew any more of those employed in the preparation of these fraudulent naturalization papers, and if he could furnish the committee a list of names, Mr. Davenport said they were all professional witnesses and most of them were living and could be found with little difficulty.

Senator Blair—Could you furnish the committee with a list of those who could be called?

Mr. Davenport—I can prepare a list, if the committee wishes it, of from twenty-five to 100 of these witnesses, who would give full and minute information of the way these naturalization papers were prepared.

Senator McDonald—One word. Do you want to summon these witnesses, Senator Blair? If so, put it in that way.

Senator Blair—I will put it in this way: I would not like it to be understood that the case rests entirely on Mr. Davenport, and if we can go further I would like to know how it can be done. Can you give us a list of these additional witnesses, Mr. Davenport?

Mr. Davenport—I can, and their testimony will be largely corroborated by the applications now on the files of the courts.

A big Tammany gun on the stand—Ex-Judge Jones of the Superior Court—He swears that in October, 1868, "not a single person was admitted to citizenship improperly in his court"—One case mentioned, "a miscalculation!"

Ex-Judge Jones, of the Superior Court, took the stand. In reply to questions of Senator Wallace (who had called him as his witness), he said:

"How many such applications (for citizenship) came before him in October, 1868, it would be impossible to say. Not a single person was during that time admitted to citizenship improperly in his Court."

Senator Blair then took the witness up and elicited the following:

"I was elected for a term of six years, in the Fall of 1864, I think it was, I was not re-elected. I do not remember naturalizing anybody in 1868. I do not wish to swear that I naturalized nobody that year. I am not aware that exception is taken to the naturalization papers of October, 1868, only. Things were as formally, regularly, and judicially conducted in that year as usual, as far as my knowledge and belief are concerned. If an admission of citizenship had been granted by me one month prior to the requirement of the law it would be an illegal certificate. If I issued that (on being handed to him) it was a mistake. It is not a very extraordinary thing to make mistakes. They occur as frequently in judicial as in other matters. I believe there was as much care taken in all these cases as was supposed to be necessary."

Senator Blair produced a certificate where the applicant had been in the country but two years, and asked how he made such a mistake as to grant that, there being no counsel present to misrepresent the state of things. Judge Jones replied:

"I suppose it was a miscalculation. I always made the calculations myself, and did not leave it to a clerk."

He admits rapid work by himself as well as Judge Barnard, which might account for the mistake in that one case.

Senator Blair said there was a large number of these mistakes made by Judge Jones, and he should ask leave to recall the witness when the papers containing these miscalculations had been brought into the room. In the meantime he cross-examined the witness upon other points. Judge Jones knew Judge Barnard was naturalizing a large number of persons because he had seen him. He was in his court room several times, and saw a crowd there waiting for naturalization papers. The proceedings were carried on with considerable rapidity.

Q.—More so than in your court? A.—I do not think there was any difference, except that he is a more rapid man than I am.

Q.—He did business in masses, in brigades, and whole armies? A.—I cannot say that. I have seen a hundred or so in his room, and I suppose he naturalized them in two hours. To examine the applicant, examine the witness, examine the papers and order judgment in those cases used to occupy me not more than two minutes.

Q.—If you worked thus rapidly it would account for your mistake in this certificate? A.—I suppose so.

Q.—But if you made fifty or one hundred of such mistakes, would it account for them, too? A.—I cannot say.

He admits another "mistake" in the papers of James R. Jones.

Upon the following day, July 21, 1880, ex-Judge Jones having taken the stand, Senator Blair informed him that he was to be examined upon a number of applications for naturalization passed upon by him as a Judge of the Superior Court in 1868, which the minority of the committee was unable to produce on the previous day. To this Senator McDonald made no objection, and the examination proceeded. Among the first of the applications for naturalization put in was that of James R. Jones. The witness identified the paper as having been passed by him in September, 1868, when there was little doing in the courts. The same person appeared to have signed as applicant and as witness, but Judge Jones believed that two different persons were sworn before him. There was undoubtedly some mistake in the papers, he said.

Cases of John McLean and Gottfried Schoenhut—Cannot account for having signed such illegal documents.

His attention was next called by Senator Blair to the naturalization papers of John McLean, which had at-

tached a declaration of previous intention bearing the date of November 21, 1866, the naturalization paper being issued on October 14, 1868. This did not show a clear two years from the date of the declaration of intention, but the witness answered that he could not account for the discrepancy. The case of Gottfried Schoenhut was similar; his papers were granted within thirteen days of the proper period. The witness said the chairman had suggested, on the previous day, that this might have arisen from the fact that both the declaration of intention and the application were made in the month of October, but in different years. He did not accept this suggestion, and could not account in any way for having signed such illegal documents.

Case of Charles de Secha—More illegalities —"Cannot account for them."

The paper of Charles de Secha showed that he had renounced allegiance to "the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland" in one declaration, and to "the King of United Italy" in the other. The witness could not explain it. It was his practice to make the oath of citizenship before the oath of allegiance was taken. Robert Walsh was naturalized before the witness on September 23, 1868, on his previous declaration dated May 3, 1867. The witness could not account for it except that something might have distracted his attention when reckoning up the dates. It was certainly an illegal certificate.

Case of Louis Peters—A badly mixed up paper—Thinks him guilty of perjury.

The naturalization paper of Louis Peters was here handed to the witness. "I appear to have naturalized this man," he said, "on the 13th September of— I cannot say what year."

Senator Blair—There was no year that month?

Witness—Well, sir, I cannot say.

Senator Blair—I called your attention to the fact that there seems to have been no renunciation of allegiance.

Witness—That seems to be omitted. Oh, no; here it is on the outside: "King of Germany."

Q.—That appears to have been the signature of your clerk. "James M. Sweeney, King of Denmark." Did he ever pretend to that position? A.—Oh, no, sir.

Q.—The body of the certificate seems to indicate a renunciation of allegiance to Queen Victoria. A.—My judgment is that the applicant in that case must have been guilty of perjury.

Senator Blair—That is your opinion, but don't seek to impose it on anybody else unless you are sure that Clerk Sweeney did not write the whole of it.

Case of Henry Roth—An unsigned paper—More admissions.

The certificate of Henry Roth was next put in. The witness said: "He does not seem to have signed this." Senator Blair—And yet he was admitted by you to citizenship.

Witness—Yes, sir. Probably I signed it and gave it to the applicant to sign at another desk.

Q.—Is that a safe way of doing business? A.—I would prefer some other way.

Case of R. Rebenkian—Unsigned jurats—Gross ignorance of a Judge.

On the paper of R. Rebenkian were four jurats, not one of which was signed by the clerk. The witness said he could not account for it. He did not know that the statute went to the extent of providing that all these renunciations of allegiance and assumptions of new allegiance were to be made a matter of record before naturalization could take place. He did not see that it followed from this that he was naturalizing in ignorance of the statutes.

"Cannot account" for a lot of other bogus naturalization papers issued by him—Senator McDonald comes to the rescue, and the investigation suddenly closes.

The paper of Joshua Fushingham was next put in, and the witness admitted having naturalized him on October 12, 1868, upon a previous declaration attached

to it, dated May 13, 1868. He could not account for the discrepancy. Similar papers in the names of Patrick Mulveny, Charles Herbst, Hartman Gerhardt and others, were put in evidence. In all of them there were discrepancies, principally in the dates. The witness did not attempt to account for them. There were other papers to be produced, but Senator McDonald objected to any being brought forward except those put in evidence on the preceding evening.

Senator Blair said the understanding was that the witness was to be cross-examined upon the whole of the papers issued by him that the minority was able to produce.

Senator McDonald replied that the chairman (Senator Wallace) was unwilling to continue the investigation, and the committee then adjourned, and concluded to take no more such damaging testimony.

PART X.

The Great Tissue Ballot and other Frauds of 1878 in South Carolina — Wholesale Expulsion of Republican Legislators — No Polling Places in Republican Districts — Democratic Polling Officers — U. S. Supervisors Obstructed — 25,000 bogus names added to Poll List! — More Tissue Ballots than fraudulent names! — 59 voted in one voting ticket! — Thousands of Republican votes destroyed — Evidence of Democratic complicity — The law enabling the shameful thing to be done.

The result of the election in South Carolina in 1878 was a great surprise to the country. The Democratic State and Congressional tickets were elected by enormous majorities, and counties which had always given Republican majorities of thousands, returned much larger Democratic majorities.

The fraud inaugurated by legislation.

The explanation of this great change was found in the fact that the legislature, made Democratic in 1877 by the illegal expulsion of all the members from Charleston county, had abolished the usual and measurably fair custom of allowing one member of the minority on the board of precinct canvassers, and placed all the power in the hands of Democrats; so that in all the State there was not one inspector, judge, or clerk of the election who was a Republican; and then established such regulations as, by the facilities afforded for the commission of frauds, would most strongly tempt bitter partisans to use them.

Home rule obliterated in Republican counties.

The Governor was "authorized and empowered" by the Act of March 22, 1878, "to appoint boards of election for each county," on which both political parties should be represented. Two out of three members of these

boards were Democrats, and the third was a person designated as a Republican by the chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and in nearly every case against the protest of the Republicans of the respective counties.

The polling officers all Democrats.

The county managers appointed all the managers of the polls, and Democrats were appointed at all the precincts in the State. The election was, therefore, exclusively in the hands of the Democrats, and the frauds committed by the precinct managers were connived at or approved by the county managers.

Republican precincts abolished, and no facilities for voting in many large and populous districts.

The legislature at the same time reorganized the precincts of the State, by largely reducing the number in all the Republican counties, and usually locating those retained as remotely as possible from the populous neighborhoods, so as to compel the colored voters to go twenty or thirty miles to vote. One third of the precincts in the city of Charleston were abolished, making it utterly impossible for all the voters to get in their ballots. In Saint Andrew's parish, five of the six precincts were abolished, and the one retained was the smallest of the six, being located on an island to which there was no regular ferry from the main land. In Christ Church parish, three precincts in the interior of the parish were abolished, leaving a space of thirty-two miles between the two that were left at the extremities. A new one was established within a mile of one of these, which was in a Democratic district. The Democrats of one end of the parish had two precincts, while the much more numerous Republicans of all the rest of the parish had but one. The same dishonest discrimination prevailed all over the State, and thousands of persons could not vote for lack of opportunity; yet by the returns of many districts the number of votes was greatly increased, the increase being always Democratic.

Tissue ballots placed in the ballot boxes before the voting began—Few voted but many counted.

The proposed use of tissue ballots was revealed, or foreseen, in Charleston, and an attempt was made to prevent it by warning the public by means of handbills posted on the walls and fences; but the Democrats followed the bill posters and tore the notices down as fast as they were put up, and most of the persons who were about the polls all day (except at one precinct where the stuffing was done openly and defiantly) did not know of the existence of such ballots until the counting began in the evening, when it was found that the boxes were full of them.

Secrecy of the conspirators.

Nearly all the leading Republicans of the State who were before the Senate Investigat-

ing Committee, testified that they did not know of the tissue ballots until after the polls had been closed and the counting begun. Hon. James B. Campbell, a lifelong Democrat, who had been elected to many offices, including that of Senator of the United States, by that party, was an independent candidate at this election, and ruled out of the counsels of the party. He testified that he did not see or hear of any tissue ballots at the polls, but first heard of them late on election day from some gentlemen who called at his house, yet four or five hundred of them were counted out in the precinct where he lived and voted.—[*Senate Report No. 855—Election frauds in 1878—part 2, p. 21.*]

Three-hundred and twenty-nine tissue ballots.

The supervisor at Hope Engine House precinct, Charleston, and others testified to there being no tissue ballots visible during the day of election but three-hundred and twenty nine were taken out of the ballot box and counted. They all seemed to lie at the bottom of the box.—[*Ib. pp. 148, 149.*]

One-hundred and fifty-eight tissue ballots.

At the Eagle Engine House precinct, Republicans who were challengers and watching the polls all day, had no knowledge of the use of tissue ballots by any one, but one-hundred and fifty-eight were counted out of the box.—[*Ib. pp. 158, 159.*]

Two-hundred and forty tissue ballots.

At the Marion Engine House poll, no tissue ballots were voted during the day, unless concealed in the ordinary Democratic ballot, and none seen in the vicinity of the polls by any Republican. Two-hundred and forty were counted out.—[*Ib. pp. 168-170.*]

Five hundred and forty-five tissue ballots.

At Mount Pleasant, Charleston county, five hundred and forty-five tissue ballots came out of the box very much to the surprise of the Republican supervisor and challengers, who had seen none about the poll during the day.—[*Ib. pp. 175-184.*]

Three hundred and forty-one tissue ballots.

At the thirty-two mile house precinct, Charleston county, three hundred and forty-one tissue ballots were found in the box, in the same surprising manner to the Republicans.—[*Ib. p. 188.*]

Five hundred and fifteen tissue ballots.

At poll No. 1, Sumter county, two hundred and fifteen tissue ballots were counted out, and at Statesburg, same county, three hundred.—[*Ib. pp. 288, 289, 313.*]

Three hundred and twenty-four tissue ballots.

At Orangeburg, Orange county, three hundred and twenty-four tissue ballots were counted, but not voted.—[*Fp. 493, 494.*]

Ballot-boxes stuffed before the voting began.

The foregoing cases, all taken from the official records, are only a part of those in which it is evident that the tissue ballots were mainly, if not altogether, put in the boxes before opening the polls. As before noted all the managers were Democrats; but in some cases a Republican supervisor was present as a witness of the proceedings. It was held that his only duties were to look on from a distance and sign the certificate of the Congressional vote as counted out. In many cases the polls were opened before the hour designated by law to avoid the supervisor, in others the managers either refused to inspect the box at the opening of the poll, or professing to do so, excluded the supervisor on the ground that he had nothing to do with the ballot-box.

No chance for many Republicans to vote—Thousands prevented by obstructions.

By the abolition of so many precincts it was made impossible for a large portion of the voters of every county to vote. By trivial challenges and various obstructions, thousands of those who got to the polls were excluded.

Fraudulent poll lists.

Yet in spite of this wholesale exclusion of voters, the poll lists were often much larger than the whole number of legal voters, and always contained more names than there were participants in the election. Sheets of names were added to correspond with the number of tissue ballots placed in the box in the morning, or inclosed in large tickets during the day, with the knowledge of the managers. The sheets of names would be slipped in among the sheets of the poll lists during the day.—[*Ib. pp. 24, 288, 289.*]

3,569 names in twenty different hands on the lists of one precinct.

At the Palmetto Engine House poll, Charleston, the United States supervisor kept a list of voters from the opening of the poll to half past three o'clock in the afternoon, at which time he was compelled to desist, which showed that only nine hundred and fifteen men had voted up to that hour. Yet three thousand five hundred and sixty-nine votes were returned—three thousand one hundred and eight for the Democratic ticket. The poll list was examined by experts for the Congressional Investigating Committee, and found to be written on eighty-one large sheets of paper, a number of which were of different make and size from that used at the poll, and the names in the handwriting of twenty different persons.—[*Ib. pp. 124, 146, 147.*]

The same thing throughout the State.

At all the precincts heretofore noted the poll lists were added to in the same way, and scarcely one was found in the State in which it was not shown that the names on the poll

lists were in excess of the persons voting—the number of names added varying from fifty to twenty-five hundred to a precinct, the latter number being at the Palmetto Engine House precinct already referred to.

Twenty-five thousand false names.

A like ratio throughout the State would show that thirty-five thousand names were fraudulently recorded on the poll-lists; but, assuming that many of the worst cases were brought out in the investigation, and that the fraud was not so large in some sections, it will still be clear that at least *twenty-five thousand* fictitious names were added to the poll lists of the State, and ballots *fraudulently used and counted for them*.

Ballots largely in excess of the doctored poll lists.

Notwithstanding the additions to the poll lists, the tissue ballots were crowded in so much faster than the names could be supplied that there were generally from one to five hundred more ballots in the box than names on the list. An exigency that the tissue-ballot election law provided for, to the benefit of the Democratic party, as will be noted hereafter.

Voting tissue ballots in bundles.

The plan of voting tissue ballots, when enough were not previously placed in the boxes, as revealed by a person cognizant of it beforehand, and verified by all who saw them canvassed, was as follows:

"A committee of men had been appointed at each precinct to take charge of the precinct ballot-box, and to vote fifteen or twenty little ballots inside of a large ballot; that they had each ticket prepared, and a man selected to put it into the box; that they knew how many tissue tickets were voted by each of these men, and so how many were voted by them in all; that in order to make the tally-list agree with the number of votes in the ballot-box, somebody outside was keeping a tally-list of fictitious names to correspond to the number of tissue ballots voted folded in larger ballots; and he urged me to take immediate steps to stop these frauds. * * * * As fast as the tissue ballots were voted, an equal number of names were written on the false tally-sheets; and when a sheet of paper was filled with names, they would secretly slip it to the clerk, who would slip the sheet under those which he was using for a poll-list."—[*Id.* p. 24.]

Pushing in packages of tissue ballots as the polls were closing—"Kiss-Jokes."

At the Palmetto Engine House poll, in Charleston, where there was an excess of twenty-five hundred names on the poll-list, between five and six o'clock in the afternoon, packages of tissue ballots, wrapped in a large ticket, were crowded in so fast as to stop the aperture, and a pencil had to be used to press them down. The U. S. supervisor testifies:

"It was nearly the last hour of the polls, and there was a good deal of inducement for me to go off and drink, as they asked me there; but I invariably refused. Mr. Daggett was in front of the box. They would call me off, and when I would turn around to see what was the matter I would see Daggett with his hand over the aperture of the ballot-box. I noticed it several times, and thought I would watch. Mr. White then asked me to take a drink, and my attention was called away, and I said, 'I must positively refuse,' and

I saw Daggett moving his hand and evidently putting his hand over the aperture. There was a package of 'kiss-joke' tickets on the aperture, and then a Mr. Seignious attempted to push them down with a pencil. I said, 'Now, that won't do. Why don't you do it openly, if you are going to do it?' He said, 'Well, if there are too many you need not count them.' They moved the box at the close of the poll about fifteen feet back in the engine-house. They opened the box, and immediately upon the opening of the box I saw half a dozen piles of these 'kiss-joke' tickets right on top. One package of them I picked up in my hand, and none of them had any fold at all—had never been folded. I took them up and said, 'Gentlemen, what are you going to do with these?' Daggett then said I had no right to touch them, and if I did it again I would do it at my peril. I then put them back and asked Mr. White to count the number of ballots in the box to see if they would tally with the number of names on the poll-list. Mr. White started to do that, and had taken out about 30 or 40 ballots, and had arranged them on the table to do that, when Mr. Hugh Ferguson, one of the ralliers, came in and said he protested against the counting of the votes in that way, and demanded that they be put in the box. The managers consulted and decided in favor of Ferguson, and they were put back in the box and commenced counting immediately."

The country as bad as the city.

The testimony in regard to Colleton county gives a fair sample of the tissue ballot frauds in the country precincts throughout the State. It is contained in pages 641 to 684 of the report quoted from.

In Walterborough there were two hundred and thirty votes in excess of the poll list. At Jacksonburg the excess was two hundred and twenty-six. It was the same thing at all the other polls in the county, while the poll lists were larger than the number of voters in every case. No Republican in the county knew of the existence of the tissue ballots until the polls were closed and the counting began. They were voted inside of the large Democratic tickets by dozens, unrolled and shaken out to be counted.

Fifty-nine tissue ballots in one ticket!

At Jacksonburg fifty-nine tissue ballots were rolled in one ticket. The one was destroyed and the fifty-nine counted.—[*Id.* pp. 662, 663.]

What the tissue ballots accomplished.

The result in Colleton county was a Democratic majority of twenty-one hundred, whereas at all previous elections the Republican majority had ranged from thirteen hundred to two thousand.

Over five thousand tissue ballots counted in one county.

The evidence of the Democratic managers of the election in Charleston county, shows that there were returned in the ballot boxes (having been counted in the returns for the Democratic ticket) over *five thousand tissue ballots*—a number just sufficient to overcome the Republican majority of six thousand of 1876, and elect the Democratic ticket.

Although one-third of the polling places in the city had been abolished, and at least three thousand republicans were kept from voting, the vote of the city was returned over three thousand larger than in 1876—a difference

that would just about be made by the tissue ballots.

Destroying one to gain a dozen.

The Democrats after remodeling the law so as to prevent thousands of Republicans from voting, and providing Democratic election managers for all the polls, provided for the tissue ballot frauds by neglecting the usual provision for ballots of uniform appearance, and authorizing the managers to destroy one or more ballots found rolled together. The Democratic managers construed this to mean the construction of the one large ballot used as a wrapper and the preservation of the dozen small ones inside to be counted.—[*Id.* pp. 655, 661, 664.]

The thimble rig election clause.

The clause of the law by which the most was expected and accomplished, provided that in case more ballots should be found in the box than names on the poll lists, the excess "shall be drawn out and destroyed." If the tickets were similar in size and feeling, one drawing them out promiscuously might draw them in a fair ratio to the numbers in the box; but with the known Democratic tickets on tissue paper, and a zealous Democrat to draw out the overplus, there could be but one result.

Why some Democratic tickets were drawn out.

The person selected to draw the tickets could not tell the difference between the Democratic and Republican ballots of the usual size, and therefore would draw them in the proportion of the vote, usually one Democratic ticket to from five to ten Republican tickets; the precincts in which this method was used were always largely Republican.

No record of a tissue ballot drawn.

He could always tell a tissue ballot, and there is no record in the case of many drawings in which a single tissue ballot was drawn out and destroyed. The fraudulent tissue ballots were all left in the box, and added just that many votes to the Democratic ticket.

Ten thousand Republican ballots destroyed.

In the investigation of about fifty precincts it was shown that ten thousand Republican ballots were thus drawn from the ballot boxes and destroyed, and ten thousand tissue ballots counted for the Democratic ticket in their stead. In this manner a change of twenty thousand votes was fraudulently made in favor of the Democratic ticket. Is it any wonder that the majority in the State was over seventy one thousand?

The tissue ballots got up by the Democratic State Committees—"Little Hamptons!"

Geo. L. Buist, chairman of the Charleston county Democratic committee, testifies that all the Democratic tickets, tissue ballots and all, were printed under the direction of the State executive committee.—[*Id.* p. 198.]

M. P. Howell, chairman of the Colleton county executive committee, testified that all the tickets were sent to him as such chairman, but that he didn't know who sent them. The tissue ballots and the regulars came from the same source.—[*Id.* pp. 676, 677.] "*Little Hamptons*" was the name given these tickets by the Democrats in some parts of the State.

Legislation to secure the commission of frauds.

The official records show that for the purpose of defrauding the majority of the voters of the State of South Carolina, the Democratic legislature—

Abolished more than one half the election precincts of the State.

Abrogated the custom of appointing the supervisors of election from both parties, and made the managers all Democrats.

Allowed a discrepancy of hundreds between the number of ballots in the box and the names on the poll list, and the printing of fraudulent ballots of such size or material as to be recognized by the touch.

That the Democratic State Committee furnished such tickets, and the Democratic election officers used them, and destroyed an equal number of Republican tickets.

PART XI.

The Mississippi Plan—That and the South Carolina Plan adopted this year in Alabama—Details of the recent Alabama Election Frauds—How a Republican majority of 20,000 is overturned.

We have seen what the "South Carolina plan" is. A little story, told by T. M. Reynolds of Alabama, First Auditor of the Treasury, will illustrate the "Mississippi plan," said he:

"After the election of 1876, I was returning home from Mississippi by way of Mobile, and I noticed in the car a gentleman whom I knew by sight to be a large planter in that State. I determined to have a chat with him about politics, so I crossed over to where he sat. After some talk I said, 'How is it, General, that you get such large majorities in Mississippi, while we have so much trouble to do it in Alabama?'"

"'Oh, well, that is easy enough,' he said. 'But come into the sleeping-car and have a cigar, and I'll tell you.'"

"I went with him, and as soon as we had our cigars lighted, he said, 'How we do it is this: we just let the niggers go as they please. We don't interfere with them. It ain't no good anyway, for the nigger's just like a mule, and we don't shoot 'em because we want them to work in the fields.'"

"Now you know as well as I do that the nigger has no right to a vote, and everybody knows it. The nigger is a mule and has no more right to vote than a mule has. You know that. Still the law gives them a vote, and the best way is to let 'em vote just as they please. Then they go to the polls and vote, and come back and go quietly to work. Let 'em vote how they like. The point is to have somebody you can depend on to count it—that's the point.'"

"But how can you do that? In Alabama the inspectors—"

"'That's easy enough. We just leave that part to the boys.' They fix it up pretty quick. Just you leave that to the boys, that's all.'"

From the following authentic and official statement, founded on affidavits, and issued by order of the Republican State Committee of Alabama, it is evident that at the recent scandalous travesty upon an election in Alabama (August 2, 1860), the Democrats adopted both plans, with some added devilry of their own, in order to secure a pretended majority for their ticket of one hundred thousand votes, the official returns of which have been withheld (possibly to be altered) for fear of alarming the North. From the official statement referred to, the following is taken:

How the thing was done in Montgomery county—At McGehee's Switch 672 Republican votes cast, and only 132 returned counted!

"At McGehee's Switch, in Montgomery county, the Republicans polled 672 votes by actual count, the Republican voters receiving their tickets from one man, giving him their names and going straight from him to the polling-place, holding their ticket in view to enable him to see that they deposited the same ticket they had received. These precautions were adopted in order that the number of Republican votes polled there on that day might be fixed and ascertained beyond all doubt, because at the election in that precinct for member of Congress, two years before, their votes had been returned as cast for the Democratic candidate. It is instructive to interject here, parenthetically, that B. E. McGehee, one of the Democratic inspectors at the former election, and who is at present under indictment in the United States Circuit Court for 'stuffing' the ballot box on that occasion, was one of the persons chosen as a guardian of the people's ballots at this box at this election.

"After the election had progressed, without one threatening incident, to its close, at 6 o'clock, the Republican inspector, a colored man, demanded that the votes should be immediately counted, as the law directed, but could not persuade the other inspectors to join him in the count; first one excuse and then another being offered for the delay. About 6 o'clock a military company from Montgomery, the 'Grays,' under command of Colonel Jones, commanding the 2d Alabama Militia, appeared upon the grounds, supported by an armed posse of about thirty citizens from Montgomery. The cause of the delay then became apparent. The wretches who were housed inside, contemplating the villainy they were about to perpetrate, became afraid of the indignation and wrath of the large number of colored men who were quietly waiting on the ground to hear the result of the election announced, and had sent a report to the city that they were threatened by the colored men and that there was danger of a collision. The Governor of the State had thereupon issued his mandate, and mustered his bayonets and dispatched them with all speed to the assistance of his threatened compatriots. The soldiers took up their station and the count proceeded.

"The details of the farce enacted here have been before published. After counting 116 Republican and 59 Democratic votes, the candle was *accidentally* extinguished, the ballot-box disappeared from the table, reappeared, the candle was relighted, the box discovered to be full of tickets, where it had before been only partially full by reason of the diminution caused by those already counted, and large numbers of Republican ballots were scattered all over the room, where before there had been none. The colored inspector, inexperienced though he was, could not mistake the meaning of all this, and timid as he was inexperienced, he yet raised his voice in protest. This was the point to which it had been desired to bring him. The other inspectors and the clerks pretended to be indignant at an 'imputation on their integrity,' and resented the same with language of such force, accompanied by demonstrations of such character, that the guilty individual made haste to join his friends outside. After

being somewhat reassured by them, he attempted to again enter the polling-place and resume his duties as inspector, but was met by the statement that as he had voluntarily abandoned his post he could not resume it. The inspectors then proceeded to the count and made a return giving the Republicans 132 votes and the Democrats 540 votes.

"There are two singular circumstances in connection with the election at this point which should be marked down. The first is that of the first 175 votes taken from the box while the Republican inspector was there, 116 were Republican votes, while of the 500 votes taken from the box after the Republican inspector had abandoned his duty, only 16 were Republican votes. The second is, how 132 colored men were enabled to terrorize 540 Democrats, white and black, at that place, and put them in such deadly fright that they required a military company, uniformed and armed with bayonets, to assist them in collecting the votes of the freemen who voted there on that day."

At Kendall's Beat—The vote being 544 Republican to 65 Democratic, the majority is first reduced to 46 and then thrown out altogether.

"At Kendall's Beat, in Montgomery county, at which place a list of names of Republican voters was kept for the same purpose as at McGehee's, 544 Republican votes and 65 Democratic votes were deposited. At this place the Democratic inspectors, relying on the ignorance and timidity of the old colored man acting as the Republican inspector, who was also partially blind, proceeded, with slight efforts at concealment, to substitute Democratic for Republican ballots, but were not enabled to make as complete a revolution as in the other beat, because the old colored man developed an amount of intelligence and decision of character which prevented. The Republican majority of 475 was reduced, however, to 46, the only majority allowed anywhere in the whole country at this election, and even this majority was not allowed us by the Board of Supervisors who compared the returns and tabulated the same, but was thrown out because more votes were returned than appeared on the ill-lists. The inspectors had got things mixed."

At Robinson's Cross Roads—A vote of 580 Republican to 50 Democrats entirely suppressed and unreported.

"At Robinson's Cross Roads, Montgomery county, a record of the Republican votes was kept by M. Dillard, one of the oldest and best citizens of that precinct, and it showed that 580 Republican votes were polled. The Democratic vote at the outside limits did not exceed 50. The only disturbance during the day occurred about 3 o'clock, and it was between colored men, one of whom was wounded by a pistol shot. The polls were kept open until 6 o'clock as by law required, and voting continued until the very close. The colored man who acted as inspector then proposed to proceed with the count, but was informed by the other inspectors that they did not propose to count, that the disturbance at the polls at 3 o'clock had invalidated the election. They then closed up the polling-place, carried off the box containing the ballots, and from that time to this no information has been received in any official quarter as to the votes at this box."

At Porter's Beat—400 Republican to 50 Democratic votes cast—The 350 Republican majority counted and announced, but suppressed all the same.

"The same thing occurred at Porter's Beat, where the vote was about 400 Republican to 50 Democratic, but at that precinct there was not one incident of a threatening character upon which to ground an excuse for not counting. Why they were not counted is not known. We only know that the inspectors, after receiving votes all day, have utterly failed to make any return whatever, and by their arbitrary and unlawful omission have disfranchised about five hundred voters. Why the monotony was varied at this beat, and the Republican majority only suppressed instead of being transposed, is perhaps accounted for by the

fact that the Republicans remembering their experience in former elections, when they had been counted out, determined to remain at the polls *en masse* until their votes had been declared. This fact, aided by sundry remarks which were made during the day and night, that the Republicans only wanted a fair count and that they would have that, appears to have had a salutary effect on the minds of the inspectors, and they did not feel it safe to close the building and go away with the ballot-box, in the presence of the crowd outside, without giving it a pacifying assurance. The statement was accordingly made to them publicly that the votes as counted showed the Republicans to have 350 majority. Nevertheless, they were suppressed all the same."

At Old Elam—446 Republican votes to 16 Democratic—The light put out and the returns vitiated.

"At 'Old Elam' the list of votes as kept showed that 446 Republican votes had been polled to 16 Democratic. The count proceeded at this place until 200 Republican votes and 5 Democratic votes had been counted. At this juncture the candle expired, and it appeared that no other light could be procured. It was accordingly proposed to Charles Pope, the colored inspector, who had been selected for the position because of his ignorance and stupidity, that all the votes be placed together and sent to town in lieu of a return, which proposition Pope accepted. This proceeding vitiated everything, because, under the law, the inspectors are required to make the count immediately, and it is upon their return, and not by a count of the votes, that the Board of Supervisors declare the result. To make the thing safe, however, and to make the injury resulting from their action irreparable, the votes as cast and all the loose papers and trash in the room, with several hundred ballots of both parties, which had not been voted, were dumped indiscriminately in a bag, and sent to the Sheriff's office as the return from Elam."

At Union Academy and Dooley's Republican majorities changed by addition to Democratic vote—More votes than voters.

"At Union Academy and Dooley's, where the Republican votes exceed the Democratic, the latter have been returned as having majorities. The features of the count in those beats do not differ materially from those related as to the other beats, except that the inspectors, instead of transposing the Republican and Democratic votes, as was done elsewhere, appear to have attempted to extend the Democratic vote beyond the Republican vote without diminishing the latter. They did not bear in mind the late census returns, however, and have returned more votes from their precincts than those returns show there are male citizens over twenty-one years of age."

The city of Montgomery—Republican majority of 1400 in 1876 and 1878 becomes a Democratic majority of 900 in 1880—Evidences of fraud.

"In the city of Montgomery, where it was not supposed any attempt would be made to falsify the count, the precautions to ascertain our vote were not taken, as in the country precincts, and the Republican majority of 1,400 in 1876, and about the same number in 1878, was this time transposed into a Democratic majority of about 900. There are still some *indicia* extant. The intelligent white Republicans who had been offered by the Republicans as inspectors at the city boxes, had been rejected for colored men who could neither read nor write, or who, it was supposed, would be pliant in the hands of their associates. The Democrats became aware before election day that a mistake had been made as to one of these appointees, who was a smart and resolute colored man. On the morning of election the latter presented himself at the voting place to assume his duties half an hour before the time fixed by law for opening the polls. He was refused entrance into the room on the pretext that he arrived

too late, and the election officers had already met, organized and filled his place. The Republicans in the city had no candidates for Justice of the Peace and Constable. Many of them picked out some name no one else would be likely to think of and voted it for one or the other of those offices. It is noticeable that not one of the persons so voted for is returned as receiving a single vote."

The value of U. S. supervisors at elections—Some startling and convincing figures as to elections in Montgomery County, Ala., from 1876 to 1880.

"To show in figures the glaring frauds committed in Montgomery, the capital county of Alabama—where the Republicans were this time more united than ever before, the county thoroughly canvassed, and no objectionable ticket, composed entirely of white men, Republicans, and Independents, in the field, which was unanimously nominated by a convention of colored men, while many business men, Democratic in politics, voted for the Republican nominees, because men better known for their fitness and integrity, and many, not daring open opposition, abstained from voting, for which sign of apathy they were arraigned in strong terms by the Democratic organ next day—we give here with the following official report of the last four elections held in Montgomery County, Alabama, which shows the necessity of United States supervisors at elections as the only safeguards against fraud:"

With and without United States Supervisors.

In the November elections there were United States supervisors; in the August elections there were none.

Beat No.	Name.	Pres'n't.		Senator.		Congress/Gover'n'r	
		Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.
	R. B. Hayes, Rep.						
	S. J. Tillden, Dem.						
	Paul Strobach, Rep.						
	D. S. Troy, Dem.						
	J. P. Armstrong, Greenbacker.						
	H. A. Herbert, Dem.						
	Jas. M. Fickens, Greenbacker.						
	Rufus W. Cobb, Dem.						
	Barnes'.....	626	68	†	†	†	†
	Rives'.....	641	97	†	†	†	†
	1 Old Elam.....	* * *	206	130	252	24	§
	2 Kendalls'.....	* * *	228	149	§	§	§
	3 Exchange.....	1167	620	349	688	796	377
	4 Court House.....	1631	727	204	737	902	422
	5 Walker's Store.....	* * *	100	242	328	44	71
	6 Mt. Meigs'.....	695	82	370	117	133	106
	7 Pike Road.....	* * *	98	368	229	66	197
	8 Dooley's.....	* * *	104	140	250	44	218
	9 McGhee's S.W.h.....	* * *	119	489	1217	252	132
	10 Keeler's.....	* * *	89	192	†	†	73
	11 Robins'n's X R.....	468	114	200	265	300	93
	12 Porter's.....	461	91	112	320	173	63
	13 Pine Level.....	207	162	110	185	182	95
	14 Dublin.....	125	230	108	214	91	178
	15 Tucker's.....	243	190	165	237	125	226
	16 Union Acad'y.....	†	†	110	149	81	91
	Total.....	6264	2381	2672	4632	4059	2081
	Majority.....	881	.....	.....	1960	1978	.....

* New Beats organized after 1876.

† No elections.

‡ Old Beats discontinued after 1876.

§ Thrown out.

|| No United States Supervisors. Deputy marshals counted 417 men who voted Armstrong tickets.

"STATE OF ALABAMA, } ss:
MONTGOMERY COUNTY, }

"MONTGOMERY, ALA., Aug. 12, 1880.

"I, Charles W. Buckley, Judge of the Probate Court, in and for said County and State, do hereby certify the

above to be a true and correct copy of the official returns of the last four elections held in this county, as appears from the official records on file in that office.
(Signed) "CHARLES W. BUCKLEY,
"Judge of the Probate Court"

Frauds in other counties—Wilcox county

—Some "specimen bricks" of how the Democrats secured a majority of 2,900 in this county.

—The features presented by the election in other counties of the State are pretty much the same as those occurring in Montgomery, with here and there some peculiarity of fraud, which renders it worthy of mention separately. Before the election of the leading Republicans of Wilcox county, fearing that they could not get a fair count in the eastern end of the county, concluded to advise the Republicans in several precincts not to vote, and then the Democratic steal would be made more palpable. Republicans posted themselves near the polls and took down the name of every colored man who voted. At Snow Hill seven colored men voted. The Democrats gave themselves in their official return at this precinct 599 votes. But according to the census returns of last June, there are only 132 whites living in the precinct over twenty-one years of age. Add to the white the seven colored votes, and we have a total of 139 votes polled at this precinct, 460 less than the official return. At Allenton precinct two colored men voted. The Democrats gave themselves 847 votes. The last census shows but 63 whites in the precinct over twenty-one years of age. Total, 64 votes, 283 less than the official return. It was the same at Pine Apple. In Bonham's precinct the returns gave the Republicans 22 votes and the Democrats 476, making a total vote of 498, or 142 more males twenty-one years of age than reside in the precinct, according to the census. By such frauds as these, this strong Republican county, for the first time since the war, is made to return a Democratic majority of over 2,000."

Sample frauds in Lowndes county—How its Republican majority of 3,000 is changed into a pretended Democratic majority of 2,900—Official figures—Net fraud in each of 13 voting "beats."

"Lowndes county, which has a legitimate Republican majority of 3,000, and which has always cast its vote for the Republicans, was this time stolen from them by a Democratic majority of 2,000. At all the polls list of Republican voters were kept by intelligent men, each voter giving his name as he passed up to vote, and an examination of those lists shows that the Republicans never voted more solidly. We give herewith some official figures, as instances of the shameless frauds committed in that county:

Coffey, Democrat, 8,506; McDuffie, Republican, 1,800; Owen, Independent, 503.

BENTON BEAT returned 125 votes for Coffey, 70 for McDuffie. McDuffie has obtained the names of 186 men who voted for him there. *Net fraud in Benton Beat, 96 votes.*

CHURCH HILL BEAT returned Coffey 190 votes, McDuffie 13. McDuffie has the names of 177 men who voted for him. *Net fraud in this beat, 164 votes.*

COLLIERINE BEAT returned Coffey 251 votes, McDuffie 24. McDuffie got here 230 votes, and the Republicans of the beat stand ready to swear to it. *Net fraud in this beat, 206 votes.*

GRIDIRONVILLE—McDuffie's voters registered their names publicly, giving 442 votes. The returns gave him 102; the remainder to Coffey. *Net fraud, 340 votes in this precinct.* At this beat there were white men who voted for McDuffie and not for the balance of the ticket, and yet the Republican ticket got the same

vote for all the candidates on it according to the returns.

HOWEWELL BEAT—McDuffie has the names of 136 persons who voted for him, and yet the returns give only 80 votes for McDuffie, but 98 for Coffey. *Net fraud in this beat, 66 votes.*

BROOKS' BEAT—The returns give Coffey 236 votes, while there were not 25 Democratic votes in the whole beat, and Coffey did not get colored votes and all over 50 votes. *Net fraud in this beat, 136 votes.*

PRAIRIE HILL BEAT—There are but four white men living here, and one of them voted for McDuffie; the returns give Coffey 89, and McDuffie only 77 votes. McDuffie has the names of 186 men who voted there for him. *Net fraud in this beat, 85 votes.*

LETOHATCHER BEAT—One hundred and eighty-seven men voted for McDuffie; the returns give Coffey 212 votes, McDuffie 80. *Net fraud in this beat, 107 votes.*

STEEP CREEK BEAT—McDuffie's voters registered 190 names, all of whom cast their ballots for him; but the returns show 146 votes for Coffey, and only 96 for McDuffie. *Net fraud in this beat, 91 votes.*

PINTALE BEAT—McDuffie had 316 votes, while they gave Coffey 23. *Net fraud in this beat, 20 votes.*

LOWNDESBOBO' BEAT—McDuffie got 440 votes; the returns give him 244 votes, and Coffey 272 votes. *Net fraud in this beat, 196 votes.* At previous elections the Democrats did not get over 75 votes at this box, and a less number of colored votes were polled for them there at this time than ever before.

St. CLAIR—McDuffie received 176 votes, but the returns gave him only 46 votes, and Coffey 188. *Net fraud in this beat, 131 votes.*

WHITEHALL PRECINCT—McDuffie has the names of 276 persons who voted for him; still the returns give him only 71 votes, but 220 for Coffey. *Net fraud in this beat, 255 votes.*

In that county, which is entirely devoted to planting, the blacks outnumber the whites enormously.

Green county—The Sheriff's office broken into—A Republican majority of 2,000 changed to a Democratic majority of 27!

In Green County the Republican candidate for Probate Judge was elected by over 2,000 majority; but, besides the same frauds committed as enumerated above, the office of the Sheriff was broken into, and a box with 420 Republican majority stolen, and then the Democratic candidate was declared elected by 27 majority.

Republican majorities deliberately destroyed everywhere—Nullification of the Constitutional amendments.

It would be possible to give a detailed account of frauds which occurred throughout the State at this election which would occupy the entire space of a daily newspaper, but it would be a mere repetition of what has already been given. It is sufficient to say that in all cases where it was possible the Republican majorities have been deliberately counted for the Democracy, or they have been nullified and destroyed by the action of the very men who were appointed to receive, record, and preserve them.

To-day Alabama is Republican by 20,000 majority, if the votes which are put in the ballot-boxes were honestly counted. The foregoing facts, which are vouched for as true by men who were on the ground in each case—in some cases vouched for by affidavits—when considered in connection with the provisions of the election law, and with the action of the officers under that law, establish beyond all doubt the purpose of the entire Democratic party, of Alabama at least, to ignore, disregard, and nullify the late constitutional amendments by disfranchising the entire colored population of the State.

CHAPTER VII.

History of Democratic Administrative "Looting."

"We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots."
 * * *—Declaration 1, National Democratic Platform, 1890.—*"Public money*** for public purposes solely."* * * *—Declaration 12, *Ibid.*

PART I.

"Retrenchment, Economy and Reform" of the Pecksniffian Democracy—From 1828.

"Retrenchment, Economy, and Reform," as a slogan, were early patented by the Pecksniffian Democracy. In 1828, in the House of Representatives, the partisans of Andrew Jackson, the founder of modern Democracy, raised the cry of "extravagance and fraud" against the existing National administration—that of the younger Adams. After a protracted and acrimonious debate, an investigation was ordered by the House, but Mr. Hamilton, its chairman, in his report to the committee utterly fails to convict the younger Adams or his administration of either extravagance or corruption, or even to raise a presumption of either; and in history that administration stands unsurpassed by any which preceded it, or has followed it, for practical statesmanship of the highest order, for incorruptible integrity, for its success in the management of the affairs of the nation, and for exalted patriotism. Nevertheless, the Democracy clamored against it, as they now clamor against the Republicans. They denounced it for extravagance and fraud. They fabricated the infamous "bargain and corruption" libel against Adams and the chivalrous Henry Clay, charging as they now charge against Mr. Hayes and the Republicans, and with about equal truth, that the Democracy, by Adams and Clay in the House of 1824-25, had been cheated out of the Presidency—charges which their authors subsequently confessed were not "only false" in themselves, but were "impossible to be true," but which they clamorously urged in every vile form and literally lied Adams down. Thus it was that the Democracy originally succeeded to power and place—*by lying and hypocrisy.*

PART II.

Inauguration of Andrew Jackson, the Founder of Modern Democracy—"To the Victors belong the Spoils."

On March 4, 1829, Andrew Jackson, pledged to retrenchment, economy and reform, was in-

augurated President of the United States. Proclaiming the maxim that "to the victors belong the spoils," Jackson let slip the "Furies of the Guillotine" in a wholesale proscription of the old and tried officials of former Administrations. John Q. Adams, in the preceding four years, had made but twelve changes—all for cause. In the preceding 40 years, all his predecessors together had made only 132 changes—of these Jefferson had removed sixty-two; but Jackson, in the genuine spirit of a Democratic reformer, in one year removed, it was estimated, 1,500 officials—in one year nearly 12 times as many as by all his predecessors from the beginning of the Government. The officers removed were experienced, capable, and trusty. The character of those who filled their places—"Slamm, Bang & Co."—is attested by the "reform" which followed.

PART III.

Democratic "Reform"—Its Indian and Public Land Grabs—Secretary Cass Pockets Illegally \$68,000 as Extra Allowances—Speculations of the Highest Officials under Jackson in Public Lands—Fourth Auditor Amos Kendall's \$50,000 Fee.

A rage for speculation in the public lands distinguished the period. General Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, who pocketed illegally, as extra allowances, the sum of \$68,000, united with Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State, Benjamin F. Butler, of N. Y., Attorney General, and others, in a land Credit Mobilier for speculation in public lands—for speculation in sales by the Government of which they were members. Amos Kendall, the Fourth Auditor, and subsequently Postmaster General, in like manner united with a Boston land company, for a fee of \$50,000, for the wholesale robbery of certain Indians in Mississippi of their lands—all swindling enterprises in contemptuous violation of the law, of which they were the administrators. (*H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.*) The fraudulent character of this Democratic Land Credit Mobilier, these "Joint Stock Companies" for speculation in public lands,

is described by the *Globe*, Jackson's organ, in its issue of August 2, 1836. Its article is a virtuous but characteristic attempt to cast the odium of these speculations upon the opponents of Democracy. It says:

"These [joint stock] companies will presently accumulate large amount of specie, as they have heretofore done of paper—will, by their agents, attend the land offices and public sales—will drive off the actual settlers from competition, by telling them that if they attempt to buy their places, for instance, at \$5 per acre, the real value, they will bid them up to 6, or 8, or \$10; but that if they permit it to pass into the hands of the company (by not bidding) at the Government price of \$1.25, they will allow them to have the selected spot at \$4.50. By the control thus obtained by combinations among speculators, all competition at the sales of public lands is prevented, and actual occupants, to save their homes from the grasp of capital, against which they cannot contend, are content to give the field to the speculators—to permit them to buy their places at the Government price, in consideration of reserving the privilege of obtaining them at second hand at some advance, but at a price less than they would be compelled to give under a competition with the long purses at auction."

In such a Credit Mobilier, in such a joint stock company united Jackson's Secretary of War (Cass) and State (Van Buren), and his Attorney General, B. F. Butler.

PART IV.

The infamous "Galphin Swindle"—Jackson's Secretary of State, John Forsyth of Ga., the author, attorney and lobbyist of the "Swindle"—A Southern claim through which the nation was robbed of over \$200,000.

In 1834, John Forsyth, of Georgia, succeeded Lewis McLane, of Delaware, as Secretary of State, in Jackson's Cabinet. In 1850 the payment of the notorious "Galphin swindle" scandalized the nation. By the Democracy it was denounced as "infamous"—as "without a precedent"—as "a clear and unmitigated swindle!" Their memories were bad. In 1837, before the Wise committee, John Ross, the Cherokee chief, testified that in 1835, in the Cherokee treaty of that year, an article covering the "Galphin" was inserted directly through the influence of "Mr Forsyth, Secretary of State;" that it was urged, in the negotiations of the treaty, that Mr. Forsyth had great influence with the President; that "Mr. Forsyth could and would influence the President to grant a sum sufficient to cover the Galphin *additional* to the sum stipulated in the treaty if the Cherokees would sanction a treaty upon such terms." The article was consequently inserted. Mr. Forsyth admitted that he "advised" its insertion, as also his personal interest in the payment of both principal and interest. He had applied to both Secretaries of War, Eaton and Cass; as Secretary of State had certified the papers from the Department of State to the Secretary of War. General Cass had told him that the claim was just; and when the treaty was pending before the Senate had "conversed" with Senators urging its ratification;

but pleads that to them his "appeals" were "founded solely on the justice of the claim"—"the hardship of the condition of the claimants." Hence, lobbied in 1835 by Forsyth, Jackson's Secretary of State, approved by General Cass, his Secretary of War, and justified in 1837 by the Democratic majority of the Wise committee, engineered through Congress in 1849, by another distinguished Democratic reformer, Mr. Burt, of South Carolina, and the principal paid by James K. Polk, the question of interest was only reserved and its liquidation by Polk only defeated for want of time. Interest was subsequently paid by Secretary of War Crawford, of Georgia, and the nation swindled out of over \$200,000! Secretary Crawford, a noble son of the South, pocketed as his attorney's fees one-half of the whole swindle!

PART V.

The General Post Office under Adams self-sustaining and contributing \$1,103,063 to the revenues of the nation—Under Jackson bankrupt amid the foulest corruption and fraud.

In 1834, after a hard battle (from 1830), Senators Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, and John M. Clayton, of Delaware, forced an inquiry by the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads into the condition of the Post Office Department. It found the Department "insolvent," a helpless prey to maladministration, corruption, robbery, and fraud. In the preceding administration, under John Q. Adams, the Department had been not only self-sustaining, but had contributed annually \$1,103,063 to the revenues of the nation. But now, in a few brief years, under Democratic reform, it was bankrupt, a burden upon the Treasury. (*S. R. 422, first session Twenty-third Congress.*) Mr. Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, the Democratic chairman of the committee, was opposed to the investigation. Postmaster Barry refused to recognize its authority. He declared that he was responsible, not to the Senate, but to the President, and through him to the people. He refused to furnish the committee the information it requested, and it was forced to prosecute its labors under the greatest difficulties, among mutilated records and fabricated accounts in the greatest confusion. But even under such disadvantages it developed a condition of affairs utterly without a parallel in all our previous history.

"Extra allowances" alone exhaust the whole postal revenues of States—"Oppressive monopolies" in postal contracts—Contractors share their plunder in wines and cash with the Postmaster General and his chief clerk, and lend their credit to this department.

One of the greatest abuses of the Department was in its extra allowances, aggregating

hundreds of thousands annually, frequently given without an increase of duty or service, without the authority of law, and in many cases where there was an increase of service, "unreasonable, extravagant, and out of all proportion with such increase." *These extra allowances actually exhausted the whole postal revenues of States, and were granted practically as pensions to party favorites.* This favoritism took a hundred shapes. Certain contractors were compelled to surrender their contracts for the benefit of others. Contracts were granted on bids different from advertisement, and others were altered or changed in material respect after they had been accepted. Proposals for carrying the mail were withheld from advertisement. The contracts, as in the case of the route from Chicago to Green Bay, actually given to clerks in the Department under other men's names, and the compensation on bids raised without an increase of service. Mail lines were authorized, "at a heavy expense," to run more than once daily without benefit to the public, and steamboat lines were established by private contract, without authority of law, at an enormous expense. Oppressive monopolies were actually established by the Department for the benefit of private parties. An instance is given in which an agreement, drawn by an officer of the Government and adopted at his pressing instance, with the sanction of the Postmaster General, was entered into between two companies of mail contractors to put down all opposition lines of coaches—all competition of passengers on their respective mail routes. The contractors, in turn, divided by handsome loans never repaid—generously relieved the Postmaster General of his debts, and enabled the chief clerk to speculate largely in real estate in Washington. They also furnished the table of both with the most choice wines! *With shrewd business foresight the contractors lent their credit to the Department when threatened with collapse, and the Department responded by pledging its funds for the benefit of contractors.*

"Incidental expenses" and "secret service fund"—Special service plums of the Department—Subsidizing the partisan press—Maladministration, corruption and fraud run riot—Unlawful loans bearing interest—Postmaster General Barry punished by promotion!

The "incidental expenses" of the Department—not its "contingent expenses," which were separate, distinct, and additional, but its "secret-service fund"—in a single year, (1829), increased to \$56,471, "exceeding that of any former year," but in 1832, during the Presidential election, it suddenly swelled to \$88,000! It was principally the newspaper fund. After deducting the support of traveling partisan emissaries, under the title of "postal agents," it was the fund out of which the numerous party presses were permitted to richly share the plunder. So the Greenes, of the Boston *Statesman*, the elder Greene (Nathaniel) being postmaster at Boston, and certifying the accounts which were for "printed

blanks, twine," etc. So the Hills, of the New Hampshire *Patriot*, the Shadrach Penns, of the Louisville *Public Advertiser*, the Albany *Argus*, New York *Courier and Enquirer*, the Washington *Globe*, the national organ, etc. The prices paid to F. P. Blair, of the *Globe*, were "enormous." Of the \$22,957.06 of "incidental expenses" during the Presidential election of 1832, \$13,673.31 were paid to the editors of newspapers. Of that Blair received \$8,386.50! During the election he received from this secret fund alone about \$116 daily for every day his paper was issued. The details are disgusting. Maladministration, corruption, and fraud run riot. The aggregate *excess* of expenditures in four years, as compared with the preceding four years, under Adams, was, "\$3,336,859!" The amount of funds actually "*sunk*" by the Department since 1829 was \$1,032,933; and the aggregate of its "*indebtedness*" April 11, 1834, was \$1,123,600! to avoid immediate exposure by the collapse of his Department, the Postmaster General was forced, besides his loans from contractors, to unlawfully contract loans, bearing interest, from the banks. There was no evading the judgment. (*S. R. 42, first session Twenty-third Congress.*) At the next session the report of the Democratic Committee of the House was even more damaging than the Senate's. Hence, under the unanimous verdict of the Senate, Postmaster General Barry was compelled to resign—to *accept promotion to the mission to Spain, with its lucrative out-fits and in-fits.*

PART VI.

The old U. S. Bank—Jackson raids and destroys it—Transfers the Government Revenues to the Pet "State or bogus" Banks—Their explosion and the loss of millions to the Nation—Appalling consequences to Business and the People.

About this time the affairs of the old Bank of the United States and its branches began to wane. By law the bank was the depository of the government revenues, and in consequence was the treasury of the nation. In 1834, by a daring act of usurpation, President Jackson removed the deposits. He transferred them to certain "pet" State banks of the Democratic reformers, who claimed the revenues of the nation as the "spoils" of "THE PARTY!" The destruction of the bank and subsequent explosion of the "pet banks" involved the loss of millions, the destruction and ruin of thousands of the business men and the business of the country—of \$500,000,000 of private capital—and the consequent suffering and want of tens of thousands of all ranks and classes throughout the Union. The Democratic reformers, nevertheless, applauded. They laughed at the misery and ruin they had caused, belittled their magnitude

and maintained and justified the removal in all its bearings and consequences. The indecent partisan scramble for the national revenues thus removed from the Bank of the U. S. which was perfectly solvent, and the notes of which were at par in gold the world over, may be seen in the application of the "pet" or "bogus" banks for the "fiscal patronage" of the government. A notable instance is that of the Seventh Ward Bank, of New York. It was established directly with the view of claiming a part of the "fiscal" spoils. Its formal application was accompanied by a letter of its President and Cashier to the Secretary of the Treasury. They urged that "the directors, having the highest personal consideration for General Jackson, feel much confidence in this application, being (without exception) as well as the stockholders (with few exceptions) friends of the administration." Its formal application is as follows:

"NEW YORK, Dec. 16, 1833.

"We, the subscribers, officers, and directors of the Seventh Ward Bank, in the city of New York, friends of the Administration and of the revered Chief at the head of the Government, do solicit a portion of the fiscal patronage of the United States Treasury for the Seventh Ward Bank. The terms as those most favorable to the Government.

(Signed)

"WALTER BOWNE, President.

"WM. O'CONNOR, Cashier."

And by twelve others, as directors.

PART VII.

Investigations into and exposures of Democratic Corruptions and Crimes—Forsyth's "Nankeen"—Amos Kendall's \$50,000 fee—The Harlan Investigating Committee.

Although the committees of the 24th Congress were all so packed by Speaker James K. Polk, afterwards President of the United States, as to shield the Democratic administration, yet in 1837 the Garland committee unearthed the "Wool-clip" correspondence between Secretary Woodbury and the deposit banks, exposed the criminal partisan favoritism of the Treasury in the distribution and management of the deposits or revenues of the nation as the "spoils" of "THE PARTY," and prepared the country for the disastrous explosion of the "pet banks" which followed. (*H. R. 193, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.*) The Wise committee unearthed Forsyth's "Nankeen," exposed the complicity of the high-toned Georgian Secretary of State in the "infamous Galphin swindle," exposed Postmaster-General Kendall's complicity, with "a \$50,000 fee," in the Boston scheme for the wholesale robbery of the Mississippi Indians of their lands; and developed Secretary Cass's corrupt favoritism in the dispensation of his patronage. —(*H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.*)

Forgery, absenteeism, and embezzlement under Secretary of War, Cass.

One T. B. Waterman was a *protege*—a copying clerk in the Pension Office, appointed by

the General. Waterman forged the initials of Secretary Cass to an account; Waterman confessed the forgery, and the General paid the account.—(*H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.*)

D. Azro A. Buck was a model reformer. He was appointed a clerk by Secretary Cass, July 8, 1835. About the same time Buck was also elected a member of the Vermont Legislature. Hence he did not report at the War Department for duty until December. In January, 1836, General Cass paid him for five months' service, when Buck had rendered but one.—(*H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.*)

Lieutenant Thomas Johnson, a disbursing officer, lost, in gambling, two United States drafts for \$1,000 and \$1,500 respectively. These drafts were protested by a deposit bank—the Union Bank of Louisiana, at New Orleans—and an appeal for their payment was made to the War Department. The facts were all known. The Hon. Ambrose H. Sevier, of Arkansas, and the Hon. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky (model Democratic reformers), interested themselves in their payment, the pious Attorney General (B. F. Butler) uttered a favorable opinion, and Secretary Cass drew a warrant for their payment even after Woodbury had declined.—(*H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.*)

At the same time Garret D. Wall, then United States District Attorney at Perth Amboy, N. J., and subsequently United States Senator from New Jersey, a distinguished Democratic reformer, assessed his modest fees for his influence with the Administration.—(*H. R. 194, second session Twenty-fourth Congress.*)

"No more packed committees" the fiat of the nation—The celebrated Harlan Investigating Committee.

In 1839 resistance to investigation was no longer possible. "No more packed committees" was the fiat of the nation—no more committees appointed by James K. Polk; and accordingly the House, by ballot, elected the celebrated Harlan committee.

Now, the proofs were overwhelming.

PART VIII.

The Plundering Administration of N. Y. Custom House under Swartwout and Hoyt—Swartwout without a bond to secure the millions in his hands—Maladministration, Corruption, and Fraud reduced to a system and operated with impunity.

In April, 1829, Samuel Swartwout had been appointed by President Jackson collector of the port of New York. He was notoriously impecunious, a reckless gambler in stocks, largely in debt, always in want of money, and wholly irresponsible financially. His de-

fault began within a year from the date of his appointment, and continued during eight years—for years with the knowledge of the authorities at Washington—for years (from 1834 to 1887) without the bonds required by law to the Government for the safe keeping of the millions in his hands. (*H. R. 813, third session Twenty-fifth Congress*). His default was for \$1,225,705.69. The causes of his default, as the Harlan committee declares, were his irresponsibility in pecuniary character when appointed; the culpable disregard of law and neglect of official duty by the naval officer at New York, by the First Auditor and First Comptroller of the Treasury; the discontinuance of the use of banks of deposit; the consequent accumulation of vast sums in the hands of a stock gambler so improvident and reckless as Swartwout; and the negligence and failure of the Secretary of the Treasury to discharge his duty as head of the Treasury. In a word, by the abandonment at New York and Washington of all the checks thrown by law around the collection of the revenue. (*H. R. 813, third session Twenty-fifth Congress*). Swartwout was not removed. His commission expired March 28, 1838, and, being apprised in time, he, on the 16th of August, fled to England with his plunder, followed within a fortnight by William M. Price (the district attorney for the southern district of New York), a confederate in crime, and, like Swartwout, a defaulter in the sum of \$72,224.06. The default of General C. Gratiot, Chief Engineer United States army, was for \$50,000.

Every bureau overrun with corruption—Origin of political assessments for party purposes.

In every bureau of the New York customs maladministration, corruption and fraud reigned supreme, and here, with the origin of Democratic reform, began the "tyranny" of assessments for party purposes, levied for national and local elections upon the customs officers and in the navy yard at New York, as throughout the country and in the executive departments at Washington.

Hoyt's maladministration and systematic robberies—Hoyt's Triumvirate—Their illegal practices, frauds, perjuries, and robberies of importers.

In 1841-'42 the Poindexter commission investigated the maladministration of Swartwout's successor, Jesse Hoyt, the special protégé of Martin Van Buren, who was appointed in March, 1838. At the date of his appointment, Hoyt, like Swartwout and Price, was notoriously impecunious, irresponsible financially, largely in debt, and a reckless speculator in stocks. His maladministration and systematic robberies of the Government and the importers amounted to piracy. Even in the incidental expenses of the customs—in the matter of stationery, printing, and the like—the pillage amounted to tens of thousands annually. No advertisement for the lowest bidder, no contract at stipulated prices for their supply, but ordered extravagantly and in the loosest manner, with

no evidence required of the delivery of the article, they were paid for, on demand, at prices ranging from 100 to 200 per cent. greater than the current New York rates. (*H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress*.) Geo. A. Wasson, "a sort of factotum" for Hoyt, had a monopoly of the cartage at the public stores—two privileged carts, for the use and labor of which, in three years, Hoyt paid him \$94,430.92. In addition to his salary as storekeeper, Hoyt paid Wasson unlawfully, as deputy collector, \$1,500 per annum. (*H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress*.) In the seizure of goods under Hoyt's rapacious system of reappraisement, Wasson was one of a triumvirate—Wasson, Cairns, and Ives—of Hoyt's standing witnesses in the courts. This trained trio were allowed to share the plunder. In a single instance, in 1840, Hoyt paid Wasson, without vouchers, \$1,767.33 over and above the legal fees, for attendance on three trials, between May and October. Wasson was allowed to employ, for his private benefit, laborers hired and paid by the Government. He was a privileged purchaser, in his own name and in the names of others, at the sales of goods remaining nine months unclaimed in the public stores; allowed to plunder the public stores of goods in large quantities; to rob the custom-house of coal for his private use; in a word, to indulge in "a multitude of illegal practices and petty frauds" in addition to the goods, the luxuries, the salaries he absorbed from outside parties interested in the ruin of importers. (*H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress*.) Cairns and Ives, in like manner, equally shared in the plunder. In January, 1840, a fire destroyed the Front-street stores. The goods saved were removed by the custom-house attaches—placed in an open lot—all entrance to which was refused to the importers for the purpose of identifying and recovering their property; but the goods, practically seized, were made up into piles or lots in which the vilest frauds were practiced to deceive purchasers—struck off at nominal sums to privileged parties in collusion with the officials, and the proceeds, after deducting fees, &c., pocketed by the collector. Thus the owners were robbed of goods aggregating in value \$1,000,000, the Government of \$400,000 as duties, and Hoyt pocketed about \$30,000, which should have been deposited in the Treasury for the benefit of the owners. Hoyt also rented unlawfully five stores for the safe-keeping of goods entered at the custom-house. These stores yielded him a profit, per annum, of \$10,000, at a cost to the Government of \$30,000; or, in three years, in violation of law, but with the sanction of Secretary Woodbury, Hoyt, through these stores, pocketed \$30,000, at a cost to the nation of \$90,000! (*H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress*.)

Magnitude of Hoyt's criminal capacity—His system of fraudulent reappraisement—Its shocking business results.

The above are characteristic instances in illustration of Hoyt's maladministration.

Their magnitude and extent were astounding. His criminal rapacity attained its shocking results in his system of fraudulent reappraisement. Goods regularly invoiced, and upon which all demands at the custom-house had been paid, after examination and reappraisement by the lawful appraisers of the customs, were followed by Wasson, Cairns, and Ives to Baltimore, Philadelphia and other cities, again examined, reappraised, condemned, seized and held for trial. At the trials the trained "triumvirate" were the standing witnesses. Nevertheless, "in nearly all these cases"—"thirty-two out of thirty-three"—tried in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, "the verdicts of the juries were in favor" of the importers. A like result attended the suits elsewhere. But in every case, whether favorable to the importer or not, the result to him was equally disastrous—absolute ruin to many through the unlawful seizure, supported by the systematic perjury of a trio trained in the service of Hoyt, with the sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury. (*H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress.*) A single instance will illustrate a multitude of similar cases. Mr. Bottomly swears in 1841: "Mr. Hoyt has taken from me the principal part of all the property I possessed." "In less than two years" Hoyt's rapacity had mulcted Mr. B. in costs aggregating \$200,000. "One-third" of all the English importers were ruined. Their property (upon the sales of which they depended to meet their liabilities to the foreign manufacturer) seized and locked up for an indefinite period, their failure was the inevitable result; and their bankruptcy carried with it the ruin of a large number of English manufacturers." Mr. Bottomly had recently been in England, where goods are unusually cheap, and swears: "I could have procured assignments to the amount of \$1,000,000 for the season (1841), and even more, if I could have assured the consignees that they would not be seized after they had passed the custom house, and the duties thereon had been paid." (*H. R. 669, second session Twenty-seventh Congress.*) As it was, they dared not risk their goods within Hoyt's piratical jurisdiction.

Pecksniffian villainy of Hoyt and his associates, B. F. Butler and the triumvirate—Stock gambling and banking with United States funds, when Secretary Woodbury was borrowing for the Government on "treasury notes bearing interest!"

"In all this rapacious villainy systematically pursued under the forms of law, under the grandest protestations of "patriotism" and "reform," again and again repeated, Ex-Attorney General Benjamin F. Butler, President Van Buren's old law partner, the pious and prayerful president of the defunct bogus "Washington and Warren Bank" of Sandy Hill, and subsequently Price's successor as United States district attorney for the southern district of New York, was Hoyt's adviser and ac-

tive coadjutor. Through it all the Government bore all the enormous expenses. Hoyt, Butler, and the triumvirate—Wasson, Cairns, and Ives—absorbed all the profits. Besides the immense sums accruing as fees in all cases of seizure under reappraisement, Hoyt's practice of retaining in his own hands, with the sanction of Secretary Woodbury, the amount of duties in such cases, enabled him for indefinite periods of time—for years—to use the vast sums, thus held for his private profit, in loans to banks and brokers, and in speculations of all kinds—in bolstering, by heavy deposits of the Government funds, such rotten institutions as the "North American Trust and Banking Company," in the stock of which he was a heavy gambler. By his own statement, Hoyt thus constantly held of the Government funds, free of interest, an average of \$350,000, at a time in New York when money was demanding 5 per cent. per month. The sum thus held was shown to be much larger, probably not less than half a million, and "it was understood" and believed that his deposits in rotten "banks were made under the sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury," at a time when Woodbury was "borrowing" for the Government "on treasury notes bearing interest."

Aggregate of Hoyt's piracy—It annihilates the commerce of the nation—Approximate loss to the Government and the people over seven millions!

The exact aggregate of Hoyt's plunder is not known. The aggregate of his default was not less than \$500,000. His unlawful income—the aggregate of his pillage of importers and merchants—cannot be exactly estimated; it was known to be prodigious; but his annihilation of the commerce of the country, and the consequent heavy loss to the Government in its revenues, while immensely increasing the cost of collecting the customs at New York, can be approximated. In one year, in 1840, as compared with 1839, the falling off of imports was \$40,232,763, involving, besides the heavy loss to the traffic of the nation, a loss to the Government in its revenues of \$7,651,765.53. As compared with 1825, the first year of Adams' administration, the falling off in the aggregate of imports and exports in 1840 was \$2,975,142, while the cost of collection had increased in a corresponding ratio. In 1825 the amount of duties received at the New York custom-house was \$15,754,827.54, at an expense of collection of \$211,471.87; that is, at the rate of 1.34 per cent. In 1840 the amount received by Jesse Hoyt was \$7,591,760.95, at an expense of collection of \$563,829.39; that is, at the rate of 7.42 per cent. From 1825 to 1828, inclusive, under Adams, the average cost of collection was 1.43 per cent.; from 1838 to 1840, inclusive, under Hoyt, the average cost was 5.20 per cent., while the estimated increase in number of officers employed in the collection was "337," and the increased cost of collection "550 per cent."

PART IX.

Public Lands Sales of Sixty odd Receivers of Public Moneys—Fifty Default in an aggregate of \$825,678.25—Receivers' Offices became Brokers' Dens—Official Recommendation to Retain Defaulters because New Appointees would "Follow in the Footsteps" of their Defaulting Predecessors!

The maladministration and corruption in the collection of the revenue from the sales of the public lands were as flagitious as in the customs. Out of sixty odd receivers of public moneys fifty defaulted. A few instances will illustrate the whole.

John Spencer was receiver at Fort Wayne, Ind. In May, 1836, the Secretary complained to Spencer that his accounts were in arrears, and appointed Nat. West, jr., of Indianapolis, as examiner, to investigate the office at Fort Wayne. Mr. West reports the office a broker's den for speculation and shaving. Spencer was about to be removed. Hon. Wm. Hendricks rushes to the rescue, and urges that Colonel Spencer is "an honest and honorable man;" that his removal "would to some extent produce excitement," "for he has many warm and influential friends, both at Fort Wayne and in Dearborn county. *Better let it be.*" Mr. Woodbury concluded to "let it be." To Mr. Hendricks he writes: "I am happy to inform you that Mr. Spencer's explanations have been such that he will probably continue in office." Mr. Spencer's explanations were: "My Democratic friends think I ought not to leave until after we hold our election for President," "which I have concluded to wait." (*H. R. 313, third session Twenty-fifth Congress.*) Willey P. Harris was receiver at Columbus, Miss. "General Harris" was indorsed by his Democratic representative in Congress as "one of the main pillars of Democracy," as of "diffused and deserved popularity," and as "one of the earliest and most distinguished friends of the (Jackson's) administration in Mississippi." In March, 1834, Sec'y Roger B. Taney complained of his conduct, and after fifteen warnings, extending through two years, from Secretary Woodbury, "General Harris" was permitted to resign, and to nominate and secure the appointment of his successor, "Colonel Gordon D. Boyd, of Attala County." Whereupon the Secretary quietly entered on the books of the Treasury: "Balance due from Mr. Harris, \$109,178.08."—*Ibid.* Colonel Boyd early fell into the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor. In June, 1837, Mr. Garesche reports the Colonel as a defaulter to the amount of \$50,000, but adds: "All concede that his intemperance has been his greatest crime." "The man seems really penitent, and I am inclined to think, in common with his friends, that he is honest, and has been led away by the example of his pre-

decessor and a certain looseness in the code of morality, which here does not move in so limited a circle as it does with us at home. *Another receiver would probably follow in the footsteps of the two.* You will not, therefore, be surprised if I recommend his being retained." So it was decreed. In October, Boyd was allowed to resign, and the Secretary entered against his name: "Indebted \$50,000 as per last statement." And so with the remainder—Linn, Lewis, Alsbury, Dickson, Skinner, Hays, Simpson—fifty in all; making an aggregate default of \$825,678.28.—*Ibid.*

PART X.

A Long Array of Defaulters in all Departments—The Indians Special Objects of Democratic Rapacity—The Indian Wars in Forty Years Cost \$500,000,000—Indian Claims the Fattest of Rotten Perquisites—Vice President Rich. M. Johnson assesses \$18,000 Fees for Fraudulent Collections.

So in all departments of the Government—maladministration and corruption rioted unrestrained. Contractors, commissioners, Indian agents, paymasters, officers of the army and navy, and Governors of Territories—all defaulted for thousands upon thousands. The Indians were special objects of rapacity. Cherokees, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Choctaws, outraged and oppressed in a thousand brutal ways, and forced into hostilities, were mercilessly murdered and deprived of their lands. In forty years, in Indian wars, the nation expended \$500,000,000; in the Seminole war alone, in seven years, \$50,000,000 in gold—an average in gold of \$7,000,000. Thus, Indian claims were the fattest of rotten perquisites. Their name was legion! The robberies attending the removal alone of the Cherokees and Choctaws, under the treaties of 1835 and 1846, are estimated, upon official data, at \$7,358,064.60. In these even Colonel Richard M. Johnson, Van Buren's Vice President, indulged the dominant propensities, and assessed \$18,000 fees for fraudulent collections. This claim was one for a Capt. Buckner, of Kentucky, and Vice President Johnson was his only agent or attorney before the Department. Before the claim was allowed Vice President Johnson asked Buckner to purchase for him a farm in Arkansas and some negroes if the claim was allowed. Buckner declined. But while riding to the War Department on the day the final requisition for \$37,749 was obtained, Buckner agreed to lend Johnson \$18,000. The House Committee, which investigated the payment of this claim, says:

"From a thorough investigation of this case, the committee are constrained to say there was no evidence to

justify the accounting officers of the Treasury in allowing this sum of money. The testimony of Capt. Buckner states that he was introduced by Col. B. M. Johnson, who attended with him almost daily, until the requisition was obtained. There is some reason to believe that these daily visits of a popular Vice President had a more persuasive influence with the accounting officers in passing this claim than the strength of the testimony by which it was sustained. The whole amount thus paid to Captain Buckner was \$146,293.50; of this amount the sum of \$37,749 was beyond doubt improperly paid. If the committee have been correct in the view they have taken of this case, the Chickasaw fund has sustained a loss of \$122,243.50, attributable to the want of prudent economy and faithfulness on the part of those connected with its disbursement and the accounting officers."—(H. R., 2d sess., 27th Cong.)

PART XI.

More Maladministration and Corruption under President Polk—Wholesale Robbery of Government and Indians—The Nation despoiled of Millions.

Under Polk the Indian frauds were enormous. These are embraced in a settlement by Commissioner Medill, and covered in a report by William L. Marcy, Secretary of War, dated May 20, 1848, to Congress. Under the treaties of 1835 and 1846 the Cherokees were entitled to \$5,000,000, less \$1,000,000, for the purchase of lands to which they were to emigrate, and the creation of a national fund for the tribe, leaving due to the Cherokees \$4,000,000, which should have been paid them. Against that sum, at the settlement, as per William L. Marcy, fraudulent charges, by the agents and others, were audited, amounting to \$3,815,000, leaving for the Indians only \$184,071.28 of their \$4,000,000 under the treaties. Of course the Indians demurred. An appropriation was subsequently made of \$1,256,500.27; and the agents were instructed to demand from the Indians receipts in full before the payment of even that sum. The Indians were compelled to submit. Thus, in the removal of the Cherokees, under the treaties of 1835 and 1846, as per William L. Marcy's settlement, the Indians were deliberately robbed of \$2,743,499.27. Under the same treaties, at the same time, the Government was mulcted in a like sum. The amount paid by the Government in the transportation of the Indians was \$2,915,141.58. An offer was made to transport and subsist the Indians at \$40 per head. Even the Indians proposed to transport and subsist themselves at the same rate—\$40 per head—which for 13,149 Indians (the number charged for) would amount to \$525,960, showing a swindle, as compared with the amount actually paid by the Government, of \$2,389,181.58. The records of the Indian office show that the contractors charged for 1,633 more than were actually removed, which, at \$40 per head, amounted to \$65,320. The original contractors were compelled by the Government agents to transfer their contracts to second parties, and to the original contractors were awarded as damages the sum of \$227,362.52. The records also show

that the Cherokee fund was defrauded by a citizen agent of \$68,145.64, and by two army officers of \$76,976.54, making the total fraud against the Government \$2,827,000.28. In like manner the Choctaws were swindled of \$1,787,565.05.

To recapitulate:

Aggregate fraud against Government under the treaties of 1835-'46.....	\$2,827,000.28
Aggregate fraud against Cherokees under same treaties.....	2,743,499.27
Aggregate fraud against Choctaws.....	1,787,565.05
Total.....	*\$7,358,064.60

* These facts and figures are from official statements and tables prepared at the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

PART XII.

"Feculent, reeking Corruption"—A long array of Defaulters in the Mexican War, its prodigious Expenditures and Plunder.

The Mexican War, one of the darkest scenes in our history—a war forced upon our and the Mexican people by the high-handed usurpations of Pres't Polk in pursuit of territorial aggrandizement of the slave oligarchy—exact-ed an expenditure of hundreds of millions and the lives of 25,000 of our citizens. Corruption in the Government stalked unrestrained. The Eli Moores, the Purdys, the Morrises, the Patrick Collinses, the Beards, the Scotts, the Kennerlies, the Denbys, and the Wetmores—a host of pillagers, Indian agents, sub-Indian agents, contractors, disbursing officers of the army and navy, navy agents, pension agents, marshals, receivers of public moneys, commercial agents, surveyors, inspectors, and collectors of the customs—plundered their million.

The Navy Department emulates the mal-practices and corruption of other Departments.

John Y. Mason, of Virginia, styled by Democratic organs as "the accomplished and excellent Secretary of the Navy," was a brilliant and conscientious reformer—a strict constructionist of the States Rights' school. A single instance will illustrate the character of his reform: Nathaniel Denby was the agent of the Navy Department at Marseilles, France. Osborne was a Richmond merchant. They defaulted for the sum of \$159,433.67. At a time when Denby had an unexpended balance on hand of nearly \$60,000, with no demands for its use, Judge Mason deposited with the Richmond merchant (Osborne) \$100,000 for the use of Denby. Denby had no use for the money. He even, from his prison under Fillmore, urged in extenuation of his default that he had had no "advices" of this deposit with Osborne. But Osborne says: "These moneys (\$100,000) I received as [Mr. Denby's] agent, paying interest for them, and consequently, as would be inferred from this circumstance,

and also by express understanding, had the use of the funds until called for. All these funds were in the hands of various European and American houses; and in consequence of their failures my losses were so great as to involve my whole estate in ruin and leave me destitute."

A Democratic Senator indignantly denounces the malpractices and corruption of Polk's administration.

In the Senate of the United States, February 11, 1847, Mr. Westcott, a Democratic Senator from Florida, indignantly declared:

"I warn the Democracy of this country, the people of this country, that they do not know one-twentieth part of the corruption, the feculent, reeking corruption, in this respect, in the Government for years past. I tell the people of this country that the Government and institutions of this country have been and will be used as a machine to plunder them for office beggars, and to perpetuate the possession of political power. I solemnly believe, if the people of the United States knew the manner in which their Government was conducted, if they could all be assembled at the city of Washington, they would be excited to kick up a revolution in twenty-four hours, which would tumble the President, heads of departments, both houses of Congress, Democrats and Whigs, head over head into the Potomac; and I believe they would act right in doing so."

PART XIII.

Mammoth Frauds of Washington "Rings" under President Pierce — Pierce's "outlaws of the Treasury" — The actual and proposed plunder under Pierce estimated at \$300,000,000!

Under Pierce, Washington "rings" rejoiced in mammoth fraud in the building of the Capitol wings and in the extension of the Treasury building, and were encouraged in their pillage by Pierce's "outlaws of the Treasury." The actual and proposed plunder was immense. The aggregate amount of spoils proposed in the first Congress under Pierce was estimated at \$300,000,000!—\$120,000,000 in obedience to the decree of the Ostend conference for the purchase of Cuba; \$20,000,000 for the Gadsden purchase, and so on in like acts—all for the aggrandizement of slavery. The maladministration of the Post Office Department under Campbell, Pierce's Postmaster General, rivaled that under Barry and Kendall. Even "the sale of letters and papers was made an item of revenue." "Bank-bills, checks, and insurance policies were sold in piles," and a Connecticut mill, buying two thousand of these, exposed the crime.

PART XIV.

The Fearful Corruptions under President Buchanan—Plunder, Pillage, Sack—The Immense Public Printing "Loot"—All the

Departments Degraded into Corrupt Party Machines—Swindling Live Oak Contracts—Political Assessments Three Times a Year—Officeholders Organized into Mercenary Corps for the Fraudulent Control of Elections—The Mammoth Robberies under Secretaries Floyd, Thompson, et al.

Under Buchanan, as under all his Democratic predecessors, the revenues and the offices of the National Government were again the "spoils" of "THE PARTY." Loyalty to the Administration, allegiance to slavery, were the conditions of a division. The profits of the Congressional printing were great. The bills of the Printer immense. But the profits of the Executive printing and binding and the printing of the postal blanks were enormous. Out of these profits—the newspaper corruption fund, disbursed by the notorious Cornelius Wendell—presses like the *Pennsylvanian*, the *Philadelphia Argus*, the *Washington Union*, et al., received a subsidy as a condition of slavishly supporting the Administration. Papers like the *Cleveland National Democrat* were established under the patronage of the Government by office-holders for like purposes—the defense of border ruffianism, Lecompton, and sectional strife. The navy-yards, custom-houses, and post offices were degraded into corrupt party machines. Editors of servile sheets, rendering to Government no service, were borne upon their rolls, drawing pay—like Baker, of the *Pennsylvanian*, and the noted Theophilus Fisk, of the *Argus*, at Philadelphia; William M. Browne, of the *Journal of Commerce*, at New York; Harry Scovel, of the *Free Press*, at Detroit, and the Henry J. Alvords in other sections; as also men like Cummings, at Philadelphia, pocketing pay in the name of subordinates for which no services were rendered; like Clements, at the Philadelphia navy-yard, unable to write, but useful as a politician, appointed and drawing pay as clerks while working as bricklayers; like the infamous Michael C. Murphy, a foreman in the New York yard, and the principal in a \$35,000 jewelry robbery, retained as party strikers. Fealty to party covered all crimes. Swindling contracts, like the notorious live-oak contracts to Swift, were awarded to party favorites in payment of party services. Thousands of dollars were regularly assessed for party purposes, even three times in the same year, upon the Departments at Washington, upon the navy-yards, custom-houses, and post offices throughout the country; even assessments, in the form of contributions, for the support of the organ, the *Constitution*. Woe to the unfortunate wright who rebelled; his independence was instantly rewarded by decapitation. Office-holders were organized into mercenary corps for the control of National and State politics; and by wholesale frauds at

elections—by frauds upon the registry—by the issue and distribution of fraudulent naturalization papers—by ballot-box stuffing and frauds in counting votes, enabled corrupt minorities to dominate for years the intelligent majorities of the great States of Pennsylvania and New York. (*H. R. 638, first session Thirty-sixth Congress.*) Defaults like Isaac V. Fowler's, the postmaster at New York, for \$75,000, were but bagatelles compared with Thompson and Floyd's grander system of pillage. The abstraction by Floyd's nephew, Godard Bailey, in 1860, from the Interior Department, under Jacob Thompson, of \$870,000 of Indian trust bonds, and their transfer to Russell, Majors & Waddell, upon Secretary Floyd's fraudulent acceptances, under a contract of that firm with the War Department, and similar fraudulent acceptances by Floyd, as shown by the records of the War Department, to the amount of \$5,339,335, aggregated a fraud of \$6,137,395, to be borne either by the Government or the holder.

More Mammoth Indian bond robberies under Secretaries Woodbury and Jacob Thompson—Even the Smithsonian Trust Fund "gobbled"

Under the numerous Indian treaties, up to 1861, with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and others, funds in large amounts (held under the solemn pledges of the nation in trust for those tribes) had accumulated in the hands of the Secretaries of War, Treasury, and Interior. These were invested by Secretaries Woodbury and Thompson in nearly valueless Southern stocks and State bonds. Even the Smithsonian trust fund (\$538,000) was sunk with the rest. By Woodbury \$1,744,166.66 were thus invested, upon which the Government had paid as interest, up to 1876, \$1,571,708. Of this fund, under Buchanan, Secretary Thompson invested in like stocks and State bonds \$1,970,800, upon which the Government had paid as interest, up to 1876, \$1,575,435, all in violation of law, and causing a total loss to the nation, up to 1876, of \$6,862,109.66.

PART XV.

Immensely increased Democratic Expenditures—Increased Taxation of the People to support this system of wholesale Corruption, Plunder and Fraud.

Under the administration of John Q. Adams, denounced by the Democracy for "extravagance and fraud," the heaviest net annual expenditure was \$13,296,041.45. Under Jackson, under the solemn Democratic pledges of "retrenchment and reform," the net annual expenditures suddenly doubled, even trebled those of Jackson's last year (1836), being

\$37,243,214.24! Under Polk they increased to \$53,801,569.37; under Pierce to \$65,032,339.76, and under Buchanan, in 1861, to \$72,291,119.70!

The aggregate net ordinary expenditures of the younger Adams' administration was.....		\$51,671,943 99
Of Jackson's last four years.....		104,061,745 81
Of Van Buren's four years.....		110,683,428 21
Of Polk's four years.....		116,381,026 34
Of Pierce's four years.....		232,820,632 35
Of Buchanan's four years.....		261,155,809 62

The average annual net ordinary expenditures were:

Under J. Q. Adams.....	\$12,917,385 99
Under Jackson (Democratic economy).....	26,012,936 45
Under Van Buren (Democratic economy).....	27,670,887 05
Under Polk (Democratic economy).....	25,095,256 58
Under Pierce (Democratic economy).....	58,205,158 09
Under Buchanan (Democratic economy).....	65,288,962 41

A constantly increasing scale, doubling under the wholesale plunder and corruption of Jackson and Van Buren, and closing under those of Pierce and Buchanan at five times the figures which, under the younger Adams, they denounced as evidences of extravagance and fraud.

Analysis of the aggregates and ratios of losses under Democratic and Republican administrations.

During the seventy-two years of our Government, prior to 1861, a period mainly controlled by the Democracy, the aggregate collections and disbursements were \$4,719,481,157.63. During the period from 1861 to 1875, under Republican rule, the aggregate collections and disbursements, in consequence of the war expenses incurred through the Democracy in rebellion, reached the prodigious sum of \$25,576,202,805.52, or over five times greater under the Republicans than under the Democracy. The aggregate losses under the Democracy in the period prior to 1861 were \$24,441,829.32, or \$5.17 in every \$1,000; under the Republicans the aggregate losses were only \$14,666,776.07, or only 57 cents in every \$1,000. In other words, although the aggregate collections and disbursements under the Republicans were over five times greater than under Democratic rule, yet the aggregate losses under Democratic reform were nearly \$10,000,000 greater than under the Republicans, and in the ratio of losses to every \$1,000 were nearly 10 times greater.

Under the administration of Andrew Jackson, that model of Democratic reform, the aggregate collections and disbursements were only \$500,081,747.75; but under that of General Grant, up to 1875 (in consequence of the war expenses incurred through the Democratic rebellion), reached the immense sum of \$8,174,596,676.77—over 16 times greater under Grant than under Jackson. Under Jackson the aggregate losses were \$3,761,111.87, or \$7.52 in every \$1,000. Under Grant only \$2,846,192.12—or 34 cents in every \$1,000. In other words, although the aggregate collections and disbursements under Grant were over 16 times greater than under Jackson, yet the aggregate losses under Jackson were

nearly \$1,000,000 greater than under Grant, and in the ratio of losses in \$1,000 were over 22 times greater than under Grant. Under Van Buren the ratio of losses in every \$1,000 was over 34 times greater than under Grant, and in like ratio under all the administrations of Democratic reform. Under the latest, that of Buchanan, the ratio of losses in every

\$1,000 was \$3.81—over 11 times greater than under Grant. [*See Table of Receipts, Expenditures, and Defalcations in Statistical Chapter of this Text-Book.*]

WITH SUCH AN ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD, DARE THE NATION AGAIN TRUST THE CANTING DEMOCRACY?

CHAPTER VIII.

The "Solid Southern" Claims.

PART I.

\$300,000,000 of "Solid Southern" Public and Private Claims for Cotton, War Material, Captured and Abandoned Property, etc.

The New York *Tribune* of April, 13, 1878, says:

"The *Tribune* has already published a complete list of all bills introduced in Congress from the beginning of the session down to March 18 for the purpose of securing public improvements in the South. These public claims reach the enormous aggregate of \$192,000,000. The *Tribune* has since caused to be prepared a complete list of all bills introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives from the beginning of the session down to March 26, presenting private claims. Of these there are nine hundred and eight, of which four hundred and seventy-seven ask for sums less than \$10,000. These four hundred and seventy-seven bills, there is not space to print in full, but their total is \$1,010,000. Of the remaining four hundred and thirty-one private bills, three hundred and twenty—more than one-third of the whole number introduced—are altogether vague, neither stating nor hinting at the amount to which claim is made. This very vagueness is suspicious, and suggests the magnitude of the sum expected. It is certainly fair, however, to suppose that the average amount of these indefinite claims is at least as large as those asking for a definite sum. Upon this basis the aggregate of these three hundred and twenty blind asking claims is \$3,500,000. There are one hundred and eleven bills asking for \$10,000 or more each, making an aggregate of \$5,747,793. The least amount, therefore, asked for by private Southern claims introduced in Congress from the beginning of the session to March 26, is \$10,247,793. The bills introduced down to March 18 for public improvements in the South call for \$192,000,000. The South, therefore, thus far, in a single session, has made demands upon the National Treasury for at least \$202,000,000."

Judge Bartley's figures compared with those of the *Tribune*.

"That this estimate is far below the actual amount for which the South has asked, the counsel for a large number of claimants has already taken pains to prove. Judge T. W. Bartley has published in a Washington paper a long letter in regard to three large classes of claims now before Congress. He divides these claims into three principal classes and makes the following estimates:

Amount of cotton tax.....	\$83,000,000
Balance of captured and abandoned property.....	14,000,000
Army supply claims.....	20,000,000
Grand total.....	\$117,000,000

"If Judge Bartley's figures are taken in the place of

the quiet and modest estimates which the *Tribune* has made, the aggregate (1) of the claims for railroads and other public improvements, and (2) of private claims for cotton, war material, captured and abandoned property, &c., will be more than \$300,000,000, instead of \$202,000,000.

"The list of private claims presented in each House, exclusive of those in which the sum specified is less than \$10,000, is presented herewith."

Here follows the long list, giving the number of each bill, its introducer, its title, and the amount asked for by claimant; for which in full, see speech in the House May 1, 1878, made by Hon. Philip C. Hayes, of Wisconsin. It ends with the following

RECAPITULATION.

Sum of House bills asking for \$10,000 or more.....	\$4,926,793
Sum of Senate bills asking for \$10,000 or more.....	821,000
Total.....	5,747,793
Sum of amounts less than \$10,000.....	1,010,000
Total of amounts carried out.....	6,757,793
Least sum to be added for blanks.....	3,500,000
Least sum called for by private bills.....	10,247,793
Total amount of public claims.....	192,000,000
Grand total of Southern claims.....	202,000,000
Approximate grand total on the basis of Judge Bartley's estimates of private claims.....	300,000,000

PART II.

Rebel Claims demanded as a matter of "Justice and Right"—All Property destroyed by both Armies must be paid for—Demand that Rebel Soldiers or their Heirs "be paid in Bonds or Public Lands for their lost time, limbs, and lives!"

In his speech, above alluded to, Mr. Hayes, after quoting aforesaid list, says:

* * * * "Here are demands made upon us for over \$300,000,000. Doubtless many of these claims are just and should be allowed, but the great majority of them are not entitled to even a hearing. * * * Having shown the magnitude of these claims, I wish to say that the general sentiment throughout the South is that these claims ought to be paid. Indeed,

sir, the Southern people seem determined that they shall be paid. * * * * As a matter of policy the leaders in the South will tell you that they do not expect payment, but when they talk as they feel you will find that nine out of every ten of them hold to the idea that the Government, if it had any respect for justice, would have paid these claims long ago. Why, sir, the idea that the Government owes and ought to pay all damages occasioned by the war throughout the South is so firmly imbedded in the Southern mind that it will take several generations to root it out. No man, I care not how great his ability, can be a leader among the Southern people unless he openly indorses this idea. There is not a Southern gentleman on this floor who would not be overwhelmingly defeated at the coming election if he should dare to stand up here and declare that these claims ought not to be paid. * * * * No man can be elected to any office in which the people who dares to proclaim himself opposed to paying these Southern claims. Men who expect to succeed politically must be in harmony with their people in this respect. * * * * They hold to the idea that the Government is under obligation to pay them. They go so far as to declare that the claims for captured and abandoned property, and for private property taken by the Union army in the way of supplies, constitute a part of the war debt of the nation."

Judge Bartley's "little pamphlet" again—Rebel forage claims, &c., "as just and valid a lien upon the Treasury as the bonded debt itself!"—Only more so.

"Indeed, Judge Bartley, whose little pamphlet was distributed so freely among members of this body a few days ago, argues that the property taken for the subsistence of the Union Army saved the Government from raising money on the sale of its bonds in the sums represented by the value of the property seized and used, and that the claims for the payment for this property are as just and as valid a lien upon the Treasury as the bonded debt itself. In fact, he thinks they should take precedence of the bonded debt in equity, because that debt draws interest, while the claims do not. The Judge presents his case in the strongest light possible, and closes his pamphlet of twenty pages with the following significant paragraph:

"The foregoing views are expressed on mature consideration from a sense of duty to several hundred citizens of Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, represented by the undersigned as their counsel. The positions assumed can and will be maintained, and cannot be successfully controverted in or out of Congress. If the plain language used is expressive of some feeling, it arises simply from a deep sense of the wrong and injustice done to injured parties, and is not intended to be discourteous, but in all due deference and respectful regard for the public authorities."

Dr. J. F. Foard's Pamphlet—The wounds of the War—The easiest and best way to heal them is to compensate those who lost so much in the conflict!

"Only a few days ago I received a pamphlet written by Dr. J. F. Foard, of North Carolina, in which the writer discusses this subject at some length, declaring that the Government should pay these claims as a matter of justice and right. After devoting several pages to setting forth the losses sustained by the Southern people, he uses these words: 'The easiest and best way to heal them—the wounds made by the war—is to compensate those who lost so much in the conflict.' In a subsequent chapter he says:

"Let us go at this work promptly, earnestly, and honestly, that it may be as a monument of truth and justice, erected in the hearts of our children to remind them of the importance of national honor, peace and good will."

Southern Memorial to pay all Rebel losses in 3 per cent. 100 year bonds!—Lost time, lost limbs, lost lives, all to be paid for to make up for the "Lost Cause."

The last page of his (Foard's) book contains the following, which will be read with great interest, especially by the Union men of the North:

That co-operative action be had in this matter, a form of a memorial to Congress is appended to these

pages. Let every one who feels an interest in the great work copy and obtain the signature of his neighbors to it, and inclose it to one of our Senators or Representatives in Congress as early as practicable, and urge its adoption:

FORM OF A MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

STATE OF _____,

County of _____, 187 _____.

To the honorable Senators and Members of the House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

We, the citizens of the United States, most respectfully petition your honorable bodies to enact a law by which all citizens of every section of the United States may be paid for all their property destroyed for them by the governments and armies of both sides during the late war between the States, in bonds bearing 3 per cent. interest per annum, maturing within the next hundred years.

And we also petition that all soldiers, or their legal representatives, of both armies and every section, be paid in bonds or public lands for their lost time, limbs, and lives, while engaged in the late unfortunate civil conflict. And we will ever pray.

PART III.

Specimen Brick of "Solid Southern" Claims—Its Bogus Character and Wonderful Growth.

To show how some of these Southern claims are made up, the following "specimen brick" is given from the New York Tribune, of July 4, 1878:

WASHINGTON, July 3.—The following claim is given as a specimen product of one of the great industries of the section of country which was lately in rebellion: In 1873 Mrs. Eliza Heber appeared before the Southern Claims Commission, in this city, with a bill of losses and damages alleged to have occurred on her plantation at or near Indian Village, Plaquemine Parish, La., while occupied by the troops of General Payne. She alleged that that officer took from her for the use of his men and allowed to be destroyed property as enumerated in the following list:

8,000 bbls. corn, \$150 per bbl.....	\$12,000
100 chickens, at \$1 each.....	100
200 turkeys, at \$2 each.....	400
30 hogs, at \$10 each.....	300
8 oxen, at \$50 each.....	400
5 horses, at \$160 each.....	800
4 mules, at \$125 each.....	500
Unknown quantity of lumber, consisting of	
hogshead-staves, pickets and posts.....	5,000
500 cords of wood, at \$6 per cord.....	3,000

Making a total of.....\$22,500

After filing the claims Mrs. Heber presented the affidavits of several colored persons, who, not being able to write, made their marks as signatures to the statements which they contained. The commissioners having doubts about the validity and honesty of the claim, sent an agent to Plaquemine parish to investigate the matter. He reported that the claim was fictitious and fraudulent, and the claimant took no further steps in regard to prosecuting the claim before the commission. Later, when the Democrats obtained control of the House of Representatives, Mrs. Heber appeared with her claim before that body, but in the meantime it had grown to \$47,975, with items enumerated as follows:

8,000 bbls. corn, at \$2.50 per barrel.....	\$ 20,000
1,500 cords of wood at \$4.66½ per cord.....	7,000
1 lot of lumber, staves, pickets, &c.....	10,000
1 pair carriage horses at \$500 each.....	1,000
3 riding horses at \$300 each.....	900
4 mules at \$300 each.....	1,200
30 hogs at \$30 each.....	900
6 choice milch cows.....	375
20 head of cattle.....	500
1 lot of poultry.....	100
Fencing and plantation destroyed.....	6,000

Total.....\$47,975

During the second session of the Forty-fifth Congress, John W. Caldwell, from the Committee on War Claims, in the House, to which committee this claim had been referred, submitted a report to accompany House bill 9293, saying "that Mrs. Eliza Heber should be paid as full compensation for all her claims for the property and supplies taken and used as aforesaid the sum of \$23,150," and the committee reported a bill for that purpose, and recommended its passage. The principal proof in support of this claim was in affidavits made by the same persons who had testified before the Southern Claims Commission. The fictitious character of the claim was made known to Secretary Sherman by the officers of the secret service, and he directed that efforts be made to prevent its passage in the House. An agent of the government was sent to Indian Village, the residence of Mrs. Heber, and took the affidavits of several respectable citizens, all of whom testified that the claim was dishonest; that Mrs. Heber did not own more than forty acres of land, and that only one-half of that could be cultivated, and the remainder was under water most of the time. General Payne said that he was in command of less than 2,000 infantry, and was encamped only two weeks in the vicinity of the claimant. He said that it would have been an utter impossibility for his men in the warm climate of Louisiana to have burned 1,500 cords of wood, or to have consumed 20,000 bushels of corn. The bill is still before the House.

PART IV.

\$400,000,000 More—Compensation for Slaves Demanded.

The South is determined to have compensation for its emancipated slaves to the tune of \$400,000,000. The Macon (Ga.) *Telegraph and Messenger*—a leading organ in the Cotton States—says:

"Those slaves were not cannon and bayonets and armed foes in the late so-called rebellion, and in no sense 'contraband.' They were our property, solemnly and specifically recognized as such, and duly protected and guaranteed by that Constitution and Union which our adversaries alleged they took up arms to maintain and keep intact and defend. Moreover, they took no part in that fratricidal struggle, save when forced to join the ranks of the invader and wage war against their best friends and benefactors. On the banditti principle that 'might makes right,' and to the 'victor belongs the spoils' only, therefore, can this robbery of an impoverished people be justified.

"We cannot but indulge the hope that when we have helped to extinguish the public debt, and time has healed the gaping wounds of the past, when reason and brotherly love shall have fully gained the ascendancy over prejudice and hate, even though it shall be the next generation, a brave and honorable people of the same blood and lineage will see to it that the value of our property in slaves shall be returned to those from whom it was wrongfully wrested. It will do no harm to keep this question before the people, that they may preserve the records and proper memoranda of their former slaves, in the event that a returning sense of justice on the part of the Federal Government may compensate them, at least in part, for the loss of this portion of their rightful property."

PART V.

A Brief Review of some of the Rebel Claims—Direct Tax—Cotton Tax—Special Relief—Destruction of Property—Compensation for Slaves—Rebel Mail

Contractors, &c.—They Already Reach Three Thousand Millions of Dollars—"Where will it end?"

In a letter as late as October 31, 1873, but published, we believe, in 1876, R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, a United States Senator from that State, prior to the rebellion, elaborates a plan by which the old slaveholders may evade the prohibitory clause of the fourteenth amendment respecting indemnity for slaves liberated by the war.

How Hunter Proposes to Get Around the Fourteenth Amendment and Reimburse the Old Slaveholders for the Loss of their Slaves—\$400,000,000.

Hunter's sagacity is only equaled by his loyalty. The fourteenth amendment abolishes an "institution" of the Confederacy. It expels the last vestige of slavery from its soil and prohibits all compensation for slaves freed by the war. But the astute Hunter discovers that the prohibitory clause is unconstitutional, and therefore nugatory; that the slaves were private property; that their forcible emancipation was in the nature of seizing that property for public use without compensation; that the claim is in the individual owner; that the States, in the ratification of the fourteenth amendment, had no power or right to divert it; and that consequently the owners of that property under the Constitution have valid or *bona fide* claims for reasonable compensation—to wit, \$400,000,000.

Maryland formally asserts her claims for such compensation—Other slave States have official lists of slaves, only awaiting Democratic ascendancy.

But a discovery so sagacious was not original with Hunter. As early as 1867, in the Maryland constitutional convention, he was anticipated by the equally sapient conventionists. They formally asserted the claim under the constitution. They authorized the Legislature of Maryland to receive and dispose of the amounts due to their old slaveholding citizens when paid by the United States, and notoriously, in that as in other of the old slaveholding States, lists of the slaves emancipated have been prepared, and the claims covering their value only await for their payment the harvest of wholesale plunder when the Democracy shall pass into power.

The "Missouri climax of rapacity"—Claimants furnished official certificates of losses by rebel raids—Democracy, when in power, will pay them.

But in Missouri the climax of rapacity in proposed plunder has been reached. It is, however, only preliminary—only a precedent—for further wholesale or general spoliation. In Missouri, a State commission has investigated and official certificates have been awarded to all claimants for compensation for losses incurred or supplies taken by the rebel

forces which overran its territory; and these certificates, as the claims for indemnity for slaves, only await the success of the Democracy to be promptly honored by the government.

Bills already introduced in Congress as precedents for these monstrous claims.

Indeed, as precedents for their payment, two bills, in the Forty-fourth Congress, were introduced by Messrs. Knott, of Kentucky, and House, of Tennessee, appropriating small amounts for property and supplies seized by the rebel forces, and if they are hereafter passed or recognized by Congress, and should the nation be again inflicted with a Democratic administration, Missouri and every State South will realize the prodigious amounts these claims will involve.

The aggregate of rebel claims, thus far known, \$2,985,554,827.

What amount these Missouri claims have reached we do not know, but the known aggregate so far of rebel claims actually presented or demanded is really appalling! Already it equals \$2,985,554,827, to wit:

Refunding direct tax of 1861.....	\$2,492,110
Refunding cotton tax, principal and interest.....	170,180,220
Special relief bills (Forty-fourth Congress).....	2,181,497
Use and destruction of property, and supplies destroyed or used by Union forces in the Confederate States.....	2,410,826,000
Compensation for slaves.....	400,000,000
Payment of rebel mail contractors up to July 1, 1861.....	375,000
	<hr/>
	\$2,985,554,827

In round numbers \$3,000,000,000! A prodigious sum, and still increasing! Where will it end?

PART VI.

Claim of the College of William and Mary—One of the entering Wedges—Vote upon it—Claim of the Protestant Episcopal Seminary in Virginia—Vote.

In the House of Representatives, October 29, 1877, Mr. Goode (Democrat), of Virginia, introduced the following bill:

"Be it enacted, &c., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, the sum of \$65,000, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to reimburse said college for the destruction of its buildings and other property destroyed without authority by disorderly soldiers of the United States during the late war: *Provided*, That no moneys be so paid except upon accounts of such destruction, and the damage caused thereby, duly verified and proven."

The bill was read twice, referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and December 5, 1877, was committed to the Committee of the Whole. There was considerable debate upon this bill, and it became evident that the ex-Confederate element were determined to force it through.

Considerations of party policy induced a postponement of the measure until

after the Congressional elections, as it was feared by the Democrats that further discussion at that time would bring defeat to them in the close districts. Frantic appeals were made to the "Southern brethren" not *at this time* to press the bill, and Bragg, a Democratic Representative from Wisconsin, in a speech delivered May 1, 1878 (see *Congressional Record*), entreated them thus:

A Northern Democrat's prayer to the rebels.

"I appeal to my Southern friends on this side of the House, will you deliberately rake the ashes off the slumbering embers, and fan them into a blaze again? I believe in my heart you will not. But I am bound to tell you, and I do it in kindness. * * * The people of the North will never submit to be taxed to reimburse your people or your States out of the National Treasury for any losses that they sustained, directly or indirectly, from the rebellion. * * * There may be men in the North—their voice has been heard on this floor speaking words of encouragement to you in presenting claims like this one for reimbursement; but it is no true expression of Northern sentiment; they are the words of a siren that lures to death. You heard them and trusted them in 1860 and 1861: will you trust them again now?"

Bragg shows up the rebel-breeding, rebel-non-helping college.

He showed, plainly enough, too, that the act of destruction was perpetrated by rebel soldiers, not by those of the Union; that it was settled by an American Congress in 1797 "that the loss of houses, and other sufferings by the general ravages of war, have never been compensated by this or any other Government" ("American State Papers," Claims, p. 199), and that, in any event, "the College of William and Mary forfeited any right which she may have had as an educational institution sacred from the touch of war, by becoming herself an engine of war, an active participant in the rebellion. She not only sent her pupils to the red field of battle with words of encouragement and blessing, but she banished the muses from her groves, threw wide open her gates, and made her venerable halls barracks for soldiery to destroy the Government from which now in all humility she asks recompense. I do not state this too strongly; the report shows that before the footsteps of a Northern soldier darkened her halls they had been converted into barracks and a hospital in aid of the rebellion. The learned faculty cannot plead ignorance of consequences in case of failure, but they never counted failure among the possibilities."

"Policy, me boy, policy"—"The good time coming" when Democrats like Bragg will be kicked."

When a Northern Democrat like Bragg felt impelled to talk to his Southern friends in his manner, it became evident enough that the vote must be postponed. On the 10th of May, therefore, Mr. Goode moved that the bill be passed over, and after persistent questioning stated that he did not expect to press the bill any further at *that* session. This meant that it will be pressed again and again at a more favorable time until it gets through. Bragg—who was it declared that "Bragg is a good dog?"—had a clear comprehension of the scope of this inoffensive-looking bill, when he exclaimed, in the same speech:

"It matters not if I am called a bigot or fanatic, I maintain that this bill is a crafty device to foist upon us Southern war claims as skillfully planned and as certain in results as the wooden horse that carried woe and ruin within the walls of far-famed Troy. "The amount proposed to be given is not large, but the shadow it casts before it is large enough to darken the land."

A scattering Northern Democrat, like Bragg, here and there, will of course be powerless to resist the behests of a Democratic caucus, controlled by Southern men in the "good time coming," when a "Solid South" ruthlessly dominates affairs; and the only safety is to elect a Republican majority in the next House of Representatives, as well as a Republican President.

Another attempt to pass the bill—Vote defeating it.

True to promise, the William and Mary College Bill made its appearance again, within two years of the previous attempt to pass it. January 10, 1879, the bill—word for word the same—was debated in the House and defeated on a square vote of 87 yeas to 127 nays—75 not voting. Of the Republican votes there were 98 yeas to 9 nays; of the Democratic, 77 yeas to 29 nays. In other words, nearly 3 to 1 of the Democrats favored the bill, while more than 10 to 1 of the Republicans opposed and killed the bill for the time being.

Still another wedge—Claim of the Protestant Episcopal Seminary of Virginia.

Within ten days of the defeat of the William and Mary College bill, another bill came up in the House for the "use and occupation" of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary near Alexandria, Va., as a hospital for Union soldiers—in the words following:

"Be it enacted, etc., That there be, and is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$20,000, in full payment of rent due to the trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary and High School in Virginia, for the use and occupation of their buildings and other property (located near Alexandria) for hospital purposes.

"Sec. 2. That this act be in force from and after the passage thereof."

On the 31st January, 1879, a motion to strike out the enacting clause carried by 122 yeas to 89 nays—77 not voting. Of the Republican votes there were 97 yeas to 8 nays; of the Democratic, 81 yeas to 25 nays. Thus the vote showed a proportion of more than 3 to 1 Democrats in favor of the bill, while 12 to 1 of the Republicans opposed and defeated it.

PART VII.

Fraudulent Claims of "Solid" Southern Mail Contractors—How the Democrats strove to Steal One Million Dollars, and how the Republicans stopped the Steal—Propositions and Votes in both Houses.

Until recently the following section of the Revised Statutes has been a national breast-

work against which the horde of rebel claimants dashed in vain:

"SECTION 3480. It shall be unlawful for any officer to pay any account, claim or demand against the United States which accrued or existed prior to the 13th day of April, 1861, in favor of any person who promoted, encouraged, or in any manner sustained the late rebellion, or in favor of any person who, during such rebellion, was not known to be opposed thereto, and distinctly in favor of its suppression; and no pardon heretofore granted, or hereafter to be granted, shall authorize the payment of such account, claim, or demand, until this section is modified or repealed. But this section shall not be so construed to prohibit the payment of claims founded upon contracts made by any of the Departments, where such claims were assigned or contracted to be assigned prior to the 1st day of April, 1861, to the creditors of such contractors, loyal citizens of loyal States, in payment of debts incurred prior to the 1st day of March, 1861.

In the confusion and excitement attending the close of the Forty-fourth Congress, in a "gush of conciliation,"

An Amendment to the Act of March 3, 1877,

was rushed through. It provides:

"That the sum of \$375,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be appropriated to pay the amount due to mail contractors for mail service performed in the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, in the years 1859, 1860, and 1861, and before the said States respectively engaged in war against the United States; and the provision of section 3480 of the Revised Statutes of the United States shall not be applicable to the payments therein authorized. *Provided, That any such claims which have been paid by the Confederate States Government shall not be again paid.*"

Sherman's sturdy stand against fraud.

Secretary Sherman, suspecting fraud, inexorably demanded that all the claims of Southern mail contractors, coming within the scope of this law, must first be presented and adjusted, so that if, as he believed, the appropriation was insufficient for full payment, what there was might be paid out *pro rata*. This gave time for investigation, but greatly exasperated these rebel claimants.

Reagan's joint resolution to let the thieves get at the Treasury.

November 16, 1877, in the House, a joint resolution (introduced by Mr. Reagan, Democrat, and ex-rebel Postmaster General) was reported back in the following words:

"Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury shall begin at once to pay in full to the late mail contractors of the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, their heirs or legal representatives, the amounts due under their respective contracts for the years eighteen hundred and fifty-nine, eighteen hundred and sixty, and eighteen hundred and sixty-one, and the appropriation of three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, made by act approved March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, shall be immediately available for said payments; *Provided, That payments shall be made for services rendered up to May thirty-first, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, when discontinuance was ordered by the Postmaster General, and not there after; and the provisions of section thirty-four hundred and eighty of the Revised Statutes of the United*

States shall not be applicable to the payments herein authorized. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed."

The rebel claimants, it will be observed, were in an impatient and mandatory mood, "The Secretary shall begin at once to pay in full," etc. They had yet to learn "to labor and to wait." They wanted the \$375,000 at once, on the principle of "first come, first served," each case to be paid in full, just so far as the money would go, and were quite willing to trust the claims remaining unpaid to future appropriations.

The Debate—Ex-Confederate Postmaster General Reagan makes strong assertions.

The debate which followed (February 15, 1878)—in which Messrs. Reagan (Democrat), of Virginia, and Money (Democrat), of Mississippi, were most prominent in behalf of the "stand-and-deliver" joint resolution aforesaid—was very able on both sides, and subsequent revelations developed that on one side it was pre-eminently crafty and deceitful.

On the 8th March, after a three weeks' opportunity to verify his facts, Mr. Reagan reiterated in part, and until the exposure was made retreated from none of his former statements, that, as the ex-Postmaster General of the rebel Confederacy, he was well satisfied that the Confederate Government had paid none of these claimants—had compelled them to account to the United States for all the moneys and stamps in their possession up to May 31, 1861. And he again urged the payment of these claimants for their services up to that date as a debt due on principles of morality and public law—"accounts for the adjustment of which, authority should be given."

The astounding developments from the rebel archives—The proofs of fraud stamped all over these claims.

But it happens that the archives of the rebel Government are in the War Department at Washington, and Messrs. Conger and Willits, Republican representatives from Michigan, devoted the intervening time—as Reagan might have done to looking up the facts touching these claims. These facts, in brief, were found to be as follows:

"In proclamations, dated respectively Montgomery, Ala., May 13 and 20, 1861, and signed by 'John H. Reagan, Postmaster General,' all postmasters, route and special agents, all mail contractors, mail messengers, and special contractors are required to retain in their possession, and turn over to the Confederate Postmaster General, the said John H. Reagan, for the benefit of the Confederate States, all revenue or moneys which shall have accrued from the postal service of the United States prior to the 1st of June, 1861—all mail-bags, locks, and keys, marking and other stamps, blanks for quarterly returns of postmasters, and all other property belonging to or connected with the postal service.

"In a statement of Auditor Baker, of the Confederate Post Office Department, of October 1, 1862, the aggregate of these claims of contractors for mail services prior to May 31, 1861, is given at \$773,444.17. By Confederate laws, approved respectively August 30, 1861, January 23, 1862, and September 27, 1862, these claims are assumed by the Confederate Government, \$800,000 are appropriated for their payment, and contractors

were required, in receiving their payments, to agree that if the United States should ever pay them anything for these services they should refund it to the Confederate Government.

"All these facts, so violently in conflict with Mr. Reagan's statements in the House, are fully verified by his own several reports as Confederate Postmaster General up to that of May 2, 1864—the last which could be found—with the further fact that at that date, of the claims for which he is now urging an appropriation of \$375,000 by the United States, he had himself paid \$564,544.22, and the presumption that during the remaining eleven months of the Confederacy every dollar of them had been paid."

Effect on the House and on the country—The enacting clause stricken out—The vote.

The statement of these facts fell like a bombshell in the House and startled the entire North. On the 16th March, 1878, Reagan's joint resolution was reported back to the House from Committee of the Whole, with the enacting clause stricken out.

Mr. Eden (Democrat) having demanded the previous question, which was seconded and the main question ordered, the question was upon agreeing to the report.

Mr. Waddell (Democrat) moved to reconsider the vote by which the main question had been ordered, which motion was disagreed to by 78 yeas to 131 nays.

Whereupon, without a division, the report was agreed to, and the bill was dead.

The vote upon Mr. Waddell's motion to reconsider shows two Republicans (from Southern and border States) voting yea, and 102 Republicans voting nay, while 76 Democrats voted yea, and only 29 Democrats voted nay. In detail it is as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Bliss, Bone, Bridges, Brogden, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Chalmers, J. B. Clarke, Cook, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culbertson, Dabell, Durham, Eden, Elam, Ellis, Ewing, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Glover, Goode, Gunter, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hartridge, Henkle, Henry, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, J. T. Jones, Kimball, Knott, Ligon, Martin, McKenize, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Quinn, Rae, Reagan, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Seales, Schleicher, Shelly, W. E. Smith, Springer, Steele, Thornburgh, Throckmorton, Tucker, E. B. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, Walsh, Whitthorne, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. Wilson, Yeates, Young—78.

NAYS—Messrs. Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Bayne, Benedict, Bicknell, Biebee, Bouck, Boyd, Bragg, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, T. M. Browne, Bundy, H. O. Burchard, Burdick, Cain, Camp, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Caswell, Clafin, R. Clark, Cobb, Cole, Collins, Conger, J. D. Cox, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, James, Errett, J. L. Evans, E. B. Finley, Fort, Foster, Fry, Fuller, Gardner, Garfield, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, B. W. Harris, Hart, Hartsell, Haskell, P. C. Hayes, Haselton, Henderson, A. S. Hewitt, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Ittner, James, J. S. Jones, Joyce, Kelfer, Keightley, Kelley, G. M. Landers, Lapham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Loring, Maish, Marsh, Mayham, McCook, McKinley, McMahon, Mitchell, Monroe, H. S. Neale, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neill, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, C. N. Potter, Pound, Price, Randolph, Reed, J. B. Reilly, W. W. Rice, G. D. Robinson, M. S. Robinson, Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Starin, Stenger, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. O. Stone, J. M. Thompson, Tipton, R. W. Townsend, Van Vorhes, Veeder, Wait, Warner, Watson, Welch, M. D. White, A. A. S. Williams, C. G. Williams, J. Williams, R. Williams, Willis, Wren, Wright—131.

PART VIII.

A Subsequent Assault on the Senate by the "Solid Southern" Mail Contractors, but they are discomfited.

The following (see McPherson's Hand-book of Politics for 1878, pages 215, 216) is the history in brief of the attack made upon the Senate by the "Solid Southern" mail men after their ignominious defeat in the House :

"Pending the Sundry Civil bill,

1878, June 18—Mr. Merrimon offered the following :

"That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, instructed to pay according to the provision of the act approved March 3, 1877, the money appropriated by said act, to pay arrearages due to mail contractors for carrying the mail of the United States in the years 1859, 1860, and 1861.

"Mr. Morrill moved to add as an amendment the words : 'Provided, That this shall not be construed to repeal section 3480 of the Revised Statutes,' which was rejected—yeas 14, nays 29 :"

"YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Conkling, DAVIS, of Illinois, Dawes, Ferry, Hoar, Kirkwood, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Sergeant, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Wadleigh, Windom—24.

"NAYS—Messrs. Armstrong, Bailey, Barnum, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Dorsey, Eaton, Eustis, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Lamar, McCreery, McDonald, Mazy, Merrimon, Morgan, Randolph, Saulsbury, Voorhees, Withers—29.

"The motion of Mr. Merrimon was agreed to—yeas 28, nays 23 :

"YEAS—Messrs. Armstrong, Bailey, Barnum, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Eaton, Eustis, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Lamar, McCreery, McDonald, Mazy, Merrimon, Morgan, Randolph, Saulsbury, Voorhees, Withers—28.

"NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Conkling, DAVIS, of Illinois, Dawes, Ferry, Hoar, Kirkwood, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Sergeant, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Wadleigh, Windom—23.

"Mr. Wadleigh moved to add these words :

'Provided however, that no payment shall be made to any contractor unless upon satisfactory proof that he has not heretofore been paid by the Confederate State Government.

"Mr. Harris moved to add to the amendment of Mr. Wadleigh the words : 'And the claimant shall be a competent witness to prove the fact,' which Mr. Wadleigh accepted.

"Which was agreed to.

"Mr. Blaine moved to add :

"And every claimant under this provision shall be required to give bond to the United States, with satisfactory security for the repayment of any sum which shall be subsequently proved to have been paid by the Confederate Government.

"Mr. Johnston offered this substitute :

"But no money shall be paid to any claimant under this provision until he shall have given bond, with good security, to refund the money so paid, in case it shall appear that he had been paid for the same service by the Confederate States. This clause shall not apply to personal representatives or other fiduciaries.

"This amendment was laid on the table—yeas 27, nays 22.

"YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Barnum, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Christianity, Dawes, Dorsey, Eaton, Ferry, Hoar, Howe, Kernan, Kirkwood, McMillan, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Plum, Rollins, Sergeant, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Wadleigh, Windom—27.

"NAYS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Coke, Conover, Eustis, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill, Johnston, Jones of Florida, McDonald, Mazy, Merrimon, Morgan, Saulsbury, Voorhees, Whyte, Withers—22.

"A motion to lay on the table, the motion of Mr. Blaine, was lost—yeas 23, nays 26.

"YEAS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Coke, Conover, Dorsey, Eaton, Eustis, Grover, Harris, Here-

ford, Hill, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Lamar, McCreery, Mazy, Merrimon, Morgan, Saulsbury, Whyte, Withers—23.

"NAYS—Messrs. Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Christianity, Dawes, Ferry, Hoar, Howe, Kernan, Kirkwood, Matthews, McDonald, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Plumb, Rollins, Sergeant, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Voorhees, Wadleigh, Windom—26.

"Mr. Blaine notified his amendment so as to read :

"But no money shall be paid to any claimant under this provision until he shall have given bond, with good security, to refund the money so paid in case it shall appear that he had been paid for the same service by the so-called Confederate States government.

"And it was agreed to without a division.

"Mr. Hoar offered this amendment, which was agreed to, without a division :

"Provided, That any person who shall knowingly receive or attempt to obtain under the provisions of this section, any money from the Treasury of the United States on account of a claim which has once been paid, either by the so-called Confederate States or the United States, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$5,000, and by imprisonment not exceeding five years.

"June 19—The section, as follows:

"That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, instructed to pay, according to the provisions of the act approved March 3, 1877, the money appropriated by said act to pay arrearages due to mail contractors for carrying the mail of the United States in the years 1859, 1860, and 1861 : *Provided, however,* That no payment shall be made to any contractor unless upon satisfactory proof that he has not heretofore been paid by the Confederate States government; and the claimant shall be a competent witness. But no money shall be paid to any claimant under this provision until he shall have given bond, with good security, to refund the money so paid in case it shall appear that he had been paid for the same service by the so-called Confederate States Government : *Provided,*

That any person who shall knowingly receive or attempt to obtain, under the provisions of this section, any money from the Treasury of the United States on account of a claim which has once been paid, either by the so-called Confederate States or the United States, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$5,000 and by imprisonment not exceeding five years.

"Was then adopted in the Senate—yeas 28, nays 24.

"YEAS—Messrs. Armstrong, Bailey, Barnum, Bayard, Beck, Bruce, Butler, Christianity, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Eaton, Eustis, Gordon, Harris, Hill, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Kellogg, Kernan, McCreery, McDonald, Mazy, Merrimon, Morgan, Voorhees, Whyte, Withers—28.

"NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Conkling, DAVIS, of Illinois, Dawes, Ferry, Hoar, Howe, McMillan, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Plumb, Rollins, Sergeant, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Wadleigh, Windom—24.

"The section was dropped in the Committee of Conference."

[NOTE.—Two things are to specially observed here : First, the almost absolute unanimity of Democratic Senators in favor of paying these Southern mail contractors' claims, and the fact that with the exception of one Northern and three Southern Senators the Republicans were a unit against them ; second, that this very unanimity among the Senate Democrats makes it probable that the House Democrats would have manifested a like spirit but for the fear of losing close districts at the fall elections. And doubtless this is why "the section was dropped in the Committee of Conference."]

PART IX.

Congress Proposed Constitutional Amendment Prohibiting Payment of Rebel Claims—Vote Thereon—The "Solid Southern"

Democrats would pay them, and so record themselves.

On the 19th of June, 1878, Mr. Conger (Republican), moved the House to suspend the rules and pass the following

"Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the payment of claims of disloyal persons for property injured or destroyed in the late war of the rebellion.

ARTICLE XVI.

No claims shall ever hereafter be allowed or paid by the United States, whether as damages or otherwise, for any property, real or personal, taken, used, injured, or destroyed by United States troops, or by or through any officer, civil or military, acting under or by authority of the United States, or from any other cause whatever, during the suppression of the late rebellion in any of the States that were in rebellion against the Government of the United States, or for any property taken, used, injured, or destroyed outside of the said States so in rebellion, and which belonged to persons residing in such rebellious States, unless the person or persons owning the property so taken, used, injured, or destroyed were, during all the time of such rebellion, loyal to the Government of the United States, and gave neither aid or encouragement to the enemy."

After some delay and confusion, the rules were suspended, and the resolution passed by 145 yeas to 61 nays. The fact that only 43 Democrats voted for, and 61 Democrats voted against it (102 Republicans voted for, and none against it), shows plainly enough what the Democratic would do in the matter of rebel claims had they the power.

The vote on Conger's motion.

was in detail as follows :

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Banks, Banning, Bicknell, Blair, Bliss, Bouck, Boyd, Bragg, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, T. M. Browne, Burdick, Butler, Cain, Calkins, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Caswell, Chittenden, Claflin, A. A. Clark, B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Cole, Collins, Conger, Covert, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Cummings, Cutler, H. Davis, Dean, Deering, Denison, Dickey, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Ellsworth, I. N. Evans, J. L. Evans, Ewing, E. B. Finley, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Gardner, Garfield, Glover, A. H. Hamilton, Hanna, Hardenbergh, Harner, Hart, Haskell, Haskell, Hazelton, Henderson, Hiscock, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Hunter, James, Joyce, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, J. H. Ketcham, Lapham, Lathrop, Loring, Luttrill, Lynde, Mackey, Marsh, Mayham, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, McMahon, L. S. Metcalfe, Mitchell, Monroe, Morse, H. S. Neal, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Peddie, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, Pound, Powers, Randolph, Reed, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, W. W. Rice, Roberts, G. D. Robinson, M. Ross, Ryan, Sapp, Sayler, Sexton, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Springer, Starin, Stenger, Stewart, J. W. Stone, Strait, A. Townsend, E. W. Townsend, Turner, Turney, Wait, W. Ward, Warner, Welsh, M. D. White, A. S. Williams, A. Williams, O. G. Williams, J. Williams, R. Williams, B. A. Willis, Willis, Wren—145.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Boone, Bright, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, Chalmers, Cook, J. S. Cox, Crawens, Crittenden, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Durham, Eden, J. H. Evans, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Garth, Giddings, Goode, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hartridge, Henkle, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, Hooker, House, Hunton, Kenna, Knott, Ligon, Manning, McKenzie, Mills, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, Pridemore, Reagan, Eiddle, W. M. Robins, Robertson, Scales, Schleicher, Singleton, Throckmorton, E. B. Vance, Waddell, Whithorne, Wiggington, B. Wilson, Yates, Young—61.

NOT VOTING—Messrs. J. H. Baker, Ballou, Bayne, Beebe, Benedict, Bisbee, Bland, Blount, Bridges, Brogren, Buckner, Bundy, H. C. Burchard, W. F. Caldwell, Camp, J. B. Clarke, Jr., Culberson, Danford, Douglas, Eickhoff, Elam, Ellis, Errett, Fort, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Gunter, Hale, B. W. Harris, Harrison, Hatcher,

P. C. Hayes, Hendee, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, Ittner, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, J. S. Jones, Jorgensen, Killinger, Kimmel, Knapp, G. M. Lander, Lindsey, Lockwood, Maish, Martin, Money, Morgan, Pollard, C. N. Potter, Price, Pugh, Rainey, Rea, M. S. Robinson, Sampson, Shelley, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Steele, Stephens, J. C. Stone, Swann, J. N. Thompson, Thornburgh, Tipton, M. I. Townsend, Tucker, Van Vorhes, Veeder, G. C. Walker, Walsh, Watson, H. White, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, F. Wood, Wright—84.

The solid South "in" for rebel claims— A warning to the North.

It will be observed that of the 84 "not voting" 34 were *absent* Republicans, and that 50 Democrats failed to vote whether present or not. The further fact that of the 61 Democrats who voted nay, 52 are *Southern* Democrats, shows how solid the Southern States would stand against any such contemplated constitutional amendment, and how little chance it would have of getting the needed assent of three-fourths of the States.

The New York *Tribune*, June 20, 1878, in describing the incident, states that "the joint resolution which he (Conger) presented caused greater excitement than any other of the day or evening." * * * "This record (the vote on Conger's joint resolution) will be a most instructive one and may open the eyes of the people of the North to what the ascendancy of the "solid South" in Congress may mean. Governor Tilden mortally offended the Democrats of the South in 1876 by his letter on Southern claims, and now the Representatives of that section have put themselves on the record in a negative way against placing any obstacle in the way of the payment of rebel claims."

PART X.

S. J. Tilden's Pretended Attitude Touching Rebel Claims—His Duplicity—He would Pay "Dis- loyal" Claims, but held that "we are all loyal now"—Ex-Confed- erate Cabell's Ingenious Report proving the Rebel "Loyalty"— These Claims all Ready for Ac- tion, awaiting Hancock's Elec- tion.

It has been generally believed that Tilden's letter declaring opposition to the payment of Southern claims made the South his enemy. It undoubtedly did for the time being, or, at least, the South pretended to so regard him. But, in view of the known cunning and duplicity of the "still-hunter," Tilden, and the proverbial craft of the Southern leaders, a brief analysis of the most important paragraph of Tilden's letter on Southern claims develops the cat in the meal-tub. Tilden said :

"No claim for any loss or damage incurred by *disloyal* persons, arising from the late war, whether covered by the fourteenth amendment or not, will be recognized or paid. The cotton tax will not be refunded. I shall deem it my duty to veto every bill providing for the assumption or payment of any such *debts*, losses, damages, claims, or for the refunding of any such tax."

This extract is susceptible of two constructions—one for the people of the North, and another for the people of the South. In the North it was believed that he opposed the payment of all these claims. In the South the leaders at least know as Tilden knew when he wrote the letter, that if so disposed, had he ever reached power, he could have favored the payment of all such claims without inconsistency. Tilden's adroitness and cunning in the manipulation of words is unequalled. He was opposed to and would not pay "all such debts, losses, damages," &c., "incurred by disloyal persons," he said. And when he wrote the letter he had before him a report made by Mr. Cabell—Democrat and ex-rebel officer of Virginia—from the Committee on War Claims, June 30, 1876, to the Democratic House of Representatives, which report is intended to show that "*we are all loyal now*," that when a Southern rebel claimant has been specially pardoned, or comes within pardon or amnesty, under general proclamation or otherwise, *the pardon or amnesty is retroactive, and is "equivalent to affirmative proof that the party never gave aid and comfort to the rebellion,"* and, therefore, *never was "disloyal,"* and hence all the old rebels, except Jeff Davis and a few others, might have come in under Tilden's declaration without fear; and in the same manner any Democratic President and Democratic Congress would justify the payment of these thousands of millions. The reports run thus:

The Pickrell & Broocks Claim—Report of the Democratic House Committee on war claims to pay these pardoned rebels.

"* * * Your committee are of opinion that said Pickrell and Broocks are entitled to and should be paid the proceeds of the tobacco taken from them at Wilmington, N. C., as aforesaid. Said tobacco was traced to New York, where sold, and from the marks and brands upon it, each and every box was identified and the returns made to the Treasury Department—copies of which have been received from the Department and examined—show not only the tobacco, but the price received therefor, and the amount covered into the Treasury."

Rebel "Inferences" from Supreme Court decisions—Pardon and amnesty affirmative proof of loyalty—The Government only a "trustee" for the rebel claimant.

"The Supreme Court of the United States, in Padelord's case, 9 Wallace, p. 531, &c., holds that pardon blots out not only the offense, but all the consequences thereof, and that the recipient of the pardon stands as if he had never committed an offense; in other words, that the proof of pardon and amnesty is the equivalent to affirmative proof under the statute of captured and abandoned property that the party never gave aid and comfort to the rebellion. Said decision also establishes the principle that, in reference to property situated as this, the United States Government stands in the position of a trustee for the owner. Another inference from the decision is, that it was competent to Congress to have passed an act covering the proceeds of captured property into the Treasury to be used in support of the war, but such was not done; therefore the court held that as to such captured or abandoned property the United States Government stood in the position of a trustee for the owner. In furtherance of this position, we find that the Supreme Court—in *re* United States vs. Klein, 13 Wall., 128—decided that "the act of March 12, 1863 (12 Stat. at Large), to provide for the collection of abandoned and captured property in insurrectionary districts within the United States, does not confiscate, or in any case absolutely

divest, the property of the original owner, even though disloyal. By the seizure the Government constituted itself a trustee for those who were entitled, or whom it should thereafter recognize as entitled."

The Democratic Committee's pro-rebel "conclusions"—The "trustee" must pay the rebel claims.

"The two decisions quoted we think are decisive of this case, and force your committee to the conclusion that the Government now simply holds the proceeds of the tobacco taken from the possession of Pickrell & Broocks, as trustees for the owners, and that such proceeds, less the costs attending the matter, should be paid over to said Pickrell & Broocks. To show that your committee have made no improper inference from the decision of the Supreme Court last cited, a reference is here made to the opinion of Justice Miller, who, dissenting from the majority of the court, uses this language: 'If I understand the present opinion, however, it maintains that the Government, in taking possession of this property and selling it, became the trustees of all the former owners, whether loyal or disloyal, and holds it for the latter until pardoned by the President, or until Congress orders it to be restored to him.' In this case T. T. Broocks, one of the parties claimant, received a special pardon from President Johnson, and Wilson Pickrell, an old man during the war, came within the several proclamations of amnesty and pardon granted by President Johnson since the war, as also within the provisions of the several laws passed by Congress in reference to such matters. The result that we are brought to is, that the net proceeds of this tobacco cannot be sued for by Pickrell & Broocks by reason of the bar of the statute of limitations, nor can the United States obtain any title to such proceeds, nor can the same be legally drawn from the Treasury by any one without an act of Congress for that purpose. Your committee, therefore, report, recommending the passage of the accompanying bill directing the payment to Wilson Pickrell and T. T. Broocks, late partners as Pickrell & Broocks, of the sum of \$3,524.75, the net proceeds of the tobacco taken from them at Wilmington, N. C., which proceeds were covered into the Treasury, as hereinbefore stated."

These rebel claims still ready for action if Hancock comes in.

Although this report was made at the first session, Forty-fourth Congress, it was thought prudent to let the matter rest awhile—as to press it might awaken the North to a realization of the dangers ahead. The same parties—as well as many others of like ilk—however, have their rebel claims all ready for action; and if the next President and next House are Democratic, all such rebel claims will go through the Democratic Congress flying. The only safety to the country is to elect a President and House of Representatives which will put a stop to the contemplated "looting" of the nation by the "Solid South."

PART XI.

Two Specimen Copies of Bills, Which if Enacted into Law Would Cost the Government \$2,410,326,000.

Following are two bills intended to sweepingly embrace all claims for property or supplies of every character used or destroyed by the immense army of the Union, which during four years marched and encamped upon Southern soil. Their estimated aggregates reach \$2,410,326,000, as noted in Part I. of this chapter:

[FAC-SIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL BILL.]

[Printer's No., 570.]

44TH CONGRESS,
1ST SESSION.**H. R. 553.**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JANUARY 6, 1876.

Read twice, referred to the Committee on War Claims, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. WILSHIRE, on leave, introduced the following bill :

A BILL

To facilitate the adjustment and settlement of claims of citizens of the United States for stores and supplies taken or furnished during the rebellion for the use of the Army of the United States, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives*
 2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all*
 3 citizens of the United States having claims against the United States
 4 for stores or supplies taken or furnished during the rebellion for the
 5 use of the Army of the United States, including the use and loss of
 6 vessels or boats while employed in the military service of
 7 the United States, may institute suit against the United
 8 States for the adjustment and recovery of such claims in
 9 the district court of the United States for the district in
 10 which such stores or supplies may have been taken or
 11 furnished, or such vessels or boats may have been used
 12 or lost. And the district courts of the United States for
 13 the several judicial districts within which such stores or supplies
 14 may have been taken, as aforesaid, and vessels or boats
 15 may have been used or lost, as aforesaid, shall take and
 16 exercise jurisdiction in all cases for claims brought in said
 17 courts under the provisions of this act, without regard to the
 18 amount claimed.

[The subsequent portions of the bill refer to the details in reference to the courts. Suits can be carried into the District Courts in any part of the Union, and the United States Government can be put upon its defense by thousands of claimants from whom no oath or proof of loyalty is required by any provision of the bill.]

[Printer's No., 2491.]

44TH CONGRESS,
1st Session.**H. R. 2364.**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FEBRUARY 28, 1876.

Read twice, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. RIDDLE, on leave, introduced the following bill:

A BILL

Directing compensation to be allowed for the use and occupation of property by the United States Army during the late war.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized
4 to allow reasonable compensation to all citizens of the United
5 States for the use and occupation of their property by the
6 United States Army, or any part thereof, during the late civil
7 war, in the same manner and under the same regulations as
8 compensation is now allowed for quartermaster stores used by
9 said Army; Provided, however, That the affidavit of the
10 claimant, supported by the competent testimony of any
11 reputable citizen, shall be sufficient proof to establish the
12 fact of the use and occupation of such property by said
13 Army. But it is not the intention of this act to limit the
14 parties to the amount of proof herein specified; but other and
15 additional testimony may be taken to establish the fact of the
16 use, and occupation, and the rental value of the property
17 occupied.

CHAPTER IX.

The "Solid South" and Internal Revenue.

"We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress * * * and above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform."—Declaration 14, National Democratic Platform, 1880.

PART I.

Democratic "Reforms"—Legislation in 1880—The Carlisle Bill—A Big Whiskey "Steal"—Withdrawal of Whiskey from Stores and Bonded Warehouses—Tax Collectable on quantity Withdrawn!—The Government Defrauded of Millions of Dollars annually!

The last session of the Democratic "Reform" Congress distinguished itself by the small number of insignificant laws enacted. A remarkable exception, however, in the matter of importance presents itself in the Internal Revenue law known as the "Carlisle Bill," named after the Democratic member from Kentucky, who introduced and engineered it through. Many features of the bill embody desirable changes in the law, and were recommended by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue—in whose office they were carefully perfected—greatly simplifying the collection of the tax on distilled spirits.

The Kentucky Bourbon Democratic members of Congress, taking advantage of the general desire to pass the main features of the bill, tacked on certain nefarious provisions, and secured their passage by a well-known trick of legislation. These obnoxious provisions are as follows:

First.—That which repeals the charge of ten cents formerly paid by distillers, liquor dealers, and rectifiers of spirits for each stamp other than tax. Paid stamps used under Internal Revenue laws.

Second.—That which repeals the charge of 5 per cent. per annum interest on the tax on spirits remaining in warehouse more than one year.

Third.—That which provides for the allowance of loss on account of leakage or evaporation of spirits in warehouses.

The Democratic stamp steal—The Government "done" out of \$350,000 a year.

The provision relieving the distillers, liquor dealers, and rectifiers from paying for stamps used will deprive the United States of about \$350,000 per year revenue. As the stamps are engraved, issued, and generally affixed at the

expense of the United States, it is evident that the expenses so incurred should be reimbursed to the United States. The distillers and their associates were relieved from the payment of this money into the United States Treasury merely upon the asking.

The back-interest steal—The Government loses another \$150,000 a year.

The relief from the payment of interest takes from the treasury receipts about \$150,000 per year. This was also had for the asking merely. The propriety of charging this interest, and the Democratic dishonesty displayed in repealing the law imposing it, was clearly shown by General Garfield in the House of Representatives, April 28, 1880. After speaking of other provisions of the bill, he said:

"Gentlemen will remember how great a trouble the whiskey men were in here a year and a half or two years ago about having a large amount of whiskey on hand when the price was down very low, and the times was coming when they were compelled by law to withdraw it from bond and pay the tax on it. They were here in force representing to us that it would ruin large numbers of the holders and manufacturers if they were compelled, at that time, to withdraw the spirits from bond, and pay the tax as required by the law. Therefore, as a matter of kindness towards them, and to save them from ruin or from trouble, this House passed, and the Senate concurred in, an act that allowed them to continue the whiskey in bond for a longer period, but on condition, in order to prevent the Government from being a loser, that they should pay an interest on the tax after the time when it was due, and up to the time of its payment. In other words, they were permitted to have the privilege of paying the interest upon the tax due instead of the tax itself.

"That we regarded as a just thing, a fair help to men who were in distress, as well as a remuneration or equivalent to the United States by getting interest on the tax due, on the ground that the Government was itself paying interest, and if it extended the time when the tax was due it should require interest on the money. That argument was fair and right and cogent there, but it is proposed to change it in this section. * * * I only say on that subject, without any controversy, this House, believing it was doing a generous thing to get the distillers out of trouble, made this arrangement, which they understood was entirely agreeable to the distillers, a little over one year ago. And now, having got from us the concession of benefit, they ask us quietly to drop out the protection of our own interests which accompanied that benefit. All I want is that the House shall understand the two things, side by side; and if we are to take off this part of the benefit reserved to the Treasury, whether we ought not also to take off the consideration on which it was based, and not allow the whiskeys to lie so long in bond."

The leakage steal—The Government done out of \$1,750,000 a year.

The provision allowing "leakage" was passed right in the very face of the estimate of the

Commissioners of Internal Revenue, that the annual loss therefrom to the Government would not be less than \$1,750,000! This estimate was not questioned, nevertheless the law was passed. It was a Democratic measure pure and simple.

Democratic party vote, by which the great steal passed the House.

Of the 128 members constituting the majority who decided its fate in the House on the 4th of May, 1880, five only were Republicans.

Northern Distillers opposed to this "Solid Southern" Democratic Steal.

Strenuous opposition was made to the passage of this part of the bill by a portion of the distillers themselves. And it was evident from the outset that it was exceedingly unfair to a large body of distillers doing business in the North.

How the Solid Southern Distillers work the Thing.

Most of the distillers in the South keep their spirits in warehouse as long as possible under the law, the salaries of the officers in charge of the warehouses in which the spirits are stored being paid by the United States. The spirits are meanwhile improved by age and by certain processes to which they are subjected in the warehouse, and thus become more and more valuable from year to year.

Testimony as to Improvement by age from year to year—The Government loss and the Southern gain.

From evidence before the House of Representatives when the bill was passed, it appeared that Bourbon whiskey, fresh from the still and worth 45 cents per gallon, exclusive of the tax, increased in value to 70 cents per gallon in one year, to 95 cents per gallon in two years, and to \$1.20 per gallon in three years. Of course, the quantity of spirits decreases as the quality is improved by this species of rectification, but for every gallon so lost the United States loses 90 cents tax, and pays the storekeeper's salary, and the additional expense of re-gauging on withdrawal not heretofore required, while the distiller or owner of the spirits is growing richer through the mere lapse of time. These spirits are the Bourbon whiskeys and other portable or drinkable classes of spirits.

Other classes of spirits have to pay the tax.

On the other hand, the other classes of spirits which are rectified and fitted for use in manufactures and the arts after leaving the distillery, are subject to the tax of 90 cents per gallon upon the original quantity, as they are withdrawn from the warehouse on the day of production, or within a few days thereafter.

Southern whiskey distillers' argument—How Garfield demolished it.

The Bourbon whiskey distillers alleged before the House that their goods were not salable until they became old. General Garfield

in the House on April 28, 1880, answered this argument and placed the matter in its true light. Said he:

"It is true that he (the distiller) does not sell it (the whiskey) at the end of one year to be used; but he does sell it to retail and even to wholesale dealers to be held for its growth and betterment by time. Therefore this Bourbon and other whiskeys are really salable all the way along from the day they are first manufactured up to the date when they are drinkable. And the man who is fortunate enough to be able to keep a large stock of such whiskeys for three years will find that the 'outage' or shrinkage he loses upon that stock during that time is far more than compensated for by the increase of value of every gallon of it. If one hundred gallons of this whiskey shall lose fifteen gallons by 'outage', the whole one hundred gallons will have gained a percentage in actual value above what it had in the beginning, which will far more than compensate for the loss by shrinkage or 'outage.' * * * * * It seems to me only equitable and fair that where we keep a man's property for him untaxed for two or three years, we ought at least to have a share of the profit that comes by that delay. That profit costs him nothing, but the interest on the amount of his investment, and the United States' investment in it in the shape of the tax is much the larger part. It seems to me that it is only fair that the United States should have a portion of the advantage, and collect the tax on the whole amount of the whiskey put in bond."

How the law operates unfairly in favor of Kentucky whiskey and against Illinois whiskey.

The distillers of the State of Illinois pay more than three times as much tax as the distillers of Kentucky; yet the first complete set of reports received by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue after the passage of the Carlisle bill shows that of all the leakage allowed in the United States during June, 1880, the period covered by the reports, three-fifths were allowed to Kentucky distillers, and about one-fifth to Illinois distillers. This sample of the operation of the law is sufficient to verify all that was claimed as to the inequality and unfairness of its operations.

How the law also facilitates whiskey frauds.

This law authorizing an allowance on account of leakage or evaporation in warehouse is not merely subject to criticism on the ground that it increases the expenses and reduces the revenues of the United States, and discriminates in favor of one class of distillers to the detriment of another, and, so far as the revenues of the government are concerned, more important class. The great fault of the law lies in the fact that it facilitates the perpetration of fraud. Of course, under a thoroughly honest administration of Internal Revenue affairs, as has notably characterized that of the Republican party during the past four fiscal years, in which period \$467,080,885.10 were collected, and every cent paid into the Treasury, these frauds will not be large, because mainly impossible without collusion on the part of Internal Revenue officers.

But could a Democratic administration be trusted?—The Law thus modified a Republican law, enacted for the very purpose of stopping Democratic administration frauds!

The law which this leakage provision modifies in its most essential feature was passed

July 20, 1868, by a Republican Congress, for the very purpose of putting an end to frauds which had been perpetrated under an executive controlled by Democrats. Prior to July 20, 1868, the tax was collected as is now provided in the Carlisle bill, on the quantity of spirits withdrawn from warehouse, provided the leakage in warehouse was without fraud, collusion, or neglect. But the proofs on these matters were through affidavits of local officers and others. And when—as was often the case during the latter part of Andrew Johnson's administration—the local officers were corrupt and in collusion with the dishonest distillers, *there is no lack of evidence to substantiate any claim.* The remedy which the Republican Congress of 1868 applied, through the passage of the Act of July 20, 1868, was to require the tax to be paid on the quantity deposited in the distillery warehouse. This has been the law for nearly twelve years, until, in this year, 1880, the Democratic Congress repealed it. What the Democratic Party wants, so as to complete its work of fraud and corruption in this matter, is to secure, through the election of Hancock, the class of rascally officers in the Executive branch of the Government suited for the damnable business. *Dare we trust the Democratic party with such administrative responsibility in view of their past record?—*
(For Internal Revenue figures, see Statistical Chapter.)

PART II.

Moonshiners in the "Solid South"—Open Defiance of Law—Bloodshed—Guerilla Warfare—Number of Stills destroyed and Moonshiners arrested in four years—A list of their bloody murders—Official vigor diminishes Moonshining—Hancock's nomination increases it again.

The open defiance of the excise laws of the United States in the South has been attended with much bloodshed, and, at times, in some States, has assumed the proportions of a guerilla war. In meeting armed resistance, United States troops having been denied by a Democratic Congress, it has been found necessary to arm civilian officers, many of whom have shown great courage and coolness in the performance of their duties. The forces of the Government used in the suppression of this miniature rebellion have been skilfully directed by Gen. Green B. Raum, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, who has been ably assisted by Gen. F. D. Sewall, Chief of Revenue Agents, both of whom won their military rank by gallant and distinguished services in the Union army. This was not the first time they had met law-breakers in arms, and their experience in the fields of the rebellion has enabled them to carry on the work of subduing armed distillers with success.

In four years 3,874 stills destroyed and 7,078 Moonshiners arrested—Killed and wounded officers, and cost in money.

In these operations, during the past four years, over 3,874 illicit stills have been seized, and 7,078 persons arrested for being engaged in this unlawful work. This has not been done without a considerable cost to the Government of money, as well as the lives and limbs of its officers. *Twenty-five officers and employees have been killed and fifty-five wounded while enforcing the laws.* The sum expended for this purpose, in addition to the ordinary expenses for the collection of the revenue, has amounted, during the past three years and a half, to more than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Every form of outrage resorted to by the Moonshiners.

The instances of armed resistance by illicit distillers to the authorities of the United States are too numerous to be given here, but they have been accompanied by every form of outrage upon the officers of the United States and all persons loyal enough to aid them. The intimidation of witnesses, burning of the houses and barns of officers, and the killing or injuring of their horses and cattle have been cases of frequent occurrence.

While U. S. officers harassed in the courts and otherwise, only one conviction of a murderous Moonshiner secured!

It is a remarkable fact that, with the exception of the conviction of one man for the killing of Deputy Collector Cooper, in East Tennessee, no one has been punished on account of the many murders and assaults to murder committed upon United States officers. Upon the other hand, innumerable prosecutions have been instituted in State Courts against United States officers for alleged offences perpetrated while in the performance of their official duties, mainly, it is believed, for the purpose of obstructing the enforcement of the laws of the United States. We have only space to give the official list of the bloody murders which have been committed by armed illicit distillers in the Southern States upon officers and other employees as follows:

A list of bloody "murders" by Southern Moonshiners.

1. *Lieutenant McIntire*, of the Second Infantry, United States Army, murdered on the night of February 9, 1877, at the residence of Ayres Jones, an illicit distiller in Fannin County, Ga., while aiding revenue officers in suppressing illicit distillation.

2. *Berry Sorrells* (colored), suspected of being an informer, was brutally murdered in presence of his family, by a band of illicit distillers masked, March, 1879. He was really not an informer. (Walton County, Ga.)

3. *Nathaniel Eason*, a citizen of Campbell County, Ga., was called to his door on a night in February, 1878, and brutally assassinated in presence of his wife and children, by a body

of masked men. Mr. Eason had visited Atlanta a day or two previous to his assassination, and it was supposed he had been summoned to testify against the parties who had assaulted a deputy United States marshal's posse, killing two horses and wounding a guide a short time previous.

4. *Samuel Kenney*, a citizen of Pickens County, Ga., residing near Talking Rock post-office, was shot and killed by illicit distillers who suspected him of giving information against them (October 16, 1877).

5. A colored man (name unknown), started in January, 1877, to locate an illicit distillery in Douglas County, Ga., operated by persons known as Tooker Brothers. He was last seen in Campbell County and has not since been heard from. It is now conceded by the citizens, that the generally received opinion at the time of his disappearance that he was murdered and thrown from a bridge into Sweetwater River was true, and that such was his fate.

6. *Benton Whitecotton*, a citizen of Hall County, Ga., disappeared in July, 1877, and recent developments prove that he was brutally murdered by a man named Bryant, who was a relation of an illicit distiller against whom Whitecotton had informed. Bryant confessed the murder on his death-bed. The remains of Whitecotton were found at the place indicated by the murderer and have been identified.

7. In the month of May, a colored man, whose name cannot now be ascertained, left his home in Campbell County, Ga., to come to Atlanta on business. Some illicit distillers, residing in the neighborhood, learning of his departure from home and supposing it was his purpose to inform against them, followed and attacked him with shot-guns. He ran in order to save his life, but in the effort was frightfully mangled with the buckshot fired after him. He made his way to Atlanta, where he died from the effect of his wounds.

8. In Fannin County, Ga., about the middle of August, 1877, *Mr. W. F. M. Greenway*, while gathering fruit in his orchard, was shot with buckshot and mortally wounded. It is known that Mr. Greenway rendered aid to revenue officers in their operations against illicit distillers, and for this threats had been made which were executed by his brutal assassination. The assassin concealed himself behind a large stump around which had sprung up undergrowth which afforded him seclusion, and when Mr. Greenway was reaching upward to gather the fruit the assassin discharged the contents of his gun at him. The shot struck him in the stomach and he expired in a few minutes.

9. *Deputy Collector Colman Leatherwood* was killed at Newgent's distillery in Etowah County, Alabama, in June, 1875. His body has never been found, having been concealed or destroyed by the murderers. The circumstantial evidence showed clearly, however, that he was shot while approaching the still-house by a rifle in the hands of some one concealed in the brush behind the fence, the ball entering

the right breast and coming out on the left side of his back.

10. *Deputy U. S. Marshal Kimbrow* was killed in Hancock Co., Georgia, Sept. 11, 1878, while assisting in the arrest of the Ennis Brothers, notorious illicit distillers. One of the Ennis Brothers met the marshal's posse at the door and fired upon them, resulting in the death of Kimbrow.

11. A man named *Seawell*, employed by Deputy Collector Moore to assist him in removing an illicit still which he had seized in Moore Co., N. C., March 5, 1879, was killed by the owner of the still.

12. *Deputy Marshal Harkins* was killed while attending the trial of a distiller before Commissioner Morris, in Henderson Co., N. C., Feb. 3, 1877. Twenty armed men attacked the court, fatally wounding Harkins; the other officers escaped. The distiller was also fatally wounded. This was one of the most daring outrages known in the history of the "moonshine war."

13. *Deputy Collector John Cooper*, son of the collector of the district, was killed while attempting the seizure of the distillery of Hutsell Amarine, in Blount Co., Tennessee, Aug. 9, 1878. The officers were fired upon in the dark from the bushes, resulting in the death of Cooper, two or three large balls entering his body, and mortally wounding him.

14. *Thos. J. Williams*, guide, who gave information to internal revenue officers who were conducting a raid against illicit distillers in Lawrence Co., Tennessee, in October, 1877, was soon afterwards taken at night from his house by disguised men, and murdered for rendering assistance and giving the information as aforesaid.

15. *James Spear*, a former member of raiding force, who was with Deputy Collector J. M. Davis attending court in Grundy, Tennessee, Sept. 18, 1878, was shot and mortally wounded by a ball that was evidently intended for Davis. He was walking by Davis' side at the time when the shot was fired from the brush in the suburbs of Tracy City. Spear died in a few days afterwards. Davis was, and is, noted for his great zeal and efficiency in breaking up illicit stills and arresting offenders.

16. *Deputy Marshal John Minnis* was killed in Sumner Co., Tennessee, in July or August, 1876, while engaged in the work of suppressing illicit distillation in that county.

17. *W. A. Fowler*, of Lawrence Co., Tennessee, was killed on or about the first of January, 1880, by illicit distillers for giving information in regard to their operations to deputy collectors of internal revenue.

18. *Deputy Marshal F. H. Torbel* was killed about ten miles north of Paris, Henry Co., Tennessee, Oct. 1st, 1876, by one Giles, for whom he had a *capias*. Giles has not been indicted by the State, and no effort has been made by the State officers to affect his arrest for the murder.

19. *Tesse Vanderwinter*, a citizen who assisted the officers in breaking up some distilleries in, Lee Co., Virginia, on Monday, May 14th, 1877, near sunset, while at work in his corn

field, was fired upon by a body of armed men and mortally wounded.

20 and 21. *Two men, names unknown*, while assisting Deputy Marshal Robertson in South Carolina, on or about Feb. 7th, 1877, were killed by illicit distillers during a raid.

22. *Jas. Ledford*, a guide, living near Block House, in Spartanburg Co., S. C., was killed by illicit distillers June 11th, 1877. It appears that the illicit distillers had ascertained in some way that Ledford had assisted the revenue officers, and he was visited in force under the leadership of John Weaver and Budd Casey, and literally butchered to death.

23. *Chas. Austin*, a guide, was killed by Redmond, a famous outlaw and illicit distiller in South Carolina, in March, 1878.

24. *Deputy Marshal Rufus Springs*, in April, 1878, while engaged with a revenue force in raiding upon an illicit distillery near Greenville, S. C., was killed by being shot from the bushes in the rear.

25. A man named *Griffin*, a cattle dealer, was killed by illicit distillers, under the supposition that he was a revenue officer, at East Fork, S. C., on or about the 27th of June, 1878.

The vigorous action of the Government diminishes "moonshining"—Hancock's nomination revives it all over the South!

In consequence of the vigor with which illicit distilling had been followed up by the revenue authorities, it appeared some months ago that the amount of illicit distilling was very much diminished, and that the illicit distillers were ceasing, in a degree, their nefarious practices; but recent information re-

ceived at the Internal Revenue Office indicates that, under the stimulus of Hancock's nomination and the expectation of Democratic victory, the practice is reviving all over the South.

Why this is so—"The good time coming, boys"—Democratic leaders' promises.

The exigency of the Democratic canvas naturally makes the demand for whiskey very great, and when to this is added the promise of every Democratic nominee for Congress on the stump that all laws against free distilling shall be repealed, and every stream and water course in the South shall be lined with stills, it is no wonder that the revenue officers are again called upon to use their utmost efforts in the suppression of this evil in their respective districts.

Aleck Stephens sympathizes with Moonshiners—So does the "Solid South."

Even so moderate a man as Alexander H. Stephens openly declares that he considers it a great hardship that the mountaineers in his section are not allowed to produce brandy and whiskey from their surplus fruit and grain without molestation. There can be no doubt that the prevailing sentiment in the South is one of hostility to all federal laws, and especially to those relating to the revenue on spirits and tobacco. The record of bloody resistance to the execution of those laws herein partially detailed, and the fact that the murderers have, in every instance, the sympathy of the community in which they live, afford conclusive evidence on this point.

CHAPTER X.

Democratic Hatred of Union Soldiers.

"RESOLVED, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens."—Democratic National Platform of 1876.

" * * Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ."* * * * —Democratic National Platform of 1876.

*"We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic Party, as * * * embodied in the Platform of the last National Convention of the Party."*—Democratic National Platform of 1880.

PART I.

Democratic Rule of Appointments to Office—Civil Service Reform in the House—Crippled Union Soldiers Kicked Out and Rebel Soldiers Exalted—Propositions and Votes in the House on the Subject.

In the Democratic House, December 14, 1875, Mr Fort, Republican, proposed to pro-

tect wounded Union soldiers even though the unwounded must go.

Fort's resolution favoring wounded Union soldiers.

He therefore offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That in all subordinate appointments, under any of the officers of this House, it is the judgment of this House that wounded Union soldiers, who are not disabled from performance of duty, should be preferred."

Upon this he demanded the previous question, but a Democratic House refused to second it!

Sunset Cox to the rescue?—His amendment and the vote by which the Democrats smothered the whole thing.

Thereupon, Sunset Cox offered the following amendment, in the nature of a substitute, and moved that the same be referred to the Committee on Accounts:

"Resolved, That inasmuch as the Union of the States has been restored, all the citizens thereof are entitled to consideration in all appointments to offices under this Government."

The vote upon reference to the Committee on Accounts was:

YEAS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Barnum, Beebe, S. N. Bell, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Cate, Caulfield, Chapin, Chittenden, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clarke, Jr., Clymer, Cochran, Cooke, Cowan, Coz, Culberson, Cutler, J. J. Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Ellis, Ely, Faulkner, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hancock, Hardenbergh, H. E. Harris, J. T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Heymond, Hereford, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hunter, Hurd, Jenks, F. Jones, T. L. Jones, Kehr, Knott, Lamar, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, Lane, Levy, B. B. Lewis, Lord, Luttrell, Lynde, Maish, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Metcalf, Milliken, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Mulchler, Neal, New, O'Brien, Odell, E. Y. Persons, Payne, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Piper, Poppleton, Randall, D. Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, M. Ross, Savage, M. Saylor, Seales, Schleicher, J. G. Schumaker, Seelye, Sheakley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, Stone, Swann, Tarbox, Teese, Terry, C. P. Thompson, P. F. Thomas, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, E. B. Vance, Waddell, C. B. Walker, G. C. Walker, Walling, Ward, Warren, E. Wells, Whitehouse, Whithorne, Wigginton, Wike, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, C. Young—168.

NAYS—Messrs. C. H. Adams, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Blaine, Blair, Bradley, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Burlleigh, Cannon, Cason, Caswell, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Danford, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Eames, Evans, Farwell, Fort, Foster, C. Freeman, Frost, Frye, Garfield, Goodis, E. Hale, Hamilton, R. W. Harris, Henderson, G. F. Hoar, Hoge, Hoskins, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Ketchum, Kimball, King, Lapham, W. Lawrence, Lynch, Magoon, MacDougall, McCrary, J. W. McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, W. A. Phillips, Pierce, Plaisted, Pratt, Purman, Rainey, M. S. Robinson, S. Ross, Root, Sampson, Sinnickson, R. Smalley, A. H. Smith, Starkweather, Stevenson, Stowell, Strait, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, Van Vorhes, Waldron, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, Walls, G. W. Wells, Wheeler, J. D. White, Whiting, G. Willard, C. G. Williams, W. B. Williams, J. Wilson, A. Wood, Jr., Woodburn, Woodworth—102.

A patriotic resolution, to which both Republicans and Democrats Agreed.

On the 5th of January, 1876—the Christmas Recess having intervened—Mr. Cason offered a resolution as follows:

"Be it resolved, etc., That we recognize the brave and gallant services rendered by the loyal soldier to his country in the time of its greatest need and peril, and that we do earnestly recommend to the people of our common country the utmost care and watchfulness over the rights and interests of these brave men, securing to each one in need of employment and to such and their families the necessities and comforts of life; and in all cases of public employment and in the bestowment of the emoluments of office, that, all other things being equal, the soldier shall have the preference over the civilian; and as one branch of the legislative department of this Government, we are in favor of

laws being enacted by Congress giving liberal pensions to the diseased and crippled soldiers, and to the widows and children and dependent fathers and mothers of those who have died from wounds or diseases contracted while in the service of the Union army, and to each living soldier, and to the widows and heirs of those dead, such bounties and homesteads as a generous Government can afford to those who have won and preserved to the nation its liberty and Constitution."

The previous question being demanded was seconded by 142 yeas to 9 nays, and the resolution was then agreed to by Democrats and Republicans alike.

The Democratic House shows its Pecksniffian hypocrisy, turns a somersault, and refuses to carry into practice these professions, on the very same day!

But to test the sincerity of the professions of the Democrats, Mr. Fort on the same day offered the following:

"Resolved, That the doctrine just announced by the House in the resolution of the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Cason), is so wise and just that, in the judgment of this House, it should be followed by officers of the House in filling subordinate places under their authority; and that in all such cases they are hereby instructed to give to well-qualified Union soldiers preference over soldiers of the late Confederate army."

On this, he demanded the previous question, but the Democratic House refused to second it, by 93 yeas to 103 nays. Thereupon Fernando Wood, by way of adding insult to injury, sneeringly moved to refer the resolution to the Committee on Centennial Celebration—which motion was agreed to by 122 yeas to 93 nays—all the yeas being Democrats, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Chapin, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochran, Cook, Cowan, Coz, Culberson, Cutler, Joseph J. Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Faulkner, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Glover, Goode, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hancock, H. E. Harris, J. T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Hatcher, Hereford, A. S. Hewitt, Hill, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hulton, Jenks, G. M. Landers, Lane, Levy, Lord, Lynde, L. A. Mackey, Maish, McFarland, McMahon, Metcalf, Milliken, Mills, Money, Morrison, Mulchler, New, O'Brien, E. Y. Persons, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Piper, Poppleton, Powell, Randall, D. Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, Riddle, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, C. B. Roberts, M. Ross, M. Saylor, Schleicher, Sheakley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Stenger, Stone, Tarbox, Terry, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, Waddell, Walling, Walsh, Ward, Warren, E. Wells, Whithorne, Wike, J. Williams, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Willis, Withshire, R. Wilson, F. Wood, Yeates, C. Young—122.—For names of removals and appointments, see pp. 116, 119.

PART II.

Democratic "Civil Service Reform" in the Senate—An old Democratic Standing Rule as to Appointments abrogated to satisfy Democratic Greed for "Spoils"—Union Soldiers Kicked Out and Confederate Soldiers Appointed.

In 1854 the Senate Democratic majority, discerning the coming political change in the

organization of that body, and anxious to keep their friends in the various Senate offices as long as possible, put their heads together and devised a plan which worked admirably for them. At the first session of the 33rd Congress, a select committee having been appointed to consider the matter, reported the following resolution to the Senate:

The old standing Democratic rule ordered away by a Democratic caucus, so as to rush Republicans out, and hungry Democrats in.

"Resolved, That the several officers and others in the departments of the Secretary of the Senate and of the Sergeant-at-Arms shall be appointed and removed from office by those officers respectively as heretofore; but when made during the session of the Senate any such removal to be first approved by the President of the Senate on reasons to be assigned therefor in writing by the officer making the removal, and when in the recess, such reasons in writing to be laid before the President of the Senate on the first day of the succeeding session, and to be approved or disapproved by him."

On January 17, 1854, it was passed by a decisive vote, and became a standing rule of the Senate. When the Republicans came into power they made no effort to disturb that rule, nor to disturb the old officers who, in the course of years, died out or resigned, one by one, as age or other callings beckoned them. Thus it remained—this Democratic rule—through all the years of the Republican majority in the Senate. But early in 1879, the Democrats having a majority at the extra session of that year, and being importuned by a ravening multitude of Southern and other Democratic place-hunters, determined—as they could not get the President of the Senate to consent to the removal of the experienced and efficient Republicans in the offices of the Secretary and Sergeant-at-Arms—to annul the rule that their own party had made—to go back on their own offspring, as it were—in order to get the few "loaves and fishes" pertaining to the Senate organization. This was decided on in caucus, and Senator Wallace, the chairman of that Democratic Senatorial caucus, undertook to engineer the thing through.

The caucus resolution—Senator Edmunds' amendment offered to protect Union soldiers—Wallace's duplicity exposed by Mr. Conkling.

On the 17th of April, 1879, therefore, Senator Wallace offered in the Senate the following Democratic caucus resolution:

"Resolved, That the several officers and others in the departments of the Secretary of the Senate and of the Sergeant-at-Arms shall be appointed and removed from office by those officers respectively."

Senator Edmunds moved to amend by adding the following:

"But no officer or employee of the Senate who served in the forces of the United States in suppressing the late rebellion shall be removed except for cause stated in writing to the President of the Senate and approved by him in writing."

Mr. Wallace assured Senator Edmunds "that there need be no apprehension on this apparently

tender subject." There would be no soldiers removed—the Democratic majority had no intention of removing Union soldiers from their places as Senate officials.

Whereupon Mr. Conkling expressed his "surprise" at the statement, and, continuing, said:

*"I assert that they [the Democratic majority] have already acted in violation of what the Senator says. I assert that they have already removed a Union soldier—a man who served in the armies of the Union and was discharged because of the injuries he received, and yet the honorable Senator says it is not worth while to guard this because the majority may be trusted to abstain, much as the overseer may be trusted to abstain from the lash! * * * I refer to Mr. Fitz who has been removed from a position in the office of the Secretary of the Senate, a position whose duties he never neglected or came short in, Mr. Fitz having served, I repeat, in the armies of the Union and having been discharged because of the injury and suffering that came upon him in that service."*

Democratic votes against the Union soldier and for the Confederate soldier!—Adoption of the rule—A clean sweep!

Of course the adoption of such an amendment as that of Mr. Edmunds, would defeat one of the very objects of the repeal of the old rule. *Union Soldiers were the very fellows the rebel brigadiers were "gunning for."* Hence, when, on April 25, 1879, the amendment came to a vote, while every Republican voted for the amendment, every Democrat voted against it!

Following is the vote in full:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Bell, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Carpenter, Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry, Hill of Colorado, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Kellogg, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller—34.

NAYS—Messrs. Bailey, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill of Georgia, Houston, Johnston, Jonas, Kernan, McDonald, Macey, Morgan, Pendleton, Randolph, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Thurman, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Wallace, Withers—31.

Whereupon Senator Carpenter moved to add the following:

"But no office or employment made vacant by the removal or dismissal of a person who served in the forces of the Union, during the late war shall be filled or supplied by the appointment or employment of any person who served in the Confederate army at any time during said war."

Of course that also was voted down—yeas 26, nays 34,—all Republicans voting for the amendment and all Democrats against it, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Bell, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Carpenter, Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry, Hamlin, Hill of Colorado, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Kellogg, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller—26.

NAYS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Eaton, Farley, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill of Georgia, Houston, Johnston, Jonas, Kernan, McDonald, Macey, Morgan, Pendleton, Randolph, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Thurman, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Wallace, Withers—34.

Whereupon Wallace's rule was adopted by a strict party vote. Having thus removed the only legal impediment to the expulsion of the old employees, the Secretary of the Senate and Sergeant-at-Arms at once began the work

of proscription. "To the victors belong the spoils." Loyal employees, maimed soldiers, and efficient and experienced officials were indiscriminately swept from the offices of the Senate—many of their places supplied by Confederates, and all by raw and inexperienced persons.

Place none but Confederates on guard!

And the proscription of Union men and soldiers which has thus characterized the Democracy in the disposition of the offices of the two Houses of Congress, will, if they succeed in capturing the Presidency, be carried into the Executive Departments. Every Union soldier, every loyal man and woman in office, will be proscribed, and their places be given to the disloyal enemies of the nation. Their slogan will be—"Place none but Confederates on guard!"

PART III.

The Washington Metropolitan Police—Heretofore none but Union Soldiers and Sailors admitted to it—Now it can be filled up with Confederates—Senator Beck's diatribe—The solid Democratic vote against the Union Soldier and for the Confederate!

June 9, 1880, in the Senate, pending the bill (S. 1394) to increase the police force of the District of Columbia, the following amendment was reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia:

SEC. 2. That so much of section 354 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the District of Columbia, as requires that 'no person shall be appointed as policeman or watchman who has not served in the Army or Navy of the United States and received an honorable discharge,' be, and the same is hereby, repealed.

"And agreed to—yeas 25, nays 15, not voting 36.

YEAS—Messrs. Beck, Brown, Cockrell, Groome, Hampton, Harris, Hereford, Hill, of Georgia, Johnston, Jones, Kernan, Lamar, McDonald, Morgan, Pendleton, Prior, Ransom, Squibb, Slater, Vance, Vest, Walker, Wallace, Williams, Wilbers—25.

NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Baldwin, Burnside, Cameron, of Wisconsin, Davis, of Illinois, Ferry, Ingalls, Kirkwood, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Rollins, Teller—15.

The proposition had originally passed the House. In the debate which ensued in the Senate, the Republicans resisted the repeal on the ground that the time had not yet come when the Union soldier should be set aside for the Confederate soldier. But Mr. Beck insisted on the repeal, and announced the existing law excluding Confederates as the meanest vengeance towards a political opponent (meaning an ex-Confederate), or the lowest demagoguery, and it was practically announced as the future policy of the Democracy, in all matters of appointments, that the Confederates were to have at least an "equal chance."

PART IV.

List of Confederate Soldiers Appointed to Office and of Union Soldiers Removed by the Cautious Democrats.

Every Union soldier should remember this damning Democratic record, and vote as he fought.

Union soldiers removed.

List of the names of 76 Union soldiers discharged from the United States Capitol by the Democratic officers of the House and Senate since their capture of the houses of Congress:

Henry Sherwood, lost a leg.	Louis Reinburg.
J. T. Wilson, lower jaw-bone shot away.	H. D. Warton.
J. Thomas Miller.	E. R. Cressay, wounded.
Levi Jones.	Wm. De Plitch, lost a leg.
A. T. Sherman.	A. H. Remington.
F. A. Wardell, wounded.	John Grady.
G. W. Dunn, six months in Andersonville.	Harrison S. Linker.
W. H. Harding, wounded.	D. Small.
J. E. W. Thompson lost a leg.	J. H. Barker.
John Seville.	E. H. Brown.
J. C. Clark.	J. B. Simmons.
J. C. Bonebrake.	H. Lyons.
G. W. Kirk, wounded.	J. K. Merz, wounded.
A. M. Legg.	J. B. Clark.
R. S. McMichael, wounded, lost an eye.	S. S. Blackford, wounded twice, lost an arm.
D. A. Brady, wounded.	F. A. Wood.
G. P. Bundick.	C. H. Manning.
J. J. G. Ball, lost an arm.	C. G. Thwing, disabled in left arm.
W. M. Gibson, lost an arm.	G. Beck.
C. S. Risinger, lost a leg.	D. A. Babcock, lost one eye.
P. W. Coleman wounded four times, lost an arm.	G. H. Lillebridge, wounded.
W. F. Fitch, lost a leg.	R. W. Simmons, disabled.
J. A. Traverce, lost a leg.	G. J. Ball.
H. Cliff, lost a leg.	Ed. Town.
Hudson Decker, disabled in both hands.	H. E. Fitz.
M. J. Bunnell, shot through both unga.	G. H. Smith, in Libbey prison six months.
J. B. Eugene, lost an arm.	W. E. Cressay, wounded.
W. Shriver, lost an arm.	J. W. Simmons, wounded.
R. P. Bishop, lost an arm.	S. L. Wilson, lost both legs.
J. E. Hammond.	Chas. Bridges, wounded.
J. W. Runer.	J. W. Wheelock.
J. Hunter.	Major Banks.
A. Dole.	C. E. Diemar, wounded five times, lost an arm.
Willis Springer.	J. M. Commons.
W. Hutchinson.	W. K. Taylor.
J. W. Crouch.	C. B. Gaffney.
A. D. Wood.	A. F. Stowe, disabled.
A. Barnes.	C. H. Sewall, wounded—76.

Rebel soldiers employed:

List of the names of 88 rebel soldiers who are or have been employed at the U. S. Capitol, by the Democratic House and Senate since the capture of the Capitol by the Democracy:

Col. L. H. Fitzhugh, Tex., ex-Doorkeeper, House.	Col. H. E. Payton, Vir., Executive Clerk, Senate.
Col. John W. Polk, Mo., ex-Doorkeeper, House.	Maj. L. Chalmers, Miss., Bill Clerk, Senate.
Maj. J. M. Stewart, Vir., Postmaster, House.	Capt. J. A. Newton, Miss., ex-Asst. Finance Clerk, Senate.
E. Snowden, Vir., Asst. Postmaster, House.	Gen. C. M. Wilcox, West Point Messenger, Senate.
Gen. C. W. Field, Ga., Doorkeeper, House.	Maj. A. D. Banks, Miss., Stat. Keeper, Senate.
Col. J. C. Burch, Tenn., Secretary, House.	Gen. Morgan Rawls, Ga., Supt. of Clerk's Doc. Room, House.
Maj. F. E. Shober, N. C., Chief Clerk, Senate.	

G. N. Hubbs.
J. M. Kinney.
A. J. Dorn.
W. C. Gillman.
J. H. White.
J. L. Jones.
J. R. Fisher.
J. G. Paine.
J. G. Moffit.
S. C. Richards.
W. Harris.
T. H. Baker.
T. B. Lubbet.
E. M. Jewell.
W. H. Roberson.
A. W. C. Nolan.
H. Cook.
G. W. Rock.
W. B. Lowery.

A. W. Rees.
H. M. Scott.
C. W. Dunnington.
T. W. Pettit.
F. L. Jewell.
P. H. Winslow.
J. W. White.
Frank Lamar.
General L. L. Lomas.
T. G. Ingram.
L. Fisher.
E. C. Boudinot.
P. D. Sayers.
N. S. Brown.
J. S. Francis.
N. C. Nolan.
G. P. Gillman.
W. M. Patton.
J. T. Blackston.

E. C. Glass.
G. W. Kennedy.
J. L. Knight.
J. B. Smith.
H. Lathram.
Richard Allen.
C. C. Buckner.
H. T. Banks.
T. W. Young.
Eppa Morris.
P. K. Folk.
G. Tyler.
B. M. Cromwell.
G. C. Wedderbone.
S. B. Cleghorn.
E. B. Lyles.
J. E. Shuttles.
J. Pettigrew.
W. M. Hardy.

W. W. Lester.
Thos. Dungan.
Patrick Doran.
S. Harr.
N. W. Henderson.
W. Lynch.
Mr. Colquitt.
Frank Smyth.
E. Este.
W. Stringfield.
Ed. Stoss.
P. S. Goodael.
J. W. Fermoing.
N. S. Clark.
W. Leach.
T. O. Towles.
G. T. Rogers.
Maj. C. M. Merrill—88.

CHAPTER XI.

Bounties and Pensions.

"RESOLVED, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens."
—Democratic National Platform, 1876.

"Let the Federal Brigadiers take back seats in the work of restoration. The Republic has no further use for the Lincoln hirelings. By the way, Yankees, don't it make you feel queer to think that we've defeated you fellows AFTER ALL and captured the capitol?"—Okolona, Miss., Southern States.

PART I.

The Bounty Question—How the Democrats obstruct payment—Coffroth's canting Resolution—Secretary Sherman's Reply—The Responsibility fastened on a Democratic Congress—Even Adjusted Claims for which a Republican Administration asks immediate Payment, stricken out by the Confederates—An Ex-Rebel Applies for Bounty !

In order to curry favor with the Union soldiers and catch votes at the Presidential election with their lying bait, the Democratic leaders endeavor to distract attention from the responsibility of the Democratic party for the hindrance of bounty-payments by attempting to fasten the responsibility upon the Republicans. That is an old dodge that will not gull the Union soldier. Mean, little lies will not affect the soldier vote. Whales are not to be caught by gudgeons. Let us examine the history of this business of delay in payment of bounties.

Promptitude of Republicans to forward payment of bounties, etc.

On the 30th of June, 1869, at the commencement of President Grant's first administration, there were on file in the Treasury Department 66,186 claims for pay and bounty. Between that time and the 30th of June, 1874, there were received 134,661 additional claims, making a total of 200,847. The settlement of this vast number of claims was one of the duties imposed on the Office of the Second Auditor of the Treasury; and so energetic were the meas-

ures taken to adjust the dues of soldiers and their heirs, that that officer was able to report, on the latter date (June 30, 1874), that but 25,038 claims remained on hand out of the two hundred thousand; seven-eighths of the entire number disposed of. Of course this result was largely due to the readiness with which the Republican Congress of that day lent its aid to the work; for the party that had stood by the soldier during the rebellion did not desert him when gratitude became its duty. The appropriations asked for were voted promptly and cheerfully; legislation to smooth the difficulties in the way of deserving claimants, and to extend the operation of existing laws to include meritorious cases not provided for, was perfected without delay; in fact, the executive and legislative branches of the Government vied with each other in forwarding these acts of national gratitude and justice.

On the 20th of June, 1874, Congress attached to one of the appropriation bills a section requiring all balances that should remain unexpended for two years to be turned into the Treasury at the end of every fiscal year. This measure was designed to protect the public interests by placing a check on expenditures and bringing them more immediately under Congressional supervision and control. That it was a wise precaution, no one will doubt, who knows anything of the reckless manner in which appropriations had been handled under the Democratic administrations before the rebellion. But in order that the public business might not suffer from the withdrawal of these funds from use (since, after being turned into the Treasury, they could be drawn out only by an act of Congress), a provision was inserted in the same section requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Congress,

at the beginning of each session, what amounts of these moneys were needed to pay accruing obligations, so that the requisite sums might be re-appropriated; and in order that the settlement of soldiers' claims should suffer no delay or detriment, one of the last acts of that Congress was to re-appropriate, on the 3d of March, 1875, \$534,147.23 for the payment of "bounty to volunteers, their widows, and legal heirs," and \$597,428.40 for "pay of two and three-year volunteers." Did this appropriation of over a million of dollars for these purposes look like an intention of delaying or hindering the settlement of amounts due to the nation's defenders? And in the next session, when the Democrats, having obtained a bare majority in the House of Representatives, knew that their power was trembling in the balance, and they dared not raise the voice of opposition, *the Republicans carried a re-appropriation of \$609,946.79 for the pay of volunteers, right in the teeth of the enemy.*

Both branches of Congress in the hands of the Democrats; the Confederate brigadiers begin to show their hate for Union soldiers.

But after both branches of the national legislature had passed into the hands of the Democracy, the party of the rebellion began to feel itself sufficiently strong to curb the unstinting gratitude and patriotism that were willing thus to pour out millions to keep the veterans and their families from suffering. It grated on the feelings of the men who had fought behind rebel entrenchments or voted for secession ordinances, and who now entered the legislative hall to renew the reign of plantation arrogance and sow new discord between the States, to be obliged, for fear of displeasing Northern voters, to sanction the disbursement of public money to the upholders of the Union. This furnishes the key to the subsequent legislation in regard to bounties.

On the 14th of June, 1878, the act requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Congress the estimates for needed re-appropriations, was repealed, and in lieu thereof it was made the duty of the accounting officers to continue to receive, examine, and consider the justice and validity of all claims under appropriations of which the balances were exhausted or turned into the Treasury. The accounting officers were directed to certify the sums due to the Secretary of the Treasury, who was to report the amount due each claimant to the Speaker of the House of Representatives at the commencement of each session, and the Speaker was to lay the report before Congress.

The evident result of this measure could not be other than to delay payment to the unfortunate claimants thus thrown on the tender mercies of the crafty Democratic majority. The fiscal year closes on the 30th of June; Congress does not re-assemble till December; then the matter must be referred to a committee and await its action; then follow further delays during the prolonged discussion that always occur upon appropriation bills, so that usually it is only at the close of the session that the tardy relief is

granted; indeed, some accident of legislation may carry it over to the next session. Under ordinary circumstances the next 30th of June is close at hand; in fact, in case of a long session it may have already passed before the re-appropriation is credited on the books of the Treasury, so that it can be drawn upon for disbursement. The ridiculousness of throwing on the accounting officers the odium of delays caused by Democratic legislation is manifest. *Having contrived to withhold the funds, the innocent Democracy ask why payments are delayed?*

In accordance, however, with the requirements of the new law, the Secretary submitted a report to the Speaker on the 16th of January, 1879, and the sums asked for were appropriated on the 3d of March, just as the session was expiring. *Thus for eight months claims had been waiting, after being adjusted, for the Democratic majority to give the word to pay.*

On the 16th January, 1880, a second report was made by the Secretary to the Speaker. Three months elapsed without a thing being done by the Democratic Congress. Then, suddenly awakening to the necessity of putting the blame elsewhere than on their own shoulders, where it belongs, the Democratic House, on the 26th April, adopted a hypocritical resolution, offered by Chairman Coffroth, Democratic chairman of the Committee on Pensions, asking the Secretary of the Treasury why he permitted these claims to be unpaid so long!

Secretary Sherman's answer—The responsibility belongs to the Democratic Congress.

To this the Secretary made immediate answer, as follows:

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, April 30, 1880.

"HON. SAMUEL J. RANDALL,

Speaker House of Representatives.

"SIR:—The Department is in receipt of a resolution introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. A. H. Coffroth, on the 26th instant, as follows:

"Whereas, there is great and just complaint being constantly made by soldiers on account of the long delay, in many instances nearly a year, in the payment of the bounty and back pay settled and allowed to them by the Second Auditor of the Treasury:

"Be it resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he hereby is, respectfully requested and directed to inform the House of Representatives the cause of delay in paying the bounty and back pay found to be due to the soldiers and other persons entitled thereto; and why it is that he permits these claims to remain unpaid from six to twelve months before he asks Congress for an appropriation of money to pay the same.

"In reply thereto, I have the honor to submit the following statements bearing upon the facts in the case:

"By act of March 3, 1875, Congress re-appropriated \$534,147.23 for the payment of 'bounty to volunteers, their widows and legal heirs,' and \$597,428.40 for 'pay of two and three-year volunteers,' and by act of May 1, 1876, a further re-appropriation of \$609,946.89 for the pay of two and three-year volunteers."

"The 5th section of the act of June 20, 1874 (18 Stat., 110), requires That from and after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and seventy-four, and of each year thereafter, the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause all unexpended balances of appropriations, which shall have remained upon the books of the treasury for two fiscal years, to be carried to the surplus fund and covered into the treasury."

"Under this requirement the unexpended balances of the re-appropriation referred to were carried to the surplus fund on June 29, 1877, and June 30, 1878.

"The section of law just referred to also provides that the Secretary of the Treasury shall, at the beginning of each session, report to Congress any balances of appropriations for specific objects affected thereby that may need to be appropriated. This provision was repealed by the 4th section of the act of June 14, 1878 (20 Stat., 130), and in lieu thereof it was made the duty of the several accounting officers of the Treasury to continue to receive, examine, and consider the justice and validity of all claims under appropriations, the balances of which have been exhausted or carried to the surplus fund under the provisions of the act of June 20, 1874, and certify the same to the Secretary of the Treasury who shall report the amount due each claimant at the commencement of each session, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who shall lay the same before Congress for consideration.

"The reports required to be made by this section were transmitted to Congress on January 16, 1879, and January 16, 1880 (see House Executive Documents No. 30, Forty-fifth Congress, 3d session, and No. 29, Forty-sixth Congress, 2d session). The amounts embraced in the former report were appropriated for at the last session of Congress, and have been paid by this Department. Upon the latter report no action has yet been taken by Congress.

"Having strictly adhered to the requirements of law in these matters, the Department might with propriety have gone no further, but anticipating that dissatisfaction and complaint on the part of claimants would inevitably follow the suspension of payments on account of arrears of pay and bounty, the Second Auditor, in whose office these accounts are adjusted, was instructed to submit to the Secretary of War, as the proper officer having jurisdiction in the premises, estimates of amounts that would be required to pay additional claims as follows:

"On May 8, 1878, for payment of claims to be certified up to June 30, 1880, \$420,082.48.

"On March 20, 1879, for payment of claims to be certified up to June 30, 1880, \$225,000.

"On March 27, 1880, for payment of claims to be certified up to June 30, 1881, \$265,000.

"These estimates (copies of which are enclosed) were duly transmitted to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives on May 10, 1878, April 21, 1879, and April 1, 1880, respectively and were referred to the proper committee. They were also printed by order of the Senate, and are to be found in Senate Executive Documents No. 76, Forty-fifth Congress, 2d session; No. 17, Forty-sixth Congress, 1st session, and No. 126, Forty-sixth Congress, 2d session.

"As Congress has taken no action on these estimates, the inquiry as to the cause of delay in paying the bounty and back pay found to be due to the soldiers and other persons entitled thereto would seem to be sufficiently answered.

"Very respectfully,

JOHN SHERMAN,
"Secretary."

It will thus be seen that the delay grows partly out of a Democratic law, passed by a Democratic Congress, which the Secretary dare not attempt to set aside, and partly to the inaction of the Democratic Congress on the estimates.

More Democratic delay—The case in a nutshell.

Yet, after all this, it was the 16th of June, 1880, when the appropriation was at last passed. Thus, owing to the peculiar provisions of this Democratic law, and the sluggish action of the Confederate Congress, the delay in this case covered nearly one year! To restate the case in a nutshell:

First—Congress enacts that all moneys remaining on hand after two years shall be turned into the treasury by the 30th of June; a wise and salutary measure.

Second—The Democratic majority legislate so as to cut off the two years' use allowed by the former act; so as to leave the Secretary without a cent available for bounty payments after the 30th of June.

Third—The same Democratic majority re-

quires that, instead of paying without delay, the Secretary shall send the list of amounts due to Congress, to await the slow action of committees, the drag of protracted debates, and the uncertain chances of final consideration and passage.

Fourth—Having thus contrived, by an ingenuity worthy of nobler ends, to insure a delay of from eight to twelve months before the money can be paid, the same Democratic majority come forward, and through Mr. Coffroth as their mouth-piece, want to know why the Secretary "permits these claims to remain unpaid!"

Coffroth's Democratic "cant" exposed—The delays all Democratic.

Perhaps the most outrageous thing in Coffroth's canting resolution is the imputation of a delay, assumed to be willful on the part of the Secretary, of from six to twelve months before asking an appropriation. Nobody knew better than Mr. Coffroth, that between the 30th of June, when the fiscal year expires, and the meeting of Congress in December, a delay of five months must occur by the very terms of the Democratic law; that scarcely does that body come together and organize its committees than it adjourns over the Christmas holidays, so that it is usually the middle of January before the legislative work is actually begun; and on the 16th of January, 1879 and 1880, the Secretary laid his reports before the Speaker. Thus, at the least calculation, between the "Democratic law's delay" and the tardiness of Democratic Congressional business, nearly seven months must elapse before the subject gets before the proper committee (this year it was referred on the 26th of January); and, after that, it is usually the end of the session when it is disposed of. The delay during the recess, forced on the Secretary by Democratic law, is thus continued by Democratic Congressional inaction till nearly or quite a year has passed since the soldiers and widows' claims have been audited and allowed.

But to complete the story of Democratic responsibility, there is more to be said: Early in May, 1878, while the Democrats in Congress were maturing the plan for crippling the bounty payments, and more than a month before the act was passed, Secretary Sherman directed the Second Auditor, whose business it is to settle and pay bounty claims, to submit to the Secretary of War estimates of amounts that would be required to pay additional claims, it being the province of the Secretary of War to submit such estimates to Congress. The estimate (\$420,082.48 to pay claims certified up to June 30, 1879) was duly transmitted to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives on the 10th of May, 1878. So that when Congress passed the act of June 14, 1878, it had all the facts in its hands, and the Democratic majority was without excuse for its action. Nor is this all. Twice since have similar estimates been sent to Congress: one on the 21st of April, 1879, for \$225,000, and one on March 27, 1880, for \$265,000. Thus, three times has Secretary Sherman, though not required by law to do so, called the attention of

Congress to the necessities of the case, and asked for the requisite appropriation to prevent that very delay, which Congressman Coffroth attempts, by his cunningly-devised resolution, to saddle on the Secretary's shoulders. And what has Congress, under the sway of the Democracy, done with these estimates? They have been referred to committees, and the Senate has actually ordered them printed! The soldiers and soldiers' widows and orphans ask for justice, and the answer is a printer's bill! They clamor for bread, and are fed by a — resolution! There the estimates sleep in the committee rooms, while Congressman Coffroth, uttering the voice of the Democracy, wants to know why the Secretary of the Treasury doesn't ask for appropriations!

How \$114,879, asked for to meet already adjusted claims was omitted by the House, cut down to \$100,000 in the Senate, and struck out by the Democratic Conference Committee altogether!

A curious instance of the pretended solicitude of the Democratic leaders in Congress for the well-being of Union soldiers and their heirs, occurred during this very session, shortly after Mr. Coffroth's insincere resolution was presented. On the 3d day of June, 1880, the Second Auditor reported to the Secretary of the Treasury that the sum of \$114,879.83 was needed to meet claims adjusted since the 1st of January. The Secretary promptly laid the matter before Congress, and it was referred to the appropriation committees. The House committee omitted the appropriation from their report. In the Senate committee the amount was curtailed to \$100,000; and the bill being finally submitted to a conference committee, of which Senator Beck, of Kentucky, and Representative J. H. Blount, of Georgia, were the chief managers on the part of the Senate and House respectively, was reported for passage with the *entire sum asked for struck out!* And this, it appears from Senator Beck's remarks in explanation, was done at the instance of the managers from the House, whose chairman was General Blount, of Georgia, one of the rebel generals whom clemency and the shot-gun policy of the South have placed in control of the legislation of the loyal American people! [*Congressional Record, June 16, 1880.*]

Application of an ex-rebel soldier for bounty!

On July 16, 1880, Robert Hanna, an ex-rebel soldier, who had previously filed his application in the Pension Office (see part of this chapter for a verbatim copy of it) for a pension, made application in due form to the Second Auditor of the Treasury, at Washington, for bounty under the bounty acts of 1861 and 1866. He certifies that he is the identical Robert Hanna who was a private in Company G of the 15th Regiment South Carolina Volunteers, Confederate States of America, and was discharged at Lynchburg by reason of wounds. The application bears the signatures of witnesses and the official signature and seal of J. H. Keels, clerk of the court of Williamsburg County, S. C.

PART II.

Pensions — Democratic Opposition — Representatives Beltzhoover and Ryon prove it.

There is considerable complaint all over the country because of the length of time between the making of applications for pensions and action upon the same by the Pension office—whether the case be for invalid pensions, arrearages, or what not. This delay, also, as in the matter of bounties, heretofore referred to, lies entirely at the door of a Democratic Congress, which will not grant the necessary clerical force to put the business more rapidly through, nor the money wherewith to pay them. The plain truth of the whole matter is that the Democratic Congress has inherited a legacy of hate for the Union soldier, and while it would pretend to love him just before an important election in order to catch his vote, the moment it is over—should Hancock be elected or counted in—they would fling him aside like a piece of waste paper. It needs but little evidence, in addition to that already given, to prove this. Take for instance the **Democratic opposition to the bill voting arrears of pensions.**

This bill was introduced April 2, 1878, into the House of Representatives, in the second session of the Forty-fifth Congress, by Hon. Henry J. B. Cummings, of Iowa. and in the same session, June 19, 1878, it was passed in the House—yeas 164, nays 61. The negative vote was exclusively Democratic and, with three exceptions, Southern, as follows:

NAYS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Blount, Boone, Bright, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, J. B. Clarke, Cook, Cravens, Crittenden, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Durham, Eichhoff, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Felton, Forney, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, Hooker, House, Hunton, J. T. Jones, Knott, Ligon, Mayham, McKenzie, Mills, Muldrow, Phelps, Pridemore, Reagan, Riddle, Robbins, Scales, Schleicher, O. R. Singleton, W. E. Smith, Steele, Throckmorton, Vance, Whitthorne, J. Williams, A. S. Willis, Yates—61.

And to show that that legacy of hate continues to the present moment, witness the *thoroughly proved up* letters written by two Northern Democratic Representatives to Pennsylvania constituents, in which one of them, the Hon. F. E. Beltzhoover, Democratic Congressman from the Nineteenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, declines (April 23, 1880) to introduce and urge the passage of a Pension bill, because, "with the present Democratic House pension bills do not have much favor . . . and the rebel general who is at the head of the Pension Committee in the Senate is still more averse to allowing any such bills to pass;" while the other, the Hon. J. W. Ryon, Representative in Congress from the Schuylkill District of Pennsylvania, also declares in a letter to the same person that "the present House is averse to allowing claims for services rendered in support of the United States during the late war."

The Beltzhoover Letter to Mr. Curriden.
Following is the letter of Representative Beltzhoover:

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., April 23, 1880.

"DEAR SIR: Your favor was received. I would most

cheerfully introduce and urge the passage of a bill such as you suggest, but with the present Democratic House pension bills do not have much favor. It has become almost impossible to get consideration of such a bill at all, and when considered its chance of passing the House is very remote, and the rebel general who is at the head of the Pension Committee in the Senate is still more averse to allowing any such bills to pass. It would not be at all probable, therefore, that the bill will be got through. I will confer with your brother. If he thinks there is anything in the matter, I will very cordially act in the matter. Very truly,

"E. W. CURRIE, Esq."

"F. E. BELTZHOVER."

Another Beltzhoover Letter to Mr. Minnick.

Following is another, like unto the first:

"CARLISLE, Penn., August 14, 1880.

"MR. J. A. C. MINNICK, York, Penn.

"The bill of Mrs. — is pending before the Committee on Pensions of the House. I do not think the claim has been finally rejected by the Pension Office. The bill will be finally disposed of next session. The last one was a very bad one for pensions.

"Very truly, F. E. BELTZHOVER."

Representative Ryon's Letter to Mr. Minnick.

Following is a letter from Mr. Minnick, addressed to the York (Pa.) *Evening Dispatch* of September 6, 1880:

"Why it is that the publication of letters from the Hon F. E. Beltzhoover, with reference to the difficulty of obtaining favorable action in Congress on pension and other military claims in behalf of the late Union soldiers or their representatives, should cause such a stir among Democrats, is a question that every loyal veteran should ask before he makes up his mind to vote in favor of the 'change' asked by that party.

"The honorable member from that district is not the only one of his party that has admitted those facts. The Hon. J. W. Ryon, from the Schuylkill District, in a communication sent me after his failure to have a meritorious measure in behalf of a soldier passed, admitted that 'the present House is averse to allowing claims for services rendered in support of the United States during the late war,' although he favored and did all he could in support of the claim, which was substantiated by conclusive evidence of some of the best citizens of his district.

"In a communication I received from Mr. Beltzhoover on the 19th ult., in reference to a claim for pension now pending, he admits 'that the last session was a very bad one for pensions,' and such frank admissions, or the publication thereof, are certainly more to the credit of those gentlemen than against them, although not so with the majority of their colleagues on the same side of the House.

"J. A. C. MINNICK, Pension Claim Agent."

In the New York *Tribune*, September 10, 1880, fac-similes and affidavits of the genuineness of these letters places the proof of their authenticity beyond all question.

There are, at this moment, hundreds of such pension bills held back in the Confederate committee rooms of both Houses of Congress without action.

PART III.

Democratic Love for the Rebel Soldier—Attempted Legislation in his behalf—Rebel Soldiers Applying for Pensions, etc.

Not only have the Confederates in Congress thus shown their hatred of the Union soldier, but in more ways than one have they shown their love for the Confederate soldier.

Confederate threats.

Blackburn, of Kentucky, said truly as to the intentions, at least, of the Confederate Democratic party, in a speech made in the House,

April, 1879: "It is this organization (the Democratic) that has come back to rule, and that means to rule," and again: "For the first time in eighteen years past the Democracy is back in power in both branches of this Legislature, and she proposes to signalize her return to power. She proposes to celebrate her recovery of her long-lost heritage by tearing off these degrading badges. We do not intend to stop until we have stricken the last vestige of your war measures from the statute book."

Attempting to put rebels in the army and to pay pensions to Confederate soldiers.

Referring to these threats, Hon. Wm. McKinley, of Ohio, April, 18, said:

"They have already entered upon their unholy work; they are engaged in it now. Only the other day, and while the Army bill was being considered, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Tucker], one of the able and distinguished men of this House, proposed an amendment, repealing Section 1118 of the United States Statutes. What is the section the repeal of which he demands? Let me read it:

"No persons who have served in any capacity in the military, naval, or civil service of the so-called Confederate States, or of either of the States in insurrection during the late rebellion, shall be appointed to any position in the army of the United States."

"The army list is to be opened and revised, so that men who served in the Confederate army, who for four years fought to destroy this Government, shall be placed upon that list as commissioned officers. Ay, more, the men who were in our army before the war as commissioned officers, who were educated at the public expense, who took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and when the nation was threatened with danger resigned their commissions and forsook the flag, are to be eligible for re-appointment to that army again. Are we quite ready for this?

"This is not all. On the 13th of February, 1878, the Chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions of the Forty-fifth Congress [Mr. Rice] reported to the House with the sanction of a majority of that committee, a bill repealing Section 4716 of the United States Statutes. Let me read the section to be repealed:

"No money on account of pension shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs, of any deceased person who in any manner voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States."

"And the same bill contained the following affirmative legislation:

"SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and is hereby, authorized and required to restore to the pension roll the names of all invalid pensioners now living who were stricken therefrom on account of disloyalty, and pay them pensions from the 25th day of December, 1868, at the rate which they would have been entitled to had they not been dropped from the pension roll."

"These are some of the war measures which are to be 'wiped out' from the statute book. These are some of the degrading badges which are to be torn off."

Confederate soldiers already applying for pensions as well as bounty—Thousands awaiting the election of Hancock—A specimen application.

Herewith is an exact, and as far as possible, a fac-simile copy (omitting the Acknowledgment before the Clerk of the Court, and the File Endorsement, which appear on the back of the original) of the application recently made to the Pension Office by a rebel soldier for a pension. There are thousands of such applications, involving millions of dollars, already made out and in the hands of pension claim agents at Washington, only awaiting the election of Hancock, which the rebels are so sure of.

[FAC-SIMILE OF ORIGINAL COPY.]

SEE INSTRUCTIONS AT THE BOTTOM.

"A" Declaration for Original Invalid Pension. "A"

STATE OF *South Carolina*,
 COUNTY OF *Williamsburg*. } S. S.

On this *16th* day of *June*, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and *Eighty*, personally appeared before me, *J. H. Keels*, Clerk; the same being a Court of Record of the County and State aforesaid, *Robert Hanna*, a resident of _____ County of *Williamsburg*, State of *S. C.*, who being by me duly sworn according to law, on his solemn oath, deposes as follows, to wit:

"I am the identical *Robert Hanna* who was enrolled on the _____ day of *August*, *1861*, in Company *B* of the *15* Reg't of *South Carolina* *C. S. A.* Vol'a., commanded by Captain *McCutchen*, and I was honorably discharged at *Lynchburg, Va.*, on the *5* day of *Feb.*, *1865*, and my age is now *38* years. While in the service aforesaid, and in the line of my duty, I received the following disability, to wit:

I claim pension on account of wound of right arm rec'd Oct. 19, 1864, which caused the arm to be amputated to shoulder. The wound breaks out and I am seriously disabled thereby

I was treated at Lynchburg hospital.

I have never been employed in the Military or Naval Service of the United States otherwise than set forth above. Since leaving the Service, I have resided at *S. C.*, and my occupation has been *stock header*, before my entry into the Service aforesaid I was of good, sound physical health, being at enrollment a *farmer*, and I am now *very much* disabled from obtaining my subsistence by manual labor by reason of my disabilities above stated, received in the service of the United States, and I make this Declaration for the purpose of being placed on the Invalid Pension Roll of the United States. I hereby appoint and empower, with full power of substitution, *NATHAN W. FITZGERALD*, OF *WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.*, my true and lawful Attorney to prosecute my claim. My Post Office address is *Braham X Roads*, County of *Williamsburg*, State of *S. C.*

Attest: } *Louis Jacobs*,
 Two Witnesses. } *C. W. Arms*.

Robert ^{his} *Hanna*.
 mark.
 (Claimant's Signature.)

This Declaration MUST be made before some Clerk of a Court of Record. If acknowledged before a Notary or Justice, it will be worthless.

CHAPTER XII.

Recent Outrages in the "Solid South."

"It is this organization (the Democratic) that has come back to rule and that means to rule."—
Hon. J. C. Blackburn, Ky.

PART I.

Political Assassination in the South—Ghastly Record of Twenty Thousand Crimes—The way a "Solid South" was secured.

The country is familiar with many of the most infamous occurrences in the South, during the period from the close of the war to the last Presidential election, in which it has been shown by official investigation, that twenty thousand persons — mostly colored — were killed, maimed, or cruelly beaten, for the purpose of intimidating them from the exercise of their civil and political rights.

Democratic "excuse" for these crimes.

While the Democratic party at the South, in whose service these crimes were committed, claimed that this wholesale killing and whipping was necessary, the Northern wing denied their commission until denial was no longer possible, and then "excused" them on the ground of the natural indisposition of the respectable people of the South to be outvoted by "scalawags, carpet-baggers and niggers." It was said that when the Democrats should get control of the Government of all the Southern States, all outrages would cease in them and the colored people would be petted like favorite children.

The Solid South secured.

The North, only partially understanding the situation, because it was to the interest of Democratic politicians to misrepresent and excuse it, at last became wearied of the matter, and tacitly acquiesced in the verdict of the shot-gun, by withholding the support that was necessary to maintain the laws of the Republican administrations South. The solid South was acknowledged as a necessity in 1877, with the hope that the promised reformation of its methods of intimidation would be accomplished.

The South on its honor.

The South was on its honor. Its white ruling class had no near danger to fear from the votes and opposition of its few white Republicans and many blacks. The question uppermost in the minds of the North was:—How would the South use its newly-gained power?

PART II.

Assassination and Intimidation in 1878—The Massacres in Louisiana—Five Men Hung in one lot for Attending a Republican Club—Seventy or Eighty Colored Men Killed in one parish—Reducing Republican Majorities.

It was supposed that the possession of absolute power in the State, accompanied with the great powers of the executive and legislative branches over local matters, would render bulldozing unnecessary in Louisiana after the accession of the Nicholls' administration. But the dominant party in the South was not willing that the Republicans of parishes, where they were in overwhelming majority, should fill any of the few elective offices to which they were entitled, nor be represented in the State Legislature, or in Congress, and the shot-gun and whip were accordingly, in 1878, again brought into service.

Bulldozing in Point Coupee Parish.

The investigation made by the Senate Committee showed that nearly all the active Republican leaders in this parish were whipped or run off before the election; that one colored man, in response to a demand to change his politics, said "he would rather die than throw a Democratic ballot," was taken out of his house and killed.

Five men hung to scare negroes.

A number of colored men were accused of attending Republican clubs, and the son of a Democratic candidate said to have been shot at. The Senate committee says of this:

"There was no evidence of the truth of these reports, either as to the firing or the meetings. But five black men were seized, tried by lynch law, and although such juries never give the prisoner the benefit of a doubt, as they are organized to convict, there were several of them who refused to concur in the sentence of death; nevertheless the five unfortunates were hanged. 'The next morning,' says Randall McGowan, 'Mr. Lewis said there were five men hung. I asked him what for? and he said Thomas Williams, a leader in the fourth ward, was about to organize his club; that it was about time for us to go into the campaign; and those boys appeared that night * * * They said they did these things to scare the negroes, so that they might carry the election.'"—[Senate Report, 855, 1879, page 19.]

Six men hung in Concordia Parish.

Armed bodies of men rode through the parish, whipping and hanging enough to "scare the negroes." The coroner testified that he held inquests on the bodies of six men, who had been taken from their homes and hanged; and there were several others who had been hung and killed who were not thus officially recognized.

Wholesale murder in Tensas Parish.

This parish was overrun by Ku-Klux parties, often from adjoining parishes, as it was necessary to wipe out its vote to save the Congressional district. The following is from the official record:

"Alfred Fairfax lived near Waterproof, in the lower part of the parish. On Saturday night, about 8 or 9 o'clock, a band of armed men, variously estimated at from twenty-five to thirty, went to the house of Fairfax. They were under the command of one J. S. Peck, who lived in the Congressional district, but not in the parish. A portion of the force remained in the road, and Peck and a few others invaded the house of Fairfax, who, on their entrance, fled out of the back door followed by bullets from Peck's pistol. A young colored man by the name of Singleton, who was in the house, was shot by Peck; and as he lay on the floor several others shot him also. He subsequently died. A man by the name of Branch crawled under the bed, but was pulled out and shot through the arm and in the back. He was before the committee, and will be a cripple for life. One Kennedy, who ran to the window, was shot from the outside by buckshot and dangerously wounded. Several women in the house made their escape. It appears that when the firing began in the house the men outside fired into the house through the windows. Peck, during the excitement that followed, went out of the house, and was killed, as near as can be ascertained on the gallery, by his own men who were firing in the house."—[Senate Report, 1856, p. 14.]

Five hundred Ku-Klux—Seventy to eighty colored men killed.

"It was in evidence before the committee that not less than 500 armed white men came into Tensas parish from Franklin, Catahoula, Concordia, and other parishes between the 12th of October and election day. In addition to these, a company came from Mississippi, bringing with them a cannon; but that company appears not to have been guilty of any outrages.

"While these armed bodies were raiding the parish, the colored people were greatly excited, and very many fled to the woods. One witness swore that four men from his plantation died from exposure in the swamps, and that all the colored labor was for a time almost useless to the planters. It is impossible to say how many colored people lost their lives through this campaign. One witness gave the names of fifteen killed and two wounded; and this list did not include those who died from exposure; nor does it include the killed in the adjoining parish of Concordia, which Governor Nicholls says was eight. One witness swears that he thinks seventy to eighty were killed."—[P. 16, same report.]

The Caledonia massacre.

At Caledonia, Caddo parish, the colored people turned out largely in spite of the previous bulldozing in the parish. On the pretense that there were arms stored in a house near, belonging to a colored man who was distributing tickets at the polls, an attack was made on the house when no one was in it but the man's wife and daughter. A general attack was then made on the colored people, and during the day and night twenty colored people were killed—no wounded and no prisoners. No whites killed. Yet it was called the "quelling of a desperate riot."

U. S. witnesses murdered.

Two men who had witnessed the opening of the above massacre, were subpoenaed to attend the U. S. Court to certify in regard to it. On the 21st day of December, when, in obedience to the subpoenas, they took the steamer Danube for New Orleans. The next morning, when some distance below Caledonia, the boat was run into the shore at an unusual landing-place, and a gang of armed men came on the boat and, under cover of a warrant in the hands of a negro constable named Jeff. Cole, took the witnesses, White and Clark, from the boat. The warrant has date November 12, and was issued by a justice of the peace at Shreveport. The two witnesses were taken off of the boat in the manner before stated; and the sequel can be better told in the language of the constable, who made an affidavit before the United States commissioner. He says, after detailing the arrest (page 605): "At a point near Tone's Bayou, in the woods, he was met by a party of armed men, masked and without coats or shoes, all of whom were unknown to him, who told him to leave the road, which he did. He left the prisoners with them, and does not know what became of them afterward." Nothing has been heard of these men since that time.—[Ib., pp. 9, 10.]

The effect on the vote.

In Caddo parish, where the Republican majority vote had been over three thousand, the vote was, under these circumstances, only 279. There was a similar reduction in the other bulldozed parishes.

PART III.

Outrages During 1880—Intimidation in Alabama—Even White Opposition to Democracy not to be Tolerated—Greenback Speakers Subjected to Violence—Republican Meetings Broken up—Masked Men and Ku-Klux Outrages in Georgia—Violence and Bloodshed in Mississippi.

The newspapers of the South have generally stopped publishing the details of outrages on the colored people, and the suppression of public meetings, and the news of what is going on in that section mainly dribbles through the chance statements of persons from there, and letters from individuals to friends or papers in the North.

Suppression of public meetings in Alabama.

The first Republican meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, to ratify the nomination of Garfield and Anthur was broken up by a mob. Afterwards another meeting was called for June 26, at which Ex-Senator Warner, Ex-Governor Parsons, and other distinguished gentlemen were to speak. General Warner writes of it as follows:

"While General Burke was speaking the hooting and howling began, and the following speeches of Messrs. Parsons and Reid, and the reading of the resolutions were rendered inaudible to nine-tenths of the people present, and by the most vociferous howling and yelling. Eggs were also thrown but failed to reach the stand. The Democratic Sheriff of the county mounted the stand and appealed to his Democratic friends to desist, but his appeal had little effect."

Greenbackers mobbed.

Gen. Weaver, greenback candidate for the presidency, who made several speeches in Alabama before the election, on his return was interviewed by a reporter at Wheeling, with this result:

"He (Gen. Weaver) said that in the stories of bulldozing and frauds in elections in the South the half has not been told. He says that General West, of Mississippi, told him at Selma that if General Hancock were elected such an impetus would be given to the spirit of hatred and intolerance for Republicans in the South, that he (West) did not believe he could live in Mississippi a day. A week before General Weaver spoke at Montgomery a Republican meeting had been broken up by a mob, and after the speakers, one of whom was General Burke, Collector of Customs at Mobile, had been driven from the stand, the Democratic Solicitor of Montgomery mounted it and shouted: 'G—d d—n them, they can out-vote us, but we will count them out every time.' This information General Weaver had on unimpeachable testimony."

Ordered out of town.

Hon. J. H. Randall, who had a number of appointments in the State, had some of his meetings broken up by mobs, and was himself threatened with death if he did not leave town. The following note was served on him at Shubuta, a small town on the Mississippi line. We quote from Mr. Randall's statement in the *National View*:

"We took the note, written on a leaf torn from a pocket memorandum, and read as follows:

"AUGUST —, 1880.

"DEAR SIR—We will give you and your pard thirty-five minutes to pick up your duds and git out of this town.

Yours to death,

"THE BOYS OF SHUBUTA."

"Do you mean to tell me that an American law-abiding citizen on the way to attend to his business can not stay in this town to take the first train of cars going South?"

M. B. D.—"We know you, and you can't stay. You must go to the next station."

"Who gives this order?"

M. B. D.—"The Boys of Shubuta. Your time is passing. You'd better get right along, or you'll catch hell."

"You don't mean that they will lay rough hands on me, a peaceable citizen?"

M. B. D.—"You'd better get out of here while you have a chance."

Mr. Randall also says, writing of Alabama:

"God help this country, if it cannot be rescued from their bulldozing and domineering away! One of the citizens of Butler, a peaceable man, expressed an opinion against voting for the Sheriff, the present incumbent, and a Democrat, when that gentleman and another attacked him, and gave him such a pounding as has rendered him unfit for business for several days."

Speaker silenced for referring to the infamous lien laws.

Hon. Winfield S. Bird, of Green County, Alabama, Chairman of the Republican Committee of the Sixth Congressional District, writes to the *Cincinnati Commercial*:

"On the 10th day of July, I went to the town of Pleasant Ridge, in this county, to make a Republican speech. Soon after I began a crowd of white Demo-

crats, several with open knives and large sticks in their hands, came up and immediately began to interrupt me, so that I could scarcely utter two sentences without interruption. I remonstrated, assuring them that they were injuring their own cause by such a course, and distinctly announcing to them that I did not desire to array one race against the other, but simply to break down the white line race issue raised by the Democratic party. And yet, while reading a letter, published on the 14th of August, 1879, in the *Eutaw Whig* (Democratic paper), I was stopped, forbidden by them to read said letter, and cursed and abused repeatedly in the vilest terms. And one of their party declared that they were all Democrats, and that I should not abuse the Democratic party. The accuracy of this statement is admitted by the *Eutaw Mirror*, another Democratic paper, published here, on July 20, 1880. But this is not all. They cursed my little seven-year-old boy, who stood dumb with fright before them. Moreover, I was obliged to desist in my effort to speak, and was assured by Mr. Horton, an aged gentleman, that I was in great personal danger, and but for his protection, I am fully satisfied that I should have sustained serious, if not fatal, injury. The aforesaid newspaper, the *Mirror*, in commenting on the affair, says: 'That which seems to have given most offense, was a statement Mr. Bird is said to have made, to the effect that the Democrats lay in the shade all the year, and then created the negroes out of all they made.' Thereupon the editor indites a long leader, calculated to inflame the passions of men. But the charge against me is a miserable untruth. I simply read from the *Eutaw Whig* the following sentence: 'The effort seems to have been, with every recent Legislature, to so perfect the laws touching agriculture, that the monied man could shut his eyes and sleep the year out, and then gobble up all the laborers made.'"

Horrible Ku-Kluxing in Georgia—Boy and girl killed.

A letter from Atlanta, Georgia, under date of July 31, 1880, gives the following account of a recent case of Ku-Kluxing in that State:

"About a year ago, Joe Thompson, an aged and decrepit negro, was, with his family, employed in Fayette County, Ga., on the cotton plantation of John Gray. Thompson's son, a negro of sixteen years, was accused by his employer of the theft of a plow, and Gray, disregarding the ordinary and slow forms of justice, one day administered a horrible whipping to him in the fields. Thompson had Gray arrested on a charge of assault and battery, and so strong was the testimony against him, and so conclusive the evidence that the young negro was innocent of the theft, that Gray was found guilty, even before a Georgia jury, and a fine of one hundred dollars was imposed upon this castigator. Gray now threatened Thompson and his family with death, and the poor negro was, with his family, forced to leave his unharvested crop and flee to an adjoining county. He settled on a plantation two miles from Jonesboro', in Clayton county, and up to night before last lived there unmolested, winning for himself in the community a reputation for honesty and industry. In the above facts, an outrage in themselves, is found the only cause for a second outrage, one of the most horrible of all those that have occurred in the South since the emancipation.

"In a rude log cabin, about twelve feet square, night before last, Joe Thompson and his family—a wife, son, married daughter and her two children—huddled themselves together for a night's rest. About midnight the inmates of the rude cabin were startled from their sleep by the crashing in of the door. A score of armed men, with painted faces, hideous in disguise, bearing torches made of rags, saturated with kerosene, yelling like demons, thronged into the door. Four seized the aged father by arms and legs, threatening: 'G—d d—n you, we came here to give you a good thrashing,' and bore him towards the door; four others seized the son. The daughter, sleeping between her two children, raised up in bed, but a bullet went crashing through her skull, and she fell back a corpse, her warm blood spurting out in the faces of her innocent children. Meanwhile the father, ignorant of his daughter's death, had been borne out of doors into the field. Four men swung him from the ground by arms and legs, while a fifth administered the lash upon his face and body, lacerating him terribly. Near

by four others of the fiends held his son, while a similar barbarous torture was inflicted upon him, until finally, in his thirst for blood, one of the midnight assassins put a bullet through the young negro's body from side to side. Their hearts were still insatiate for blood. They re-entered the house, dragged Joe Thompson's aged and unoffending wife from her bed, and inflicted upon her a whipping no less brutal than that which they had just inflicted upon father and son. Yelling and waving their torches aloft, the assassins then departed, marking the path of their return by firing into a neighboring negro's house on their way."

Another case of Ku-Kluxing—A brave man defends himself.

The following dispatch, published in all the papers of August 28, 1880, tells of the unusual ending of a Ku-Klux outrage by the death of two of the outlaws.

"ATLANTA, GA., Aug. 27.—On Wednesday night near Cochran, Ga., four young white men disguised themselves, went to a negro cabin, broke down the door and commenced firing into it. The occupant, J. Brown, seized his double barreled gun, which was loaded with buckshot, and fired both barrels, killing two brothers named Dykes. The tops of their heads were blown off. The negro made his escape. The coroner's jury rendered a verdict of justifiable homicide."

A Mississippi election riot—Greenbackers killed.

A dispatch from Memphis, Tennessee, Aug. 22, 1880, shows that those who leave the Democratic party to form a new opposition, have no better showing than the old Republicans:

"A special election is to be held next Tuesday to fill a vacancy in the Sheriff's office, over which there was a contest at the last general election. The Democrats and Greenbackers have each a ticket in the field. Both parties held a ratification meeting at Coffeeville on Saturday. Each raised a pole. The Democrats had a brass band from Grenada, and after the pole raising marched through the streets. While passing a corner a difficulty occurred between one Spearman, who

was in the Democratic procession, and A. P. Pearson, Greenback candidate for Sheriff, which resulted in Pearson shooting Spearman, killing him instantly. This was the signal for a general melee, and a volley of shots was opened on Pearson who received three wounds, from the effects of which he died last night. Two of Pearson's friends—Kelly and Reddick—were wounded."

A dreadful Mississippi plot.

A correspondent of the *Memphis Appeal*, of August 9, 1880, says there is a plot forming among the Republicans of Mississippi to outvote the Democrats, and remarks:

"Such is the plan of the Radical managers, and they have hope, in fact they have assurances, that Southern Democrats will co-operate with them, in the garb, dress and paraphernalia of that political ignis fatuus, the National party, of which DENIS KEARNEY is the leader, the brains and capital. Awake! LET THE 'MISSISSIPPI PLAN' BE RESTORED * * * Mississippi has been assigned the duty of supplying two of the numbers required to reduce and destroy a Democratic majority in Congress. Will you submit? Can you stand idly, supinely, and witness the consummation of a gigantic conspiracy, in conception deeper and more poignant than the fraud of 1876? No—a thousand times, no. Then awake, STIR UP YOUR CLUBS, LET THE SHOUT GO UP. PUT ON YOUR RED SHIRTS and let the ride begin, or we will be sold into a political slavery, as was JOSEPH, without Divine favor to restore us to our heritage."

The state of reconciliation.

Similar occurrences and sentiments are reported from Texas, Tennessee, South Carolina and other Southern states, which show very little difference in the public feeling and practice in the South under a state of "reconciliation" from what it was in the days of "exasperation," when the authority of the Government was exerted to protect the freedman at the polls.

CHAPTER XIII.

Peonage in the South.

PART I.

Legislation of 1865-6—Slavery succeeded by Peonage—The Slave Code re-enacted—Congress obliged to set aside all the State Laws oppressing Freedmen.

After the close of the war the first legislatures which were chosen in the Southern States under the proclamation of President Johnson, admitting rebels generally to the polls, established codes of inhuman laws for the purpose of keeping the freedmen in a state of peonage, which only differed in a single respect from the state of slavery from which they had been delivered. They could not be sold or owned for life by private individuals, but they were put on the chain gang for trivial offenses, or contracted to the planters for months, and had no interest in the earnings of their labor.

Specimen Louisiana laws.

Chapter 11, Statutes of 1865, imposed heavy penalties for going on a plantation without the permission of the owner. Chapter 12 authorized justices of the peace to require any one charged with vagrancy to give a bond for one year. In case of his inability to do this, his services were sold for one year. If a laborer became dissatisfied with his employer, the latter would have him apprehended as a vagrant, and buy his time at a nominal sum, and acquire with the purpose the right to retain him by force. Chapter 20 imposed heavy penalties on any one employing a laborer previously engaged by some one else. Chapter 16 forbade "any one to feed or harbor any person who leaves his employer without permission." By this system of law, and similar ones were enacted in all the Southern States, it was sought to keep the freedmen from seeking higher wages away from home, and to compel them to contract for a year ahead at a season when there was the least demand for their labor.

The first Mississippi plan—Re-enactment of the slave code.

Long sentences on the chain gangs, or contracting prisoners to planters for their keeping during a long sentence for petty crimes, to which was added additional time for the costs of apprehension, were imposed in all the States. The legislature of Mississippi made a long matter short and comprehensive by sec. 4 of act of Nov. 25, 1865, providing that all penal and criminal laws of the "State defining offenses and prescribing the mode of punishment for crimes and misdemeanors committed by slaves, free negroes or mulattoes" should "be in full force and effect against freedmen." Thus the whole slave code was re-enacted.

Relief by Congress.

South Carolina by act of Oct. 19, 1865; Georgia, by act of March 26, 1866; Florida by act of Jan. 12, 1866, and Tennessee by act Jan. 26, 1866, were equally unjust to the freedman, and had not Congress interfered and annulled them, all the South would have been to all intents and purposes again a land of slaves.

PART II.

Legislation after Conciliation—

Getting back to the Slave Code— Five years in the Penitentiary for stealing a Sucking Pig—Not less than two years' hard labor for half a dozen roasting ears.

For several years after Congress had offered relief from these oppressive laws, and given protection to the enfranchised colored people, the legislation of the Southern States was just and humane. Under the specious pleas of home rule, and that the white people of the South were the best friends of the colored people, the North was induced to relax its vigilance and acquiesce in the "let alone policy," which enabled the Democratic leaders to revolutionize the South by the second "Mississippi plan."

More inhuman legislation.

Even the shot-gun, as an instrument of reform, was enulogized at the South and excused at the North, because it would afford their "best friends" an opportunity to manifest their paternal care for the "poor colored people." The first manifestation of paternal feeling in every State was in the immediate amendment of the criminal code, by which trivial offenses of colored people were ranked with the greater crimes of hardened criminals.

Getting back to the slave code.

In almost every Southern State it will be found that the legislation has steadily grown worse with each succeeding year, until, by the latest amendments of their penal and con-

tract laws, there is little difference between them and the infamous laws of 1865-6, which were abrogated by Congress.

Increasing the penalties for small crimes— Four years in the penitentiary for a pig.

By Section 4401 of the Revised Statutes of Georgia (page 794, revised code, 1873), hog stealing is made a misdemeanor, to be "punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars; imprisonment, not exceeding six months; to work in a chain gang, not to exceed twelve months."

By act of February 23, 1875 (page 26, Georgia Laws, 1875), section 4401 is amended to make it a felony punishable by not less than two nor more than four years in the penitentiary, to steal any animal of the hog kind.

The Mississippi code altered to discriminate against colored people.

By section 2652 of the Revised Statutes of Mississippi, 1871, "the felonious taking and carrying away of property of the value of twenty-five dollars, or more," was made grand larceny, to be punished by imprisonment "in the penitentiary for a term not exceeding five years."

By section 2653 the stealing of anything under the value of twenty-five dollars was made petit larceny, punishable by imprisonment in the "county jail, for a term not exceeding three months, or by a fine, not exceeding one hundred dollars; or by both such fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court."

This was the law before the successful institution of the "Mississippi plan" in 1875, and in accordance with legislation in the North. The first step then was to make it in many cases grand larceny, punishable by

Five years in the penitentiary for stealing one dollar.

By act approved April 5, 1876, "to amend sections 2652 and 2653 of the Revised code of 1871," ten dollars was made the limit between grand and petit larceny, leaving the other provisions of the sections as they were with the addition of the following proviso to the first [see page 52, Laws of Miss., 1876]:

"Provided, That it shall be grand larceny to feloniously steal any hog, pig, shoat, cow, calf, yearling, steer, bull, sheep, lamb, goat or kid, of the value of one dollar or more, and shall be punished in like manner."

Five years in the penitentiary for a lamb.

That is, a penalty of five years in the penitentiary is meted out for stealing a sucking pig or lamb.

The discrimination against colored people.

While ten dollars is made the lowest limit of grand larceny with property generally, those offenses of petty pilfering which mainly constitute the crimes of the colored people are excepted; and they are sentenced to five years hard labor for stealing one dollar. With them

pilfering is grand larceny; and the only thing necessary to make the "Mississippi plan" perfect in its way is the addition of chickens to shoats, lambs and kids.

The infamous Alabama law.

The Legislature of Alabama have refined on the Mississippi plan so far as to add to the provision making the stealing of any kind of domestic animal grand larceny without regard to its value, a half dozen roasting ears or a pound of cotton. The following is from acts of 1874-'75, p. 260: "An act to amend section 8706 of the Revised Code :

"Any person who steals any horse, mare, gelding, colt, filly, mule, jack, jenny, cow or animal of the cow kind, hog, sheep, goat, or any part of any outstanding crop of corn or cotton, and any personal property other than that hereinbefore enumerated, exceeding twenty-five dollars in value, is guilty of grand larceny, and must, on conviction, be imprisoned in the penitentiary, or sentenced to hard labor for the county, for not less than two nor more than five years."

By the application of the landlord lien law, referred to hereafter, this provision can be enforced against a man who takes a mess of roasting ears of his own raising, before he has paid the landlord all claims for rent and advances.

PART III.

The contract system—Criminals of low degree worked for years on legal slave gangs—Laborers, not dangerous Criminals, wanted—Barbarous cases in Texas and Mississippi.

By section three of the act of March 2, 1875 (page 96, Laws of Mississippi, 1875), the county commissioners are authorized to "contract with any responsible person for the maintenance of any prisoners in the county jail, and who are under sentence of any court, in compensation for their labor." And "all persons contracting for the services of prisoners under this act shall have the same powers, privileges, and control of prisoners as are now vested in persons who contract and employ prisoners confined in the penitentiary."

A charge as good as conviction.

By the preceding act, persons charged with crime and unable to give bail were allowed to elect whether they would work with the other prisoners; but by the refinement which comes of experience, the act was amended in 1878, as follows :

"That in any county in which there shall be a contractor for keeping prisoners, if any person committed to the jail for an offense that is bailable, shall not consent to be committed to the safe keeping and custody of the said contractor, and to work for the same under the provisions of this act, such prisoner

shall be entitled to receive from the common jailor, as diet for each day, only six ounces of bacon, or ten ounces of beef, and one pound of bread and water. * * * And if said prisoner be afterward convicted he shall nevertheless work under the said contractor a sufficient term to pay all costs of prosecution, including the regular jail fees for keeping and feeding him during his entire confinement."

Thus the vaguest suspicion against a colored man may be made as profitable to the contracting ring as poof of his guilt, for between the alternatives of work or semi-starvation, there are few who will not choose the first.

Colored men the only victims of the law.

The prevalence of this system is one of the most common reasons assigned by colored people for the exodus from the South to Northern States.

The laws of all the States where it prevails except dangerous criminals—the class of criminals who are confined in penitentiaries in Northern States—from its operation. These would not be safe and profitable as laborers on railroads or cotton plantations, and are kept within the walls of the prisons. White criminals of this class may also be convicted and confined in the penitentiary; but the corresponding class with most of the colored men who are made the victims of the contract system, are not punished at all. A witness on the Democratic side from one of the largest counties of Mississippi, a county officer for seven years, testified that a great many colored people were contracted out at every term of the court, and admitted that he had never known of one white man being so hired out [p. 535, part 3 of the *Senate Report*, 693, 1880]. Similar testimony was given in regard to Texas [p. 415].

To be transported to other counties.

Alabama having come into the hands of the Democrats, similar contract laws were passed in 1873, with a restriction that the prisoners should not be contracted or taken out of the county. The restriction did not suit a system which might render it desirable to send its victims out of reach of their friends, and by the act of March 20, 1875, this prohibition of the former act is repealed.

The contract system in Georgia shocks the Christian world.

The contract system also prevails in Georgia [Laws of 1876, pp. 40-45], and a sentence to the penitentiary is a sentence to a system so cruel and inhuman that the hints of its details which have reached the public during the past few years, have shocked the moral sense of the Christian world.

The authorities of counties are in like manner authorized to hire out all criminals who are not sentenced to the penitentiary, or employ them on public works. [Laws of Georgia, 1874, p. 24.]

Steady growth of the evil.

Previous to the passage of this act, they were only employed upon public works—

roads and railroads mostly—but under the system of extending the punishments of petty crimes, there were not public works enough in the State to employ them all, and the "Mississippi plan" of turning them over to private capital was adopted.

The profits of the system.

The profits are so great and the opprobrium so slight in the State, that a United States Senator was one of the largest contractors, until exposure of the system and his connection therewith to the public in the Northern States compelled him to dispose of his interest in it. Slavery was equally profitable to certain classes of owners, and no more destructive of the honor and welfare of the State.

The system universal in the South.

The contract system is universal in the South; and its barbarity might be illustrated by citations from the laws of all the States; but the foregoing will do, and is all that space can be spared for.

The cost of costs.

The costs of arrest and conviction are also taxed against the convict, and when the penalty itself is comparatively light, these costs amount to months of servitude.

The Texas practice.

An emigrant from Texas to Kansas testified before the Exodus Committee as follows in regard to some of the causes of the desire of the colored people to leave the former State:

The lawyer's fees worked in.

"When a man gets intoxicated or plays a game of cards, he is tried before the county judge and fined, and the courts work in the lawyer's fee, until the whole thing amounts up to sixty-five, seventy-five or one hundred dollars."

Three years servitude for carrying a six-shooter.

"A man who was arrested in Milam county for carrying a six-shooter was fined sixty-five dollars; I think the costs and lawyer's fees amounted to sixty-five dollars. o o o. He was at work all last year, and the year before last, and the year before that again."

A quarter of a cent a day.

"A colored woman was arrested (in Matagorda county) and the judge hired her out at a quarter of a cent a day."—Q. To work out how much of a fine? A. I think thirty dollars."

Working under shot-guns.

"They call these people county convicts. I know some of these men who have convicts that they hire, and they are under the supervision of a sergeant with a gun and nigger-hounds. * * * They hire them and put them in the same gang with the striped suits on, and if they want, the guard can bring them down with his shot-gun" [pp. 414, 415].

A Mississippi case of costs.

"In Pontotoc county Horace Wilder (colored) was sent to the penitentiary for eighteen months for stealing a pig valued at \$1.50. He had just finished his term of service and the superintendent asked for the cost of prosecution. The circuit clerk certified the amount to be the enormous sum of \$74.85—the net expense of prosecuting a colored lad for stealing a pig worth a dollar and a half. At twenty-five cents a day he will be required to work three hundred days."—[Home Rule in the Solid South, page 5.]

PART IV.

The sweeping Landlord Lien Laws—A man cannot sell his crop in open market—The Landlord has choice of all practical re-enslavement of the colored tenants—Democratic Senatorial opinion—The Laws "appear hard on the surface."

A system of liens on the crops for rent, food and supplies, has been devised which keeps the colored men in debt, and compels them to sacrifice their crops to the landlord for whatever he chooses to allow.

Cannot sell or use his own crop.

No matter how good an opportunity he may have to sell part of his crop, the tenant cannot sell a bushel of corn, or a roast pig until the landlord is paid, without making himself liable to some of the special laws against him noted in the preceding chapter. He has to turn the crop over to the landlord altogether, and trust to his generosity for a remnant for his family.

The South Carolina law.

The landlord has a lien on one third of the crop of the renter for rent, without any contract, and may take a lien and all by contract. [Acts S. C., 1878, p. 411, secs. 5 and 6.]

The colored tenant having been stripped by the liens of one year has not food and supplies ahead for the next, and must sign a contract giving his landlord control of all or starve.

The Georgia law—Landlord takes all without the formality of a contract.

By the Revised Statutes of 1873, page 346, landlords have a lien, on the crop, and also all other property of the tenant, for rent. By contract landlords or storekeepers have a lien on the crops and all a man's property—on all articles of any kind furnished. The act, approved February 25, 1875 provides that "the liens of landlords shall arise by operation of law from the relation of landlord and tenant." [Laws of Georgia, 1875, page 20.]

The tendency of these laws is to keep the poor colored people, who are dependent upon the landowners for supplies, to raise a crop in a state of constant peonage. This is one of the most common reasons assigned for the exodus, by those seeking homes in

the North. While they do the work the landlord takes the crop.

Progression in evil.

The foregoing are fair samples of the tenant laws in all the Southern States. As the conservatives became assured that their control of the legislative was permanent, they regularly eliminated all the just and merciful features of the laws, until they have reached their present tyrannical form and made universal the barbarous practices which are making the States, nominally free, really slave.

Outrageous prices exacted.

Under the operation of the law the most outrageous extortions are practised on the colored people. They are charged an annual rental of from five to ten dollars an acre—often more than the land itself will bring if sold in fee simple. They are charged double for bran, corn, meal, &c., that the same may be had for from the storekeeper who would also pay them a fair price for their produce. But with the landlord's lien covering everything, they can neither sell nor buy except at his pleasure and to his profit.

"Only hard on the surface."

Senators Voorhees, Vance, and Pendleton, in their report to the Senate on the recent exodus from the South, admit that "the landlord class, for their own protection, procured the passage of the laws giving them a lien

upon the crop made by the tenant," and that "upon the surface these laws appeared to be hard." Yet the committee thought them among the most beneficent of provisions for the blacks.

The thousands of colored people striving to get away from their operation seem to think differently—that the laws are hard to the core.

Bad men in spite of such good laws.

"Your committee regret to say that they found it to be frequently the case that designing men, or bad and dishonest men, would take advantage of the ignorance or necessity of the negroes." [P. 6, *Senate Report*, 693, 1880.]

The committee then proceeds to argue that bad men exist everywhere, but ignores the fact that bad men elsewhere are bad in violation of law, while in the case under consideration the law seems to have been made for bad men; to give them greater facilities for inhumanity.

The system breeds bad men.

Before the war all the cruelties of slavery were laid on bad men and the overseers. Slavery made these classes, and all its laws were made to protect them in villainy by the good men who reaped the greater part of the profit. So at the present time the lien laws of the South are made to enable the bad men to inaugurate and perpetuate practices which will make the good men's plantations equally profitable.

The profit and abomination is universal, and the solid South must endure the just indignation of the civilized world.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Labor Question.

"The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him against the cormorant and the commune."—Declaration 18, Democratic National Platform, 1880.

PART I.

The Labor Question—Democratic Efforts to Degrade and Brutalize Labor—The Republican Party the True Labor Party.

What does the workingman want that the Republican party is not pledged by every tradition and measure to do for him? That party was absolutely born in a fight with the slave power—the power of owned labor, owned by Democrats. And throughout its existence it has ever frowned down and legislated against any and all movements to degrade labor and make it servile. The Democratic party, on the other hand, has not had a thought for the past forty-five years beyond the preservation of the accursed systems of slavery and servile labor. For the right to

own slave labor instead of paying "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," that party plunged the nation into a terrible four-years sectional war. For the right to own labor under a system of peonage (quite as degrading as the old system of slavery), instead of paying "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," that party, in the event of a close electoral majority for Garfield and Arthur, will not hesitate to plunge this nation into all the horrors of a civil war. Out of that threatening civil war the Democratic party, controlled by the South, believes it will come bloodily triumphant, with the old labor ideas of the South dominant over all of the United States. Nothing can be more instructive to the laborer of the North than a brief review of the Southern "idea" of labor—an "idea," which, though changed in its practical expression, from slavery in the past to the peonage of the present and future, survives the war, and

finds itself voiced in the utterances of such leaders as Wade Hampton, when he recently told the Virginians at Staunton:

"I ask you to remember those who have died on your soil, and to remember that the PRINCIPLES THEY DIED FOR ARE AGAIN ON TRIAL TO-DAY."—Staunton *Vindicator* (Dem.).

PART II.

Attitude of the South on the Labor Question—Calhoun's Higher Law—Pickens' declaration that "the White Mechanic and Laborer must become Slaves."

In 1835, John C. Calhoun described the Constitution of the United States as merely a compact between sovereign and independent communities or States; and while urging the laws of nations as binding upon the individual States as separate and independent communities, broadly declared that there was a "HIGHER LAW" than the Constitution for the protection of the peculiar institution. He exclaimed:

"Let it be fixed, let it be riveted in every Southern mind, that the laws of the slave-holding States, FOR THE PROTECTION OF THEIR DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS, ARE PARAMOUNT TO THE LAWS OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT in regulation of commerce and the mail, and that the latter must yield to the former in the event of conflict; and that, if the Government should refuse to yield, the States have a right to interpose, and we [the South] are safe."

Calhoun's coadjutors of the press faithfully followed his lead; and by the agitation of the question of slavery, by the most unfounded and slanderous charges against the North, by lying denunciations of the purest men of the country, by the most outrageous and unconstitutional demands impossible to be complied with, emulated all Calhoun's efforts to foment an implacable hatred between the citizens of the North and South, to sow the seeds of an irreconcilable discord and strife between the sections, to plant and drive home the wedge they hoped would finally burst the bonds of our Union. Congress was the seat of their Central Directory for the working of the chief machinery of this traitorous Democratic movement for the destruction of the Union. Mr. Pickens, of S. C., was one of the chief conspirators. In the House of Representatives, in 1836, at the first session of the Twenty-fourth Congress, he said:

"I lay down this proposition as universally true, that there is not, nor ever was, a society organized under one political system for a period long enough to constitute an era, where one class would not practically and substantially own another class in some shape or form. Let not gentlemen from the North start at this truth: we are yet, as a people, in our infancy. Society has not yet been pressed down into its classifications. Let us live through an era, and then we shall discover this great truth; all society settles down into Capitalists and Laborers, the former will own the latter, either collectively through the government, or individually in a state of domestic servitude, as exists in the Southern States of this confederacy. THE ONLY CONTEST IN THE WORLD IS BETWEEN THE TWO SYSTEMS! If Laborers ever obtain the political power of a country, it is, in fact, in a state of revolution, which must end in substantially transferring property to themselves until they shall become capitalists, unless those who have it shall appeal to the sword and a standing army to protect it. This is the history of all civilized people."

Calhoun, in 1835, had laid down the doctrine that there was a "HIGHER LAW" than the Constitution, "that the laws of the slaveholding States were paramount to the laws of the general government, for the protection of their domestic institutions," and that in case of conflict, the Constitution must yield to the law of the slaveholder; and here, in 1836, the doctrine of the "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT" was enunciated by the Democratic Pickens as distinctly and emphatically as it was subsequently by Messrs. Seward and Lincoln in 1858. He assures us that "the only contest in the world is between the two systems!" But while Lincoln and Seward believed that in this conflict Freedom would ultimately triumph, the Democratic Pickens very dogmatically maintains that the *white Mechanic and Laborer must become SLAVES!*

PART III.

The "irrepressible conflict" between genius, wealth and "the mob" on one side, and the hereditary slave-holding "aristocrats" of the South—Democracy declares war against the white Mechanic and Laborer.

At the same session of the Twenty-fourth Congress, General Waddy Thompson and Hammond, afterwards Governor of South Carolina and Senator of the United States, maintained similar doctrines. Hammond, in a speech remarkable for its venom and vituperative abuse of the white Mechanic and Laborer, pronounces slavery "the greatest of all the great blessings which a kind Providence has bestowed upon the glorious" "aristocracy" of the South! He enlarges upon what he calls the conflict of genius and wealth with hereditary institutions—in reality, "the irrepressible conflict" between Freedom and Slavery. He says:

"The two [genius and wealth] combined, finding themselves still unable to cope with the time-hardened strength of hereditary government, and eager, impatient and almost frenzied to achieve its conquest, have called in to their assistance another ally—the people! Not the 'people' as we have hitherto been accustomed in this country to define that term, but the Mob—the SANS CULOTTES! Proclaiming as their watchword that immortal but now prostituted sentiment, 'THAT ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL,' they have rallied to their standard the ignorant, uneducated, and semi-barbarous mass which swarms and starves upon the face of Europe! Unnatural, and debasing union! Hereditary institutions are gone! Already have the nobility of France been overthrown! their days are numbered in the British Empire! Let them go on! I am not their advocate. What next? *Confiscation hereafter!* The end is as obvious as it is weep-written on the wall. The hounds of Ateon turned upon their master. Genius and wealth, stimulated by 'an ambition that overleaps itself,' have called these spirits from the vasty deep, but they will dawn no more! The spoils of victory are theirs, and they will gorge and fatten on them!"

"Against this institution [slavery] war has been commenced!" "The sans culottes are moving! On the banks of the Hudson, the Ohio, and the Susquehanna—on the hills and in the vales, and along the iron-bound coasts of immaculate New England—they are mustering their hosts and preparing for their ravages!"

"Every mail from the North brings fresh news of agitation—every breeze is tainted with it."

"* * * I call upon every slaveholder in this House, and in this country, to mark its fearful progress, and to prepare to meet it. He who falters here or elsewhere, he who shrinks from taking the highest and boldest ground at once, is a traitor! A traitor to his native soil! A traitor to the memory of those from whom he has inherited his rights! A traitor to his helpless offspring who call upon him for protection; and on his head be the blood his treachery or cowardice may cause to flow."

Thus also, in 1836, the representatives of Southern Democracy, while proclaiming the doctrine of "a HIGHER LAW" than the Constitution, and that of the "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT," accompanied it with a declaration of war upon "the people! the mob! the SANS CULOTTES!" *the white Mechanic and Laborer!* and a denunciation of every Southern man as a traitor or coward who hesitated, at their bidding, to throw out his banner and couch his lance against Freedom and the free white Laborer! Nor for nearly thirty years did they allow this war to flag! They kept alive the fires of agitation by constantly feeding its flame with the most combustible fuel—all the while trampling upon the plainest provisions of the Constitution, and upon the rights of our citizens and of the States—prostituting the powers of the nation, the blood and treasure of our people, in extending their boundaries, and building up the political power of their despotism—while hypocritically shouting: "Northern Agitation!" "Northern Fanaticism!" "Northern Aggression!"

The war of the Democracy upon "the people! the mob! the sans culottes!" *the white Mechanic and Laborer*, reached its first culmination in 1856 and subsequently. They now even more boldly attacked the freedom and Republican institutions of our country. The easy repeal of the Missouri compromise, in 1854, had only increased their arrogance without satisfying their ambition. Said Keitt, of S. C., in the House of Representatives—

"Slavery is a great primordial fact, rooted in the origin of things!" * * * "As a corollary to this, it may be safely deduced that the existence of [white] laborers and mechanics in organized societies was the result of the partial and progressive emancipation of slaves." * * * "History tells us, also, that when the [white] working classes stepped out of bondage, they branched into four recurring subdivisions—the hireling, the beggar, the thief, and the prostitute, which have no general existence in slave countries, unless there have been a commencement of emancipation!"

PART IV.

Utterances of Southern Democratic Press—"Free Society a failure"—Slavery a necessity—The Northern States must introduce it—Slavery essential, whether White or Black—Contempt of "small farmers and greasy mechanics."

Southern Democracy now denounced "free society" as "a failure!"—"a monstrous abortion!" "Modern free society, as at present organized," said the New Orleans *Delta*, "is radically wrong and rotten:" "it is rotten

to the core." "Slavery," it said, "is not only natural of origin and right," but "essential to Republicanism." The Richmond *Examiner* declared that "history, both sacred and profane, shows that slavery is natural and normal;" that "the experience, the practice, and the history of mankind, vindicate slavery, in the abstract, as a natural and conservative institution." The Lynchburg *Republican*, in a lucid examination of the "awful problem presented by the conflict between capital and labor," pronounced "slavery the only practical solution." With it "slavery is the corner stone of our Republican institutions," and "the great peacemaker between capital and labor." The Charleston *Mercury* declared that "master and slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child," and that "the Northern States will have to introduce it: slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man whether white or black!" "Free society is a failure," cried the astute Keitt. "Free society is a monstrous abortion," exclaimed the dignified Fitzhugh: "two hundred years of liberty have made white laborers a pauper banditti." "Men are not born entitled to equal rights: some are born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them, and the riding does them good;" "they need the rein, the bit, and the spur;" "slavery, white or black, is right and necessary." With the Charleston *Mercury* "the great evil of Northern free society is, that it is burdened with a servile class of mechanics and laborers unfit for self-government, yet clothed with all the attributes and powers of citizens." While the Alabama *Herald* could not suppress its disgust at the abominations of "free society," made up of "small farmers and greasy mechanics," unfit even to attend on a Southern gentleman's body servant." The Charleston *Standard*, the Richmond *South*, De Bow's *Review*, the Southern *Literary Messenger*, and others, all organs of the Democracy, maintained these debasing doctrines with great persistency and violence. The Richmond *Enquirer*, the leading Democratic journal of the South, while authoritatively declaring that "slavery is a moral, religious, and natural institution; and that the laws of all the Southern States justified the holding of white men in slavery;" announced that "the South now maintains that slavery is right, natural, and necessary;" that "the principle of slavery is in itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion;" and "that is the doctrine maintained by the whole Southern press"—by the whole Southern Democracy.

PART V.

Democratic denunciation of free white mechanics as essentially slaves—The negro declared infinitely superior to the white mechanic "morally, socially and physically"—"Liberty for the few, slavery for the masses."

In the opinion of this Democracy, the wretched victims of "hireling labor society," the

white Mechanic and Laborer, differ, in their social and moral condition, only in name from the negro of the South. "Your whole hiring class of manual laborers and operatives," said Senator Hammond, an able Democratic leader, "are essentially slaves;" "the difference between" the white slave and the negro is, "the negro is hired for life, and well compensated," and the white slave is "hired by the day, not cared for, and scantily compensated." Mason, of Virginia, another leading Democratic Senator, declared that the "so-called *Free States*" would be better named "the *Servile States*;" and the Democratic Bennett, of Mississippi, demanded to know, in what particular white mechanics were better than his slaves; in his opinion the condition of his negroes was infinitely superior "morally, socially, and physically." Sagacious Democratic statesmen, erudite Democratic editors and authors—all were filled with unutterable disgust and horror at the revolting atrocities of "hiring labor society"—its "infidelity, materialism, sensuality, agrarianism, and anarchy"—its "insubordination, crime, and pauperism;" and all were impressed with the unalterable conviction that slavery is the only remedy for the complicated corruptions of the unnatural state of freedom of the white Mechanic and Laborer. Hence the earnest and persistent advocacy for so many years, by the Southern Democracy, of their favorite formula—

"Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the Laborer!"

"Slavery is right and necessary whether WHITE or BLACK!"

Among others, Messrs. Ruffin (in his *Political Economy of Slavery*) and Fitzhugh (in his *Cannibals All, or Who shall be Masters?*) proceeding with the approbation and applause of the South—its whole Democracy—elaborated, what, to them, appeared to be very practical plans for the reformation of "hiring labor society." Mr. Ruffin, after describing what he understands to be their wretched and degraded condition, proposes to reduce the white Mechanic and Laborer to domestic bondage! Such a plan, he argues, would elevate them, morally, socially, and physically. Mr. Fitzhugh, in his *Cannibals All*, like Mr. Ruffin, enlarges upon the debasement and crime of the white Mechanic and Laborer in a state of freedom. He, too, as a means to their elevation, proposes to reduce them to slavery. He says that a negro slave is worth about \$800; a white slave, by reason of his harder working nature, would be worth \$1,000. Give, therefore, the capitalist owning \$1,000 one white slave; the capitalist owning \$10,000 ten white slaves; and the millionaire a thousand! He exclaims: "LIBERTY for the FEW—SLAVERY in every form for the MASSES!"

PART VI.

"The Cause" being "Lost" the South plays Fox to regain power and carry out its Slave

Labor principles—The Northern Democratic Leaders' Responsibility.

Failing to carry out these barbarous plans within the Union, in 1861 these Southern Democrats strove through treason and blood to sever the Union and found a Confederacy of States in which their peculiar principles and plans might be carried out. Under that Confederacy there would have been no free labor—no free laborer. The rich would have been the masters, all others would have been degraded to slavery. Failing to establish their Confederacy, the Southern Democracy determined to secure within the Union, what they could not get without it—to gain control of the Government by strategy where they failed to conquer by force. The lion suddenly became the fox. With agitated earnestness the Southern leaders bewailed dead Sumner's taking off and swore to support the Constitution, amendments and all. They slobbered over the North while they bulldozed the South, and thus they grew so rapidly into power and place that they can now almost throw off the mask. They already have their "Confederate Congress." They only need the Presidency and the game is in their hands, to do with labor—white or black—as they will. Nor can Northern Democracy shirk its equal responsibility with the Southern Democracy, not alone for the war but for all that has grown out of it. It was the Northern Democratic Doughfaces that encouraged the South to fight for a (black and white) slave labor system, while they skulked at home. Northern Democratic leaders knew then the principles and purposes of the South, and sympathized and shared them. Northern Democratic leaders know now the principles and purposes of the solid South, without Wade Hampton telling them. The old principles still live, the "lost cause" is yet to be won, and the free mechanics of the North to be enslaved under that worse form of slavery now in vogue at the South, to wit, Peonage.

PART VII.

Democratic annual robbery of Productive Labor, and Democratic cheese-paring—A Crusade against poor Male and Female Laborers.

Out of the wealth which labor produces in the year, more than \$135,000,000 are paid for pensions and interest on the war debt of the nation, all entailed by the war waged by Southern Democrats, egged on by Northern Democratic Doughfaces, for a slave labor system.

The Democratic House during the last five years has shown its "devotion to the laboring people" by the cheese-paring policy of cutting down the wages of Government laborers, messengers, and clerks, carefully avoiding

any reduction in the pay of its own members. Upon the adjournment at nearly every session the streets of Washington have presented the spectacle of crowds of hapless people discharged from the lower grades of service in the departments, while the corridors of the great Government buildings were loud with the wailing of poor women suddenly bereft of all chance to earn a scant livelihood for themselves and dependent families. It may be regarded as the special triumph of this Democratic policy that in this cutting down of the low-priced laborers and clerks, both as to pay and numbers employed, the poor scrubbing women engaged at the public buildings were reduced in the greatest proportion, and many were discharged. At one time even the appropriations for laborers at the Capitol were withheld. So that there was no lawful way in which men enough could be employed to clean up the filth expected by the Democracy in the halls through which the wives of Senators, Cabinet officers, foreign ministers, or even the wife of the President, could

walk to reach the place assigned to them in the galleries of Congress.

PART VIII.

Wages of the Mechanic and Laborer abroad—Compare these with our own—Valuable tabular statements.

Thanks to the present Republican tariff, which the Democratic leaders in Congress have frequently, but without success, assailed, the condition of the mechanic and laborer in America is the envy of his brothers in Europe. Take the following official tables in the letter from the Secretary of State, May 17, 1879, addressed to the Speaker of the House, compiled from the reports of United States consuls, touching the state of labor in Europe; and the American artisan, mechanic and laborer will see what cause for thankfulness he has:

Statement showing the Weekly Rates of Wages in the several Countries, compiled from the Consular Reports, and compared with Rates prevailing in the United States.

Occupations.	Belg.	Denmark.	Fr'ce.	Germany	Italy.	Spain	United Kingdom.			United States.	
							England	Irel'd	Scotland.	N. York.	Chicago.
Agricultural laborers:											
Men, without board or lodging			\$3 15	\$2 87	\$3 50		\$3 60	\$3 40	\$4 25		
Men, with board and lodging			1 36	1 48	1 80		2 80	1 30	\$1 50-2 40		
Women, without board or lodging			1 10	1 08	1 58		1 80	2 16	1 80-3 25		
Women, with board and lodging				75	60		1 15	75	60-1 00		
House-building trades:											
Bricklayers	\$6 00		4 00	3 60	3 45	\$5 12	8 12	7 58	9 68	\$12-\$15	\$6-\$10
Carpenters and joiners	5 40	\$4 25	5 42	4 00	4 18	4 88	8 25	7 33	8 12	9-12	7-12
Gasfitters	5 40			3 65	3 95		7 25	7 95	8 40	10-14	10-12
Masons	6 00	4 45	5 00	4 30	4 00	4 80	8 16	7 58	8 28	12-18	12-15
Painters	4 20	4 15	4 90	3 92	4 60		7 95	7 54	8 16	10-16	6-12
Plasterers	5 40			3 80	4 35	7 20	8 70	7 68	10 13	10-15	9-15
Plumbers	6 00		5 50	3 60	3 90		7 75	8 46	7 13	12-18	12-20
Slaters				4 00	3 90		7 90		8 30	10-15	12-18
General trades:											
Bakers	4 40	4 25	5 55	8 50	8 90	5 40	6 50		6 60	5-8	8-12
Blacksmiths	4 40	3 90	5 45	3 55	3 94	4 65	8 12		7 04	10-14	9-12
Bookbinders		3 72	4 85	3 82	3 90	3 60	7 83		6 50	12-18	9-20
Brassfounders		4 20		3 20	5 49		7 40		6 90	10-14	8-15
Butchers	4 50	4 50	5 42	3 85	4 20		7 23		4 75	8-12	12-18
Cabinet-makers	4 80		6 00	3 97	4 95	4 20	7 70		8 48	9-12	7-15
Coopers		4 10	7 00	3 30	4 35	4 95	7 30		6 10	12-16	6-15
Coppersmiths		3 85		3 90	3 90		7 40		7 10	12-16	15-20
Cutlers		3 85	4 63	4 00	3 90		8 00		6 25	10-13	15-18
Engravers				4 09	4 00		9 72		8 75	15-20	8-30
Horsehoers		3 85	5 40	3 25	3 50		7 20		7 00	12-18	15-25
Millwrights		4 00		3 30	4 95		7 50		7 50	10-15	12-20
Printers		4 62	4 70	4 80	3 90		7 75		7 52	8-16	12-18
Saddlers and harness-makers	4 80	3 85	5 00	3 60	3 90		6 80		6 15	12-15	6-12
Sailmakers		4 85		3 30	3 90		7 80		6 39	12-18	12-15
Shoemakers		3 30	4 75	3 12	4 32	3 90	7 35		7 35	12-18	9-18
Tailors		4 10	5 10	3 58	4 30	3 90	\$5-7 30		7 00	10-15	6-12
Tinsmiths	4 80	3 90	4 40	3 65	3 60	3 90	7 30		6 00	10-14	9-12
Laborers, porters, &c.	3 00			2 92	2 60	3 00	5 00		4 50	6-9	5-6
Railway employees:											
Engineers, pass. trains			11 33	8 35	9 50		9 12	9 00	8 70		
Firemen, do.			6 25	3 30	4 50		6 00	4 50	4 96		
Brakemen, do.			3 60	3 22			5 50	4 00	4 89		
Signalmen			5 85	3 52	4 00		5 60	5 00	5 12		
Switchmen			5 60	3 41	4 00		5 60	5 00	5 19		
Porters			5 00	2 60	3 40		4 50	4 00	4 44		
Laborers			3 35	3 10	3 30		4 50	4 00	4 27		

Statement showing the Weekly Rates of Wages in the principal Cities of Europe, compiled from Consular Reports, and compared with Rates in New York and Chicago.

Occupation.	Belgium. (Brussels).	France (Bordeaux).	Germany (Dresden).	Italy. Rome.	Spain. (Barcelona).	Switzerland (Geneva).	U. Kingdom. Liverpool.	United States. (New York).	United States. (Chicago).
House-building trades:									
Bricklayers.....	\$6 00	\$4 80		\$3 00	\$5 40	\$4 80	\$9 25	\$12 00 to \$15 00	\$6 00 to \$10 50
Carpenters and joiners.....	5 40	5 00	\$3 75	3 00	5 00	9 00	9	12	7 50 — 12
Gasfitters.....	5 40					4 60	7 80	10	10 — 12
Masons.....	6 00	5 40	3 75	3 00	6 00	4 80	8 70	12	12 — 15
Painters.....					7 00	4 60	8 50	10	6 — 12
Plasterers.....	5 40				7 00	4 60	9 72	10	9 — 15
Plumbers.....	6 00	6 00				4 60	9 00	12	12 — 20
Slaters.....						4 60	9 72	10	12 — 18
General trades:									
Bakers.....	6 00	4 80	3 50		5 40	4 80		5 — 8	8 — 12
Blacksmiths.....	6 00	4 80	4 00	3 30	4 50	4 80	8 90	10	9 — 12
Bookbinders.....	6 00	4 80	2 00		3 60	4 60	8 00	12	9 — 20
Brassfounders.....			3 00	4 75	6 00		7 20	10	8 — 15
Butchers.....	6 00	6 00	4 00			4 60		8	12 — 18
Cabinet-makers.....	4 80				4 20	6 00	8 00	9	7 — 15
Coopers.....	6 00	8 00			5 50	4 60	8 75	12	6 — 15
Coppersmiths.....	6 00		4 75			4 60	8 90	12	15 — 20
Cutlery.....	5 50	4 20	4 00			4 60		10	13 — 10
Engravers.....	6 00					4 80		15	25 — 30
Horsehoers.....	6 00	4 80					8 50	12	15 — 25
Millwrights.....							7 70	10	15 — 20
Printers.....	6 00	3 00			4 80	4 60	10 50	8	12 — 18
Saddlers and harnessmakers.....	4 80	4 80				4 60	7 30	12	6 — 12
Sailmakers.....	6 00							12	12 — 15
Shoemakers.....	6 00	4 20	2 00	3 60	3 60	4 60	8 75	12	9 — 18
Tailors.....	6 00	4 80	3 00	3 60	3 60	4 80		10	6 — 18
Tinsmiths.....	4 80	4 80	3 00		4 00	4 80	7 50	10	9 — 12
Laborers, porters, &c.....	3 50		2 50			3 00	5 82	6	5 50 — 9

PART IX.

Prices of Food in European Countries and Cities, and in America.

Statement showing the Retail Prices of the Necessaries of Life in the several Countries, compiled from Consular Reports, and compared with Prices in New York and Chicago.

Articles.	Belgium.	France.	Germany.	Italy.	Spain.	Switzerland.	United Kingdom.			United States.	
							England.	Ireland.	Scotland.	New York.	Chicago.
	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Bread.....per pound	4-5	3	3-7	6	6½-7½	4	3½-4½	4	4	4-4½	4-4½
Flour.....do.	4	5½	10			7	3½-4½	4	4	3-4	2½-4½
Beef:											
Roasting.....per pound	20	22	22	20		30	22		22	12-16	8-12½
Soup.....do.	18	16	14	12	18	18	15		16	6-8	5-8
Rumpsteak.....do.	20	20	20	20		30	26½		26½	14-18	8-12½
Corned.....do.	16	16	13	12		18	18		20	8-12	4-7
Veal:											
Fore quarter, p. pound	16	16		15		18	18			8-10	6-10
Hind quarter.....do.	18	20	14	18	25	18	22½		25	10-12	10-12
Cutlets.....do.	20	22		22		20	27		30	20-24	12½-15
Mutton:											
Fore quarter, p. pound	16	16		15		18	17		16	9-10	5-12½
Hind quarter.....do.	20	18	14½	18	14	18	22		20	12-14	5-18½
Chops.....do.	20	20		18			25		24	14-16	10-15
Pork:											
Fresh.....per pound	16	14	17	13	24	18	16	10-12	13-16	8-10	4-8
Salted.....do.	16	14	17	18		20	12	15	10-12	8-10	6-12
Bacon.....do.	18	20	20	22			12-16			8-10	7-12
Ham.....do.	25	25	22	25	45	28	13-23		25	8-12	7-15
Shoulder.....do.	20	18	20	20			12			8-10	4-10
Sausage.....do.	20	16	19	20			18			8-10	6-10
Lard.....do.	20	20	21	22	21		15-18	12		10-12	6-10
Codfish.....do.				9	10			8	6	6-7	6-9
Butter.....do.	20-60	25	22	28	45	36	29-38	26½	32	25-35	16-40
Cheese.....do.	20-25		24	26	28	23	15-21		20	12-15	5-16
Potatoes.....per bush.	56	50	50	\$1 15	\$1 10	60	\$1 12-20	68	95	\$1 40-\$1 60	60-80
Rice.....per pound			9	6	7		3½-8		5	8-10	5-10
Beans.....per quart			10	13	12		9			7-10	5-9
Milk.....do.			4	7		5	6-9		5	8-10	3-6
Eggs.....per dozen	20-25	18	20	18	20-25	20	19-30	14	28	25-30	10-24
Oatmeal.....per pound			8				3½-4½	3½	4	4-5	4-5
Tea.....do.			75		70	50	43-88	80	70-80	50-60	25-100
Coffee.....do.	30-40	30	35	32	45	30	28-42		32-50	20-30	16-40
Sugar.....do.	15-20		11	8½	11	8	5½-9		8	8-10	7-10
Molasses.....per gallon										60-70	40-80
Soap.....per pound			10	4	10		5½-9			6-7	3-8
Starch.....do.			9	10	10		10-12		14	8-10	5-10
Coal.....per ton			\$4 25	\$11 00	\$9 00		\$3 20-4 10		\$2 65	\$3 00-\$5 25	\$3 00-6 75

Statement showing the Retail Prices of the Necessaries of Life in the principal Cities of Europe, compiled from Consular Reports, and compared with same in New York and Chicago.

Articles.	Bel- gium.	France	Ger- many	Italy.	Spain.	Swit- zer- land.	United King- dom.	United States.	
	Brus- sels.	Bor- deaux.	Dres- den.	Rome.	Barce- lona.	Gen- eva.	Liverpool.	New York.	Chicago.
	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
Bread.....per lb.	4-5	3-4	7	6	4	4	3½-4	4-4½	4-4½
Flour.....do.			6	10	6½	7	3½-5	3-4	2½-4½
Beef:									
Roasting.....per lb.	20	20	24	20	20	30	22	12-16	8-12½
Soup.....do.	16	16	18	12	15	18	16	6-8	5-8
Rump.....do.	18	18	19	15	18	25	18	14-16	8-12½
Corned.....do.	16	16	18	12		18	16	8-12	4-7
Veal:									
Fore quarter..pr. lb.	16	16	12	15	15		14	8-10	6-10
Hind quarter..do.	18	20	18	20	18	18	20	10-12	10-12
Cutlets.....do.	20	22	18	22	22	20	20	20-24	12½-15
Mutton:									
Fore quarter..pr. lb.	16	16	12	15	12		14	9-10	5-12½
Hind quarter..do.	18	20	18	18	15	18	20	12-14	5-15½
Chops.....do.	20	20	18	18	18		20	14-16	10-15
Pork:									
Fresh.....per lb.	16	12	18	15	20	18	16	8-10	4-8
Salted.....do.	16	14	18	18	20	20	16	8-10	6-12
Bacon.....do.	18	20	30	25	30		20	8-10	7-12
Ham.....do.	20	25	35	30	40	28	24	8-12	7-15
Shoulder.....do.	16	16	30	25	30		16	8-10	4-10
Sausage.....do.	18	16	20	20			20	8-10	6-10
Lard.....do.	20		20	25	18		16	10-12	6-10
Codfish.....do.				10	9			6-7	5-9
Butter.....do.	20-50		16	30	40	36	24-36	25-32	16-40
Cheese.....do.	20-25		33	28	25	25	12-20	12-15	5-16
Potatoes.....per bush.	56	60	48	\$1.20	\$1.08	60	\$1.20-\$1.50	\$1.40-\$1.60	60-80
Rice.....per lb.			10	5	6½		4-10	8-10	5-10
Beans.....per qt.			14	15	12			7-10	5-9
Milk.....do.				4	12	5	6-8	8-10	3-6
Eggs.....per doz.	20-25	10-15		20	20	20	14-18	25-30	10-24
Oatmeal.....per lb.							3½-4	4-5	4-5
Tea.....do.			75		60	50	40-85	50-60	25-\$1.00
Coffee.....do.	30-40		36	40	40	30	24-40	20-30	15-40
Sugar.....do.	15-20		12	8	10	8	5-8	8-10	7-10
Molasses.....per gal.								60-70	40-80
Soap.....per lb.				4	9		4-10	6-7	3-8
Starch.....do.				10	9			8-10	5-10
Ceal.....per ton.			\$3 10	\$11 00	\$9 00		\$3 65-\$4 38	\$3 00-\$5 25	\$3 00-\$6 75

PART X.

Sad condition of the European working classes—In Belgium, France, Germany, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain—What Free Trade has done for the English laborer—A sickening recital of the sufferings of Laboring Women—What Democratic Free Trade Doctrine would do for America.

The condition of the American working-men is one of remarkable ease, prosperity and contentment, compared with that of the workmen of Europe, as is easily shown. The condition of the former is patent to us all. Well dressed, well fed, well housed, well paid, possessing an equal chance with all others for an education and for advancement in every walk of life, his condition and surroundings are such that he may make of himself anything that courage, ambition, will, education

and natural endowments may fit him for—as demonstrated by the career of Abraham Lincoln and James A. Garfield. But glance at the condition of the European laborer, as appears in the official report already quoted from.

Condition of the laboring classes in Belgium, "an unceasing battle."

"* * * Their lives are continual struggles for meagre subsistence, and nothing but that spirit of patience, kindness and fortitude, which enables them to practice the severest economy, makes it possible for them to subsist themselves and supply the necessaries of life to their families. At the very best, the lot of the workmen of Belgium is hard and unrelenting toil, an unceasing battle with most adverse circumstances."—Official Report.

In France "the wife and children must also labor to make ends meet."

The Consul at Nice writes :

The laboring man's food consists principally of Indian meal, vegetables, bread and wine. Meat he seldom eats.

Not only must the (French) husband labor for the support of his family, but the wife and children must also labor for the general fund in order to make ends meet.—Official Report.

In Germany each member from childhood insured to incessant toil and privation—luxuries unknown—Butter and meat are luxuries—Poverty verging upon squalor—A weary lot.

Barmen.—The condition of the laboring classes of the mining and iron industries is very distressing; the price of iron is so low that nothing can be earned, and coal is 40 per cent below the average of the last twenty-five years. Wages are reduced and many hands discharged. In this district it is at present difficult, if not impossible, for a workman to earn more than enough for his individual support, and every member of the family must contribute to the general fund; hence, from their earliest years, each member is insured to incessant toil and privation.—*From the Report of Consul Stanton.*

Bremen.—In order to make life possible, at this rate, women in the country raise garden produce and work in the fields; in the towns they keep shops, peddle, wash, sew, etc.—*From the report of Consul King.*

Brunswick.—With steady work and the assistance of each member of the household, the workman can "make both ends meet."—*From the report of Consul Fox.*

Dresden.—"The laborers are really part and parcel of the estate. Wages in money are often merely nominal."—*Consul at Dresden.*

Leipzig.—Females are largely employed in business houses, and a person traveling through the country receives the impression that all the work in the fields is done by women.—*From the report of Consul Stewart.*

Chemnitz.—At the present time large numbers are unable to obtain employment; the country is full of tramps, both honest and vagabondish; and almost every dwelling in this city is visited daily by at least half a dozen beggars, although begging is prohibited by law. In this district (Saxony) labor is subdivided, giving one man's work to two, in order to employ the largest possible number. As the husband's earnings are not sufficient for the support of his family, the wife and older children must contribute their share of the weekly earnings. This is a general rule, and applies to all families whose support is dependent on labor.—*From the report of Consul Griggs.*

Frankfort-on-the-Main.—The condition of the laborer is not enviable; his opportunities are few; luxuries are almost unknown to him; and he is even obliged to use frugally the necessities of life in order to live upon what he can earn. Butter and meat are luxuries. The American people would consider such a life bitterly hard and joyless.—*From the report of Consul General Lee.*

Sonneberg.—The workman rarely eats meat at all in any other form than sausage, and his wife and children scarcely know its taste, so little do they get of it. There is poverty in superabundance in the workman's home, often verging upon squalor; his children are generally barefooted, and his wife looks haggard and weary of her lot. * * *

It may be easily imagined from the foregoing figures, showing the wages of the laboring classes of Thuringia, that their daily fare is of the simplest sort, and that their life is, at best, a struggle for existence for themselves and families. Their principal food is rye-bread and potatoes.—*Consul at Sonneberg.*

Mannheim.—The wages paid hardly cover the necessities of life; many seldom taste meat more than once a week.—*Consul at Mannheim.*

In England—The "struggle for existence"—The United States a Paradise for the workman—White slaves of England—Men, women and children working in wet mines, naked!—Women working on "all fours" as mules!

* * * This disposition of living each day in itself—coupled with the periodic strikes, which break up the even run of wages and bring so much suffering to his wife and children—renders the life of the English workman a spasmodic struggle for existence; and it may be doubted whether the family of the average English laborer or mechanic is any better off, year in and year out, than the family of the German or French laborer or mechanic.—*Official Report.*

The Consul at Bristol states that:

"No laborer should allow himself to be enticed by imagining that he could better his condition by leaving the United States to return to his native country, if born in Europe. A number of such laborers and also some mechanics have, during the last two years, called upon this consulate for help to get back to the United States, cursing the day when they left America for Europe, where neither milk nor honey is flowing. Compared with Europe, the United States is a paradise for a sober and faithful workman."

The Consul at Sheffield says:

* * * There is in this town a far greater population of women employed in the heavier kinds of labor than will be found in the cities of the United States, excepting, it may be, the great cotton-manufacturing centres. * * *

There is nothing, however, in our Consular Reports touching the terrible condition to which labor in the mines and factories of England has been degraded, which at all approaches the evidence brought out a few years since by a Parliamentary Commission in England. In the coal mines, men, women and children of both sexes worked together in an almost nude condition. The Report says:

"In the Lancashire coal fields, lying to the North and West of Manchester, females are regularly employed in underground labor, and the brutal conduct of the men and the abasement of the women are well described by some of the witnesses examined by them."

Peter Garkel, collier, testified that he:

"Prefers women to boys as drawers; they are better to manage, and keep time better; they will fight and shriek, and do everything but let anybody pass them."

Betty Harris, aged 37, a drawer in a coal pit, testified:

"I have a belt around my waist and a chain between my legs to the truck, and I go on my hands and feet; the road is very steep, and we have to hold by a rope, and when there is no rope, by anything we can catch hold of. There are six women and about six boys or girls in the pit I work in; it is very wet, and the water comes over our clog-tops always, and I have seen it up to my thighs; my clothes are always wet."

Patience Kershaw, aged 17, testified:

"I work in the clothes I now have on (trousers and ragged jacket); the bald place upon my head is made by thrusting the cones; the getters I work for are naked, except their caps; they pull off their clothes; all the men are naked."

Margaret Hibbs, aged 18, testified:

"My employment after reaching the wall-face is to fill my bag or styve with two and a half or three hundred weight of coal; I then hook it on to my chain and drag it through the seam, which is from twenty-six to twenty-eight inches high, till I get to the main road, a good distance, probably two hundred to four hundred yards; the pavement I drag over is wet, and I am obliged at all times to crawl on my hands and feet with my bag hung to the chain and ropes. It is sad, sweating, sore and fatiguing work, and frequently maims the women."

R. Bald, Government coal viewer, testified:

"In surveying the workings of an extensive colliery under ground, a married woman came forward groaning under an excessive weight of coals, trembling in every nerve, and almost unable to keep her knees from sinking under her. On coming up, she said, in a plaintive and melancholy voice, 'Oh, sir, this is sore, sore, sore work.'"

Said a Sub-Commissioner:

"It is almost incredible that human beings can submit to such employment—crawling on hands and knees, harnessed like horses, over soft, slushy floors, more difficult than dragging the same weight through our lowest sewers."

Page after page of such sickening evidence is given touching the sad plight of these poor creatures who are paid less than twenty cents per day, and of others scarcely less degraded in other occupations in England. And it is to a condition similar to this that the Democratic doctrine of "Tariff for Revenue, and for revenue only," if put into practice, would reduce the stalwart, well-conditioned, high spirited American laborer and his family!

In Ireland—Women laboring in fields— Miserable food.

"In a large number of cases the agricultural laborers of Ireland supplement their wages by the produce of small plots of ground attached to their cabins. As a general thing, a fair share of the field work is performed by women."—*Official Report.*

The consul at Cork says of the workman's food:

"The food is made up of a selection from tea, bread, oatmeal, potatoes, dried fish, and, among the poorer classes, a coarse Indian meal instead of oatmeal, at an average expense to each person of fourteen cents per day. The mechanic pays something more for his lodging, but in other respects his living is the same as the laborer."

The consul at Londonderry states that:

"The food of all laborers here is Indian meal (principally), oatmeal, potatoes, and bacon next. Tea may be said to be in universal use.

In Scotland—Women laborers—Mush, potatoes and milk—"Hard lines."

The consul at Leith reports:

"Some women employed by the day at field work get about twenty-four cents per day. * * * There is little variety in the food of the Scottish peasant; it is plain but substantial, consisting almost wholly of oatmeal in various forms, potatoes and milk, with a little meat and beer added in harvest. * * * Strikes are of frequent occurrence in all trades, but as a rule they result in impoverishing the workman, who has in the end to return to his previous wage or accept the employer's terms."

In Wales—Women as bread winners.

Consul Wirt Sikes reports from Cardiff, that—

"* * * The wives of laboring men here, fill a more active place in the bread-winning scheme than women do in America. Many go off to their work as regular as their husbands every morning of their lives. They are also very frequently the treasurers of their marital firm, and help to keep the weekly outlay for jollification as near the minimum as possible. Among the occupations followed by women in this district are some which I think women nowhere else in Great Britain engage in, such as letter-carriers (in lieu of postmen), mussel-diggers, oyster-peddler, &c."

In Italy—Miserable fare—Meat only "on great festivals and holidays."

Genoa.—The fare of the Italian laborer is usually very simple, consisting of bread, boiled chestnuts, mush and minestrone, a substantial soup made of vegetables, olive oil and macaroni. This, with an occasional bottle of ordinary wine, a relish of stockfish or cheese, and, at rare intervals, on great festivals and holidays, a dinner of fresh meat, constitutes the homely fare of the Italian peasant.—*From the report of Consul Spencer.*

Rome.—The ordinary laborer's fare is coarse bread and cheese and raw onions in the morning; at midday, a substantial soup of vegetables and macaroni, with fat pork or olive oil, or a dish of polenta (mush); in the evening, bread and cheese, with onions or salad, as the case may be, sometimes varied with stockfish. On

very rare occasions mutton or goat's meat and wine are indulged in."—*From the report of Consul-General McMillan.*

Turin.—The agriculturist, both farmer and laborer, lives very economically, hardly knows what "fresh meat" is, except half a dozen times a year, on State and church festivals. Sometimes he eats a little sausage, but his daily food consists of cornmeal mush, rice-bread, soups of wheat-flour paste, rice, and sometimes a little lard in the soup by way of luxury, cheese, greens and chestnuts in their season."—*From the report of Consul Noble.*

Messina.—The laboring classes are frugal and industrious. Contented with little, and living on what our workmen would despise, there is very little destitution among them."—*From the report of Consul Owen.*

In the Netherlands—Fresh meat a luxury —Hard work to live.

The consul at Rotterdam, speaking of the food of Dutch laborers, says:

"Meat, excepting sausage and chipped beef, is regarded by the mechanic and laboring man as a luxury, and is rarely indulged in. Bread, rice, fish, potatoes and other vegetables, constitute the staple articles of food for the laboring classes of the Netherlands. * * * With all his patient frugality and practiced economy, the Dutch working man has all he can do to maintain himself and family."

In Spain—Rarity of meat—A miserable mess to live on!

The consul at Barcelona reports that:

"The Catalonia working people live mostly on greens, beans, potatoes, onions, garlic, codfish (dried), and wine. * * * Boots or shoes are very seldom seen worn by laborers (men), the sandal (made of twine or grass) being the common foot cover.

The consul at Cadiz says:

"The farm laborers of Andalusia, fed by their employers, are allowed daily three pounds of bread, some oil, and a little vinegar. A portion of the bread is set aside, with the oil and vinegar, to form the two meals of the *gasepacho* served to the farm hands. It consists of bread soaked in water, to which the oil and vinegar are added. It is served hot in winter and cold in summer. Any additions, generally of vegetables, are supplied by the laborer at his own cost. This cheap ration is generally adopted by the working classes that pay their own board."

The consul at Malaga says:

"* * * The laborer in the south of Spain is the most frugal of beings. He rarely or never eats meat. Indeed, it would be impossible for him to do so and live on his earnings, as meat is extremely dear; common fresh meat being worth twenty cents and beefsteak thirty cents per pound. The laborer here generally subsists on fish, rice, beans and other vegetables." * *

PART XI.

Labor and Wages in the United States During Two Periods— Tables showing the Rise in Wages of American Mechanical and Farm Labor from the end of Democratic Rule in 1860 to 1874.

The following tables, prepared in the Bureau of Statistics, will furnish an interesting study to the artisan, mechanic and farm laborer, as exhibiting the rise in wages from 1860, when the Democrats were in power, to 1874, when the Republicans were in full power:

Mechanical Labor.

Table showing the average Daily Wages, without Board, paid in the several States and Territories to persons employed in the undermentioned Trades in the respective years 1860 and 1874.

STATES.	Black-smiths.		Brick-layers or masons.		Cabinet-makers.		Coopers.		Carpenters.		Painters.		Plasterers.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.														
Maine.....	\$1 97	\$2 37	\$2 30	\$3 50	\$1 88	\$2 12	\$1 74	\$2 12	\$2 00	\$2 75	\$1 92	\$2 50	\$2 27	\$3 50
New Hampshire.....	2 08	3 44	2 50	3 87	1 63	3 00	1 75	2 67	1 75	2 94	1 75	2 75	2 00	3 60
Vermont.....	2 21	2 88	2 63	2 75	2 19	2 89	2 13	2 75	2 08	3 00	2 04	2 62	2 65	3 00
Massachusetts.....	1 91	2 83	2 42	3 67	2 00	3 16	2 25	2 37	1 98	3 02	1 94	2 83	2 42	3 33
Rhode Island.....	1 50	....	1 75	....	2 00	....	1 50	....	1 50	....	1 50	....	1 75	....
Connecticut.....	1 67	....	2 00	....	1 75	....	2 00	....	1 67	....	1 67	....	1 92	....
MIDDLE STATES.														
New York.....	1 66	2 64	2 02	3 23	1 77	2 55	1 64	2 19	1 74	2 65	1 77	2 63	2 11	3 07
New Jersey.....	1 48	2 96	1 58	3 34	1 32	2 65	1 34	3 00	1 60	2 75	1 75	2 92	1 84	3 17
Pennsylvania.....	1 47	2 32	1 82	2 89	1 32	2 91	1 31	2 22	1 59	2 37	1 88	2 42	1 78	2 74
Delaware.....	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 50	1 50	3 00	(*)	3 00	1 50	2 75	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 75
Maryland.....	1 50	2 50	1 50	4 00	2 50	3 00	1 50	3 00	1 50	2 50	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 25
West Virginia.....	1 69	2 50	2 06	2 95	1 66	2 81	1 83	2 19	1 73	2 50	1 84	2 40	2 08	2 58
WESTERN STATES.														
Ohio.....	1 75	2 30	2 18	3 06	1 99	2 24	1 58	1 12	1 78	2 33	1 94	2 20	2 08	2 64
Indiana.....	1 93	2 00	2 60	3 25	1 84	2 62	1 62	2 25	1 83	2 33	1 96	2 87	2 32	3 00
Illinois.....	2 02	2 81	2 73	3 69	1 97	2 83	2 00	2 75	2 03	2 87	2 02	2 56	2 49	3 38
Michigan.....	2 10	....	2 41	....	1 88	....	1 70	2 00	1 90	....	1 90	....	2 30	....
Wisconsin.....	2 88	2 50	2 54	3 00	2 01	2 00	2 03	2 00	2 13	2 50	2 08	2 75	2 49	4 00
Minnesota.....	1 90	3 00	2 41	3 00	1 96	2 50	1 88	3 00	1 89	2 50	1 96	3 00	2 32	....
Iowa.....	2 17	2 50	2 47	3 50	2 10	2 50	1 95	....	2 01	3 00	1 95	2 50	2 47	3 00
Kansas.....	2 69	....	3 17	....	3 00	....	2 88	....	2 75	....	2 55	....	2 69	....
Nebraska.....	2 50	....	3 50	....	2 50	....	....	....	2 50	....	2 50	....	4 00	....
Missouri.....	2 03	3 50	2 71	4 00	2 10	3 00	2 00	2 50	2 05	3 00	2 46	3 00	2 71	3 50
Kentucky.....	2 03	2 62	2 68	3 50	1 84	2 75	1 88	2 90	2 28	3 20	2 17	2 90	2 37	3 10
SOUTHERN STATES.														
Virginia.....	1 40	2 20	1 75	2 00	1 68	1 88	1 55	1 63	1 74	1 70	1 80	1 63	1 71	2 00
North Carolina.....	1 50	2 50	1 83	3 00	1 50	2 50	1 00	....	1 50	2 75	1 50	3 00	1 67	3 00
South Carolina.....	1 67	2 50	1 71	2 50	2 17	....	1 56	....	1 90	2 50	1 85	2 50	1 80	2 50
Georgia.....	1 88	3 00	2 58	2 50	2 08	2 75	1 44	3 00	2 13	2 75	2 13	2 75	1 94	2 50
Florida.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Alabama.....	2 30	....	2 25	....	2 83	....	2 50	....	2 25	....	....	....	2 67	....
Louisiana.....	2 70	4 00	2 60	3 50	2 12	2 50	2 50	3 00	2 70	2 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	3 00
Texas.....	2 66	3 00	3 33	3 75	3 50	2 50	2 37	....	2 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	2 87	3 50
Mississippi.....	2 50	3 00	2 94	3 00	2 25	....	2 50	....	2 12	2 50	2 00	....	3 50	3 00
Arkansas.....	2 60	3 50	2 83	4 50	2 71	3 00	2 25	3 00	2 41	3 00	2 42	3 00	2 67	3 00
Tennessee.....	2 03	3 25	2 28	4 08	2 29	2 83	1 78	2 50	2 29	2 75	2 36	2 83	2 32	3 16
PACIFIC STATES.														
California.....	4 22	3 00	4 96	5 50	3 75	3 00	4 00	....	3 95	3 00	4 06	4 00	4 75	5 00
Nevada.....	6 80	6 00	6 80	6 00	6 88	....	....	....	7 00	6 00	7 80	5 00	7 80	6 00
Oregon.....	4 50	5 00	5 42	5 00	4 41	4 00	4 12	4 00	4 50	4 00	4 34	4 50	5 60	5 00
TERRITORIES.														
Washington.....	8 50	4 00	8 00	5 00	6 00	3 00	5 00	3 00	6 00	4 50	6 00	5 00	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	5 25	....	6 50	....	4 87	....	....	....	4 38	....	4 37	....	5 87	....
Dakota.....	2 25	3 50	8 25	3 50	....	3 00	....	....	3 25	2 50	2 50	3 00	3 00	3 50
Idaho.....	....	3 75	....	5 50	....	5 00	....	....	....	5 00	....	5 00	....	6 00
Arizona.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Montana.....	....	4 00	....	5 00	....	4 00	....	....	....	5 00	....	4 00	....	5 00
New Mexico.....	2 50	8 75	8 00	4 00	2 50	2 75	3 00	....	3 00	4 25	3 00	3 50	4 00	3 00
AVERAGES.														
New England States.....	1 89	2 88	2 27	3 45	1 91	2 79	1 90	2 48	1 83	2 93	1 80	2 67	2 17	3 38
Middle States.....	1 55	2 65	1 83	3 32	1 68	2 82	1 48	2 43	1 61	2 69	1 70	2 73	1 97	3 09
Western States.....	2 13	2 96	2 67	3 37	2 11	2 56	1 95	2 50	2 10	2 72	2 13	2 67	2 37	3 23
Southern States.....	2 12	2 99	2 40	3 20	2 81	2 95	1 95	2 63	2 13	2 52	2 16	2 59	2 37	2 85
General average.....	1 92	2 79	2 30	3 33	2 00	2 78	1 82	2 51	1 92	2 69	1 95	2 66	2 27	3 14
Pacific States (gold).....	5 17	4 67	5 73	5 50	5 01	3 50	4 06	4 00	5 15	4 33	5 40	4 50	6 05	5 33
Territories (gold).....	4 63	3 80	5 19	4 60	4 46	3 65	4 00	3 00	4 16	4 25	3 97	4 00	4 72	4 50
Average.....	4 90	4 23	5 46	5 05	4 74	3 57	4 03	3 50	4 66	4 29	4 69	4 25	5 39	4 91

* Piecework.

Mechanical Labor, (Continued.)

Table showing the average Daily Wages paid, etc.

STATES.	Shoemakers.		Stone-cutters.		Tailors.		Tanners.		Tinsmiths.		Wheelwrights.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.												
Maine.....	\$1 70	\$2 50	\$2 22	\$3 50	\$1 86	\$3 50	\$2 09	\$2 50	\$1 82	\$2 25	\$1 80	\$2 50
New Hampshire.....	1 84	2 50	2 12	3 75	1 75	3 75	1 80	3 25	1 50	3 19	1 75	3 12
Vermont.....	1 44	2 50	2 25	3 00	1 65	2 50	1 70	2 75	1 88	2 88	1 83	3 08
Massachusetts.....	1 72	2 25	2 50	3 94	1 80	2 37	1 94	2 38	1 85	3 05	2 01	2 37
Rhode Island.....	.....	.....	2 00	.....	2 00	.....	1 80	2 38	1 75	.....	2 00	.....
Connecticut.....	1 37	.....	2 13	.....	1 37	.....	2 00	.....	1 67	.....	1 50	.....
MIDDLE STATES.												
New York.....	1 52	2 98	2 17	3 15	1 66	2 26	1 71	2 22	1 74	2 52	1 90	2 95
New Jersey.....	1 83	1 96	1 92	3 00	1 92	2 25	1 59	2 08	1 33	2 86	1 35	2 30
Pennsylvania.....	1 35	1 78	2 01	2 28	1 84	2 14	1 40	2 05	1 37	2 15	1 59	1 92
Delaware.....	(*)	2 00	1 50	2 00	(*)	2 50	1 50	2 00	2 00	2 50	.....	2 50
Maryland.....	2 00	2 50	2 00	3 50	.....	1 75	2 00	1 50	2 00	2 25	2 00	2 50
West Virginia.....	1 57	3 62	2 18	3 28	1 42	2 72	1 50	2 44	1 75	2 38	1 86	2 75
WESTERN STATES.												
Ohio.....	1 59	2 08	2 28	2 89	1 59	2 30	1 74	2 18	1 72	2 00	1 96	2 38
Indiana.....	1 64	2 25	2 25	3 08	1 76	1 92	1 61	2 08	1 90	2 17	1 96	2 21
Illinois.....	1 96	2 31	2 40	3 50	1 80	2 35	1 95	2 50	2 01	2 25	2 25	3 75
Michigan.....	1 54	.....	2 25	.....	1 69	.....	1 79	.....	1 72	.....	2 08	.....
Wisconsin.....	3 13	1 25	2 75	4 00	2 30	1 50	2 36	2 00	2 24	2 50	2 23	2 00
Minnesota.....	1 86	2 50	2 43	3 00	1 64	2 50	1 93	.....	1 54	2 50	1 78	.....
Iowa.....	1 86	1 50	2 36	3 00	1 95	1 75	2 00	.....	1 86	2 00	2 51	2 50
Kansas.....	2 12	.....	3 25	.....	3 25	.....	2 50	.....	2 17	.....	2 50	.....
Nebraska.....	3 06	.....	4 00	.....	2 75	.....	.....	.....	2 17	.....	2 89	.....
Missouri.....	2 00	2 50	2 92	3 50	2 10	2 50	2 00	2 00	2 17	2 75	2 38	2 75
Kentucky.....	1 96	2 50	2 65	3 10	2 13	2 96	1 83	2 75	2 00	2 25	2 15	3 33
SOUTHERN STATES.												
Virginia.....	1 44	1 58	2 00	3 38	1 74	2 00	1 67	1 75	1 66	1 75	1 61	2 20
North Carolina.....	1 06	3 00	1 58	.....	1 25	3 00	1 17	.....	2 00	2 75	1 58	2 50
South Carolina.....	1 88	2 50	2 87	2 50	2 10	2 50	2 38	.....	1 65	2 50	2 15	2 69
Georgia.....	1 75	2 50	2 18	3 50	2 00	3 50	2 50	.....	2 27	2 50	2 28	2 75
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	2 00	.....	3 50	.....	1 94	.....	2 50	.....	2 50	.....	2 42	.....
Louisiana.....	1 90	2 00	3 50	2 00	2 12	2 00	.....	2 50	2 38	2 50	2 50	2 50
Texas.....	2 33	.....	3 17	3 75	1 82	.....	3 12	.....	2 50	2 75	1 75	2 50
Mississippi.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 90	.....	3 00	.....
Arkansas.....	2 08	2 00	2 42	5 00	1 83	3 06	1 90	.....	2 17	4 00	2 17	.....
Tennessee.....	2 20	2 38	2 53	3 42	2 03	3 22	1 75	2 50	1 75	2 62	1 86	2 50
PACIFIC STATES.												
California.....	3 88	.....	4 95	5 00	3 60	.....	4 00	.....	4 04	3 00	4 75	.....
Nevada.....	5 88	4 00	7 00	6 00	6 00	3 00	5 60	.....	6 00	5 00	8 75	7 80
Oregon.....	3 95	3 50	5 40	5 00	3 80	3 50	4 10	4 00	4 25	4 50	4 67	5 08
TERRITORIES.												
Washington.....	5 00	.....	6 00	5 00	.....	3 00	.....	3 00	6 00	2 50	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	4 00	.....	5 87	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	4 50	.....	5 00	.....
Dakota.....	3 50	3 00	.....	.....	.....	3 00	3 00	.....	.....	3 00	.....	3 08
Idaho.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 50
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	4 00	.....	8 00	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	5 50	.....	5 00
New Mexico.....	.....	2 50	3 00	3 00	.....	3 50	.....	.....	.....	3 25	.....	3 08
AVERAGES.												
New England States.....	1 61	2 44	2 22	3 55	1 74	3 08	1 84	2 72	1 75	2 84	1 82	2 75
Middle States.....	1 65	2 20	1 96	2 86	1 59	2 27	1 62	2 06	1 64	2 88	1 74	2 49
Western States.....	1 97	2 11	2 09	3 26	2 09	2 22	1 97	2 26	2 02	2 50	2 24	2 70
Southern States.....	1 81	2 27	2 51	3 36	1 84	2 75	2 06	2 25	2 07	2 67	2 14	2 42
General average.....												
Pacific States (gold).....	4 57	3 75	5 78	5 33	4 47	3 25	4 57	4 00	4 76	4 17	6 06	6 00
Territories (gold).....	4 17	3 44	5 29	5 25	4 00	3 37	3 00	3 00	5 25	3 70	5 50	4 30
Average.....												
	4 37	3 59	5 54	5 29	4 24	3 31	3 78	3 50	5 00	3 93	5 78	5 15

*Piecework.

Farm Labor.

Table showing the average Daily Wages for Farm Labor in 1860 and 1874.

STATES.	Experienced hands. Summer.				Experienced hands. Winter.				Ordinary hands. Summer.			
	With board.		Without board.		With board.		Without board.		With board.		Without board.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.												
Maine.....	\$1 07		\$1 49		\$0 81		\$1 09		\$0 94		\$1 10	
New Hampshire.....	1 04	\$1 75	1 38	\$2 25	75	\$1 00	1 06	\$1 50	88	\$1 25	1 25	\$1 69
Vermont.....	94	1 44	1 13	2 12	72	1 06	1 00	1 62	75	1 00	1 01	1 62
Massachusetts.....	1 06	1 50	1 40	1 87	73	1 05	1 05	1 50	79	87	1 13	1 50
Rhode Island.....	78		1 00		42		75		50		89	
Connecticut.....	1 13	1 25		1 50	75	1 00		1 50	1 00	1 00		1 50
MIDDLE STATES.												
New York.....	89	1 48	1 21	2 00	67	96	90	1 48	65	1 18	99	1 71
New Jersey.....	79	1 05	1 16	2 00	54	1 00	85	1 42	73	1 13	1 09	1 58
Pennsylvania.....	84	1 13	1 22	1 57	62	84	94	1 25	68	89	1 05	1 25
Delaware.....	75	1 00		1 25	50	75		1 00	50	88		1 00
Maryland.....	88		63		25		50		38		62	
West Virginia.....	77	1 08	96	1 46	61	74	86	1 15	52	64	76	93
WESTERN STATES.												
Ohio.....	89	1 03	1 16	1 48	65	90	92	1 25	68	82	96	1 07
Indiana.....	96	1 13	1 26	1 47	71	86	99	1 11	71	84	99	1 23
Illinois.....	1 02	1 32	1 32	1 69	75	97	1 00	1 89	78	1 06	1 06	1 43
Michigan.....	93	1 25	1 22	1 75	70	1 25	1 03	1 75	73	1 00	1 02	1 40
Wisconsin.....	1 27		1 66		83		1 20		1 01		1 41	
Minnesota.....	1 42	1 00	1 73	1 50	88	73	1 14	1 25	1 10	75	1 38	1 00
Iowa.....	1 06	78	1 34		70	78	1 00		1 08	70	1 01	
Kansas.....	1 25		1 75		1 15		2 37		1 78		1 50	
Nebraska.....	1 00		1 38				1 25		1 00		1 25	
Missouri.....	81	1 50	1 12		69	1 00	99		67	1 00	93	
Kentucky.....	77		1 06		60		90		64		89	
SOUTHERN STATES.												
Virginia.....	60	64	1 02	80	47	47	69	67	52	54	66	76
North Carolina.....	60	1 00	63	1 25	36	75	52		33		47	
South Carolina.....	58	1 00	78	1 25	40	75	60	1 00	34	75	59	1 50
Georgia.....	55		81		80		71		47		68	
Florida.....		75	88					75			75	
Alabama.....	63	75	75	1 00	55	50	80	75	47	75	70	1 00
Mississippi.....	60	75	75	1 00	52		60		49	50	81	75
Louisiana.....	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	1 00	65	1 25	1 05		75		1 25
Texas.....	66	87	1 00	1 25	58	75	81	1 00	54	50	75	75
Arkansas.....	75		1 03		63		92		55		81	
Tennessee.....	74		97		55		75		51		71	50
PACIFIC STATES.												
California.....	2 01	1 50	2 50	2 50	1 89	1 00	2 13	2 50	2 00	1 00	2 17	2 09
Nevada.....	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 00	1 50	4 90	2 50
Oregon.....	2 14	1 00	2 50	1 60	1 51	1 25	1 94	2 00	1 61	1 00	1 88	1 69
TERRITORIES.												
Washington.....	3 12	2 25	4 12		2 25	1 50	3 00		2 25		2 75	
Colorado.....	2 17		2 83		1 50		2 00		1 75		2 75	
Dakota.....	1 50	1 00	2 00	1 25	1 25	75	1 50	1 00	1 25		1 50	
Idaho.....		1 50		2 12		1 12		1 25		1 25		1 75
Arizona.....												
Montana.....												
New Mexico.....	75	1 00	1 13	2 50	50	1 00	1 00	1 50	60	1 25	1 00	1 75
AVERAGES.												
New England States.....	1 00	1 48	1 28	1 99	70	1 08	99	1 53	81	1 02	1 07	1 53
Middle States.....	74	1 26	1 03	1 66	53	86	81	1 26	57	95	85	1 30
Western States.....	1 03	1 15	1 37	1 68	77	96	1 17	1 35	83	98	1 12	
Southern States.....	67	81	91	1 09	56	69	77	99	47	63	69	
General average.....	86	1 17	1 15	1 56	64	86	94	1 26	67	87	94	
Pacific States.....	2 57	1 67	3 53	2 53	2 13	1 58	3 22	2 67	2 20	1 17	2 68	
Territories.....	1 89	1 44	2 52	1 95	1 38	1 09	1 88	1 25	1 46	1 25	2 00	
Average.....	2 23	1 55	3 03	2 19	1 76	1 33	2 55	1 96	1 83	1 21	2 34	

PART XII.

Democratic Responsibility for Recent Hard Times—The Democratic Tariff - Tinkering—Cheese-Paring Economy and Opposition to Resumption.

From the preceding tabulations it will be seen that, even during the period of depression recently passed, the condition and wages of American labor were far superior to the condition and wages of foreign labor, and that the wages of the American laborer were far greater in 1874, when the Republicans were in full power, than in 1860, when the Democrats had full sway. It must be remembered that when the Democrats regained partial control of the government by securing a majority of the House of Representatives, through bulldozing and tissue ballots in the South, and under the sham cry of "economy" in the North, they at once commenced the work of dragging down the American laborer—the "mudsill," as they termed him. They have made more than one desperate effort to destroy the tariff in the interest of foreign manufacturers and importers, and against the interests of home manufacturers and the laborers in their employ. Their efforts to defeat resumption, their tariff-tinkering, their "cheese-paring" policy of cutting down both the pay and the number of the poor government laborers and clerks—inaugurated five years ago, when the control of the House passed to them—and which led to the throwing out of numberless thousands of deserving workingmen and workingwomen from employment in all our cities and towns, have caused most of the distress which in recent years has afflicted this land. Despite all this, however, the wages of labor in this country—owing mainly to the firm attitude of the Republican administration and the Republican party in Congress—at this time, and in all of even the worst years with which Democratic folly and wickedness has afflicted us of late years, compares favorably both with foreign wages of labor, and with the low wages which labor could earn under full Democratic rule in 1860.

PART XIII.

Comparative Prosperity come Again—Increased Wages and Demand for Farm Labor—Shall we go with the Republicans Forward or with the Democrats Backward again?

The annual report of the Agricultural Department just completed—on farm labor and wages—states that:

"The decline which had been steadily going on since 1873 till last year seems to have been arrested, and there is a decided advance in almost every section;

the average wage of labor engaged by the year or season, and which represents the steady and trustworthy force on the farms, was for the whole country last year \$20.26 a month without board. This year it is \$21.75, being an increase of 7.25 per cent. . . . The cost of subsistence to the laborer for the average of the whole country in 1880 is \$7.17 a month against \$7.14 in 1879. Heretofore, in the decline of wages, the cost of subsistence declined in quite the same ratio, but for this year the proportion is largely in favor of the laborer; as the cost of subsistence remains nearly at the lowest rate, while the wage has materially advanced. The average price for labor with board is \$14.66. An analysis of the figures of wages paid without board shows only three States reporting less than last year, viz.: Texas, Minnesota and California; but a glance at the report of the wage paid with board shows a marked increase. It must be borne in mind, however, that in all these States the sparseness of population and absence of the facilities of the older States, render it both necessary and convenient to lodge and feed the hired help. The price paid, therefore, with board, is the safest indication of the value of labor. As was to be expected, the greatest increase has been in those States where agriculture has been the most remunerative since last year. Thus in the West, and those States bordering on the Ohio River which were the most favored, the increase has been the largest. The same applies to the cotton States. With the higher price for cotton the advance has been universal, and is in some as high as 8 or 10 per cent. The demand for labor is good in all sections of the country. In the New England and Middle States there is a steady and good demand for trustworthy men, and prices for that class have advanced very materially. The large number of reports from those sections state that the usual custom is to hire with board and for the season. In the South Atlantic and Gulf States there is an active demand for all kinds of steady labor. Many correspondents report that the share system, or a division of the product in lieu of wages, is growing more unpopular daily, and that the freedmen are becoming more and more landholders. In Mississippi and Louisiana there are a few reports of scarcity of labor owing to the exodus to Kansas and the North, but in the same localities there is reported a good demand for trustworthy labor of all kinds. In the Northwestern States the supply of labor is quite equal to the demand in that section. Most of the inhabitants are land-owners, and only hire help at harvest time, but skilled laborers are reported in good demand. In the Territories and on the Pacific slope the demand is reported as good, except in New Mexico and Montana, where a surplus is noticed. In the first-named Territory the surplus is attributed to the opening of the railway from Kansas, and in the latter to the large number of young and unskilled laborers arriving."

Republican sympathy for the workingmen—Democratic scoffs at the "mudsills"—The free school system.

The Republican party has always believed in and acted upon a humanitarian creed. They have believed that business could be transacted as correctly by men with human sympathies as by those who sneered at what they termed "sentimentalism." The Democratic leaders have always scoffed at the idea that Government should, even incidentally, consider the woes and sufferings of the multitude; or, as a Democratic Senator once termed them, "the mudsills of society"—a term of approbrium which at the last session of Congress was again scornfully revived by a Democratic representative from Kentucky. The Republican party has cherished the free school system, where the workingman's children are freely educated, and thus afforded an opportunity of elevating themselves in after life to place and power in both social and political spheres. The Democratic party has not been kindly to that free school system.

Democratic nostrums—What workmen think of them—Republican efforts to solve the labor problem.

Many nostrums are prescribed by Democratic quacks to remedy the ills to which labor is sometimes subjected in its struggle with capital. These are rejected by the workmen themselves. The Republican party has no infallible plan to propose; but it points to what it has already done to bring about good times, and calls on the laboring men themselves to set their best minds to work to co-operate with it in reaching a true solution

of remaining problems, and to co-operate in the selection of candidates for place in the National Councils and in the White House. Farmers, miners, mechanics, workmen, and the sons of workmen, have sat in the Senate and House of Representatives and in the Presidential chair by Republican suffrages. They know, from all past experience, that in the Republican party, if they cannot always get relief when it is needed, they are at least certain to find sincere desire and honest effort to elevate humanity and help the laboring interest.

CHAPTER XV.

The Homestead Question.

"Public land for actual settlers."—National Democratic Platform of 1880.

PART I.

The Great Question of the Day— The Public Domain.

In 1858 it was estimated that there were within the States and Territories 1,000,000,000 acres of the public lands unentered. The great question of the day was: "What shall be done with this immense domain? Shall it be open to monopoly by speculators, be used to build up a landed aristocracy, or shall it be reserved to actual settlers at a nominal price, or without price?" The Republicans proposed to solve the problem by practical legislation in favor of our landless people.

The Republicans attempt to flank the land sharks, to discourage speculation, and secure to the poor settler ten years or more to pay for his farm from proceeds of soil—Are defeated by the Democracy.

At the first session of Thirty-fifth Congress Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, a member of the House, introduced into that body the following bill for the protection of actual settlers on the public domains:

The Grow bill—The vote defeating it.

Be it enacted, etc. That from and after the first day of September, A. D. 1858, no public lands shall be exposed to sale by proclamation of the President until the same shall have been surveyed, and the return thereof in the land office for at least ten years.

This bill gave to the settler ten years precedence over the speculator, but it was defeated by the following vote (Republicans in roman, Democrats in italics, South Americans in small caps):

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Adrian, Andrews, Bennett, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Brayton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Case, E. Clark, *E. F. Clark*, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Coz, Cragin, James Craig, Burton Craigie, Curtis, Darnell, Davis (Mass.), Davis (Iowa), Dean, Dick, Dodd,

Durfee, Foster, Geddings, Goodwin, Granger, Grow, R. B. Hall, Harlan, T. L. Harris, Hickman, Hoard, Horton, Howard, G. W. Jones, Kellogg, Kelly, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Leach, Lovejoy, Mason, Morgan, Isaac N. Morris, F. H. Morse, Palmer, Parker, Pettit, Pike, Potter, Ritchie, Royce, A. Shaw, J. Sherman, J. W. Sherman, Spinner, W. Stewart, Tappan, G. Taylor, Tompkins, Wade, Walbridge, Walton, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, Israel Washburn—73.

NAYS—Messrs. Anderson, Atkins, Avery, Barksdale, Bishop, Bocock, Boyce, Branch, Bryant, Burnett, Burns, Caruthers, J. B. Clark, Clay, Clemens, Ctingman, Cobb, John Cochrane, Cockrill, Crawford, Davidson, Davis (Ind.), Debratt, Dowdell, Edmunson, English, Foley, Garnett, Gartrell, Gillis, Goode, Greenwood, Gregg, L. W. Hall, Hawkins, Houston, Hughes, Jackson, Jewell, J. G. Jones, Owen Jones, Lawrence, Leidy, Leller, Letcher, McQueen, H. MARSHALL, MAYNARD, Milson, Niblack, Nichols, Peyton, Phelps, Powell, READY, Reagan, Reilly, Euffin, Russell, Sandeys, Savage, Scales, Seward, Shorter, Stickles, Singleton, S. A. Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, TRIFFE, UNDERWOOD, Watkins, White, WOODSON, Wortendyke, A. R. Wright, J. V. Wright, ZOLLICOFFER—78.

Pre-emption bill of 1859—Grow's amendment carried.

Again, on the 20th of January, 1859, in the House, a bill reported from the Committee on Public Lands, relating to pre-emptions, Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, moved to amend by adding the following section:

Be it further enacted. That from and after the passage of this act no public land shall be exposed to sale, by proclamation of the President, unless the same shall have been surveyed and the return of such survey duly filed in the Land Office for ten years or more before such sale.

The practical effect of this amendment, like that of the bill of the previous session, was to give to the pre-emptor, the actual settler, ten years' precedence of the speculator, and to protect him from the enormous usury of the money sharks, in borrowing from whom he was frequently compelled to heavily mortgage his land. The amendment was opposed by the Southern landed Democracy, the slaveholding aristocracy, which, prior to 1861 as

now, dominated the Democratic party. It was moved that the bill and amendment be consigned to "the tomb of the Capulets," as the Committee of the Whole was familiarly and aptly termed. That motion was defeated by a vote of 92 to 90, and the House was forced to a direct vote on Mr. Grow's amendment. The amendment was carried by yeas 97, nays 81, as follows:

YEAS—Andrews, Atkins, Avery, Bennett, Billingshurst, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Brayton, Buffington, Burlingame, Burroughs, Cavanaugh, Chaffee, Chapman, Clark, John Cochrane, Cockerill, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cragin, Curtis, Davis, of Mass., Davis, of Iowa, Dawes, Dean, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Farnsworth, Fenton, Florence, Foster, Giddings, Gilman, Gooch, Granger, Grow, Hall, Harlan, Hoard, Horton, Howard, Jewell, Jones, Keim, Kellogg, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Lawrence, Leach, Leiter, Lovejoy, Matteson, Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Morris, F. H. Morse, O. A. Morse, Mott, Murray, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pettit, Phelps, Phillips, Pike, Potter, Purviance, Ritchie, Robbins, Royce, Savage, John Sherman, Jno. W. Sherman, Spinner, Stanton, Stevenson, Stewart, Talbot, Tappan, Thayer, Thompson, Tompkins, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Jr., Wilson, Wood—97.

NAYS—Ahl, ANDERSON, Arnold, Becock, Bonham, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Burnett, Burns, Caruthers, Caskey, Clark, Cobb, Coz, James Craig, Burton Craige, Crawford, Curry, J. G. Davis, Reuben Davis, Dewart, Doddell, Eustis, Faulkner, Foley, Garnett, Gartrell, GILMER, Goode, Gregg, Hall, Hawkins, Hodges, Hopkins, Houston, Hughes, Huyler, Jackson, Leidy, McQueen, McRae, Marshall, Maynard, Miles, Milson, Montgomery, Moore, Pendleton, Phelps, Powell, READY, Reagan, Rufin, Russell, Sandridge, Seales, Scott, Searing, Seward, A. Shaw, H. M. Shaw, Shorter, Singleton, S. Smith, S. A. Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, Stewart, Taylor, TRIFFE, UNDERWOOD, Vallandigham, Vance, Watkins, Whiteley, Winslow, WOODSON, Wortendyke, Wright, Zollcoffer—81.

The bill as amended, defeated by the Democrats.

But the bill as amended was defeated by a vote of 95 nays to 91 yeas, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Andrews, Bennett, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Brayton, Buffington, Burlingame, Burroughs, Cavanaugh, Chaffee, E. Clark, Jr., H. F. Clarke, Clauson, C. B. Cochrane, John Cochrane, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Coz, Cragin, Curtis, HANNEY W. DAVIS, T. Davis, of Mass., T. Davis, of Iowa, Dawes, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Farnsworth, Fenton, Foster, Giddings, Gooch, Granger, GROW, D. W. HALL, J. B. HALL, Harlan, Hatch, Hoard, Horton, Howard, Keim, Kellogg, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Leach, Leiter, Lovejoy, Matteson, Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Ed. J. Morris, I. N. Morris, F. H. Morse, O. A. Morse, Mott, Murray, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pettit, Phelps, Pike, Potter, Purviance, Ritchie, Robbins, Royce, John Sherman, Spinner, Stanton, Stewart, Tappan, Thayer, Thompson, Tompkins, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburne, Jr., Wilson, Wood—91.

NAYS—Messrs. Ahl, ANDERSON, Arnold, Atkins, Avery, Barksdale, Becock, Bonham, Bowie, Boyce, Bryan, Burnett, Burns, Caruthers, Caskey, Chapman, J. B. Clark, Clark, Cobb, Cockerill, Corning, James Craig, Burton Craige, Crawford, J. G. Davis, Reuben Davis, Dewart, Doddell, Edmundson, Elliott, Florence, Foley, Garnett, Gartrell, GILMER, Goode, Greenwood, Gregg, Grosbeck, Hawkins, Hopper, Houston, Hughes, Huyler, Jackson, Jewell, G. W. Jones, O. Jones, Leidy, McQueen, McRae, H. MARSHALL, S. S. Marshall, Mason, MAYNARD, Milson, Montgomery, Moore, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Phillips, Powell, READY, Reagan, RICAUD, Rufin, Russell, Sandridge, Savage, Seales, Searing, A. Shaw, H. M. Shaw, Shorter, Singleton, Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, Stevenson, Stewart, Talbot, G. Taylor, M. Taylor, TRIFFE, UNDERWOOD, Vallandigham, Vance, Watkins, White, Whiteley, Winslow, WOODSON, Wright, ZOLLCOFFER—95.

The Republicans voted unanimously for the amendment, as they did for the bill as

amended. Every Southern member except two, Mr. Blair, of Missouri, and Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, voted solidly against the bill as amended. Only eight Democrats, Northern Democrats of the Douglas school, dared to support the bill as amended, with their votes; and the character of the opposition is exposed in the indignant criticism of Mr. Cavanaugh, of Minnesota, a Douglas Democrat. He said:

"I say it frankly—I say it in sorrow—that it was to the Republican side of this House to whom we were compelled to look for support of this just and honorable measure. Gentlemen from the South, gentlemen who have broad acres and white plantations, aided here to-day by their votes more to make Republican States in the North than by any vote which has been cast within the last two years. These gentlemen come here and ask us to support the South; yet they, to a man, almost, vote against the free, independent labor of the North and West."

Mr. Cavanaugh declared that he had "inherited his Democracy," that he had been a "Democrat from his boyhood," that he "believed in the great truths as enunciated by the 'fathers of the faith,'" and "cherished them religiously." He added:

"But, sir, when I see Southern gentlemen come up as they did to-day, and refuse by their votes to aid my constituents—refuse to place the actual tiller of the soil, the honest industrious laborer, beyond the grasp and avarice of the speculator, I tell you, sir, I falter—I hesitate!"

PART II.

The Republicans Demand "Free Homesteads for Actual Settlers on the Public Domain"—The Vote by which they Carried it—Wm. H. English's Vote.

On the 1st of February, 1859, H. R. 72, "to secure homesteads to actual settlers," which had been referred to the Committee on Agriculture, and reported from that Committee January 26, 1859, by Mr. Ashley, came up for action. The Democracy attempted to defeat it, even to prohibit all discussion of its merits, by parliamentary strategy. A motion to lay on the table was lost by a vote of nays 113, to yeas 71, and the House was forced to a direct vote. The bill was then passed—yeas 120, nays 76, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Adrian, Andrews, Barr, Billingshurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Brayton, Buffington, Burlingame, Burroughs, Case, Cavanaugh, Chaffee, E. Clark, Cawson, C. B. Cochrane, John Cochrane, Cockerill, Colfax, Comins, Corning, Covode, Coz, Cragin, James Craig, Curtis, John G. Davis, T. Davis, of Mass., T. Davis, of Iowa, Dawes, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Farnsworth, Fenton, Florence, Foley, Foster, Giddings, Gilman, Gooch, Goodwin, Granger, Gregg, Grosbeck, Grow, L. W. Hall, R. E. Hall, Harlan, Haskin, Hatch, Hickman, Hoard, Hodges, Horton, Howard, Jewell, G. W. Jones, Keim, Kellogg, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Kunkell, Lawrence, Leach, Leiter, Lovejoy, Macloy, McKibben, Matteson, Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Ed. J. Morris, I. N. Morris, F. H. Morse, O. A. Morse, Murray, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pendleton, Pettit, Phelps, Phillips, Pike, Potter, Fottle, Purviance, Rilly, Robbins, Roberts, Royce, Russell, Scott, John Sherman, Smith, Spinner, Stanton, William Stewart, Tappan, Taylor, Thayer, Tompkins, Vallandigham, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, Ward, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Wilson, Wortendyke—120.

YEAS—MESSRS. ANDERSON, Atkins, Avery, Barksdale, Biscoe, Bonham, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Burnett, Caskey, J. B. Clark, Cobb, Burton Craig, Crawford, Curry, Davis, Doodell, Edmonson, William H. English, EUBANK, Fawcett, Garnett, Gartrell, GILMER, Good, Greenwood, HARRIS, Hill, Hopkins, Houston, Hughes, Jackson, Jenkins, Keith, Kunkel, Lamar, Leidy, Letcher, McQueen, McRae, H. MARSHALL, S. S. Marshall, Mason, MAYNARD, Miles, Milton, Moore, Niblack, Nichols, Peyton, READY, Reagan, RICAUD, Ruffin, Scales, Seward, A. Shaw, H. M. Shaw, Shorter, Singleton, S. A. Smith, W. Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, Jas. A. Stewart, TRIPPE, UNDERWOOD, VANCE, Watkins, Whiteley, Winslow, WOODSON, A. B. Wright, J. V. Wright, ZOLLIHOFFER—76.

The Republicans, every man of them but one, voted *solidly* for the bill—voted to guarantee the public lands to actual settlers—to donate land to the landless. The great body of the Democracy—60 out of 98—all the South Americans—the whole Southern landed aristocracy—voted *solidly* against the bill. Only three Southern members—Jones of Tenn., Jewett of Ky., and Craig of Mo.—voted with the Republicans to secure the public lands to actual settlers, while WILLIAM H. ENGLISH, of Ind., voted nay with the slave-holding Democracy.

PART III.

Homesteads in the Democratic Senate: The Democracy determined to oppose even the consideration of the bill granting them.

On the 17th of February, in the Senate, Ben. Wade, of Ohio, moved to postpone all prior orders, and take up the homestead bill, which had thus passed the House. A characteristic debate ensued. The slave-holding aristocracy, the Southern landed Democracy, antagonized the homestead with the appropriation bills. Said R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia: "I hope there will be no effort to press this homestead bill so as to displace the appropriation bills." Only a few weeks of the session remained, and an "extended debate" and the loss of the appropriation bills were threatened if the homestead bill was passed. Ben. Wade rejoined that the friends of the bill—the Republicans—wanted no debate. The measure for years had been before the country, had been discussed in all its bearings, and there was no measure in which the people were more deeply interested. But a vote was what the Southern landed Democracy manoeuvred to avoid or defeat. Said Mr. Hunter: "I do not conceal the fact that I am much opposed to it," that is, to giving "land to the landless;" and his colleague, Mr. Mason declared that he intended "to go into it pretty largely, because he had not yet known a bill so fraught with mischief, and mischief of the most demoralizing kind."

Mr. Wade's motion was carried by a vote of yeas 25, nays 23, as follows.

YEAS—MESSRS. Bright, Broderick, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Decolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Gwin, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Johnson, of Tenn., King, Pugh, Rice, Seward, Shields, Simmons, Smith, Stuart, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—25.

NAYS—MESSRS. Allen, Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Brown, Chestnut, Clay, Clingman, Davis, Fitch, Fitzpatrick, Green, Hammond, Hunter, Iverson, Lane, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Reid, Shidell, Toombs, and Ward—23.

The Republicans voted unanimously to take up the homestead bill, but every Southern Democrat—a "solid South," with the exception of Mr. Johnson of Tenn., voted against the motion. Instantly upon the announcement of this vote, which brought the homestead bill before the Senate, Mr. Hunter again moved to lay it aside and take up another bill. An opposition so puerile was fittingly called "child's play." During the debate which followed the morning hour expired, and Vice President Breckenridge decided that the bill for the purchase of Cuba in the interest of the slave-holding oligarchy was the subject pending before the Senate. Whereupon Mr. Wade moved to postpone the Cuba and continue the consideration of the homestead bill. That motion was also carried—yeas 27, nays 26; all the Republicans voting for it; all the Southern Democrats, except Senators Bell and Johnson, of Tennessee, voting against it. Again the homestead was before the Senate; again Mr. Hunter moved to lay it aside. Senators Wade and Seward, in energetic terms, exhorted the friends of the bill to stand firm, but Hunter's motion prevailed—yeas 28, nays 28, as follows:

YEAS—MESSRS. Allen, Bates, Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Brown, Clay, Clingman, Davis, Fitch, Fitzpatrick, Green, Guise, H. H. Harris, Harlan, Johnson, of Ark., Kennedy, Lane, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Reid, Sebastian, Shidell, Toombs, Ward, and Yule—28.

NAYS—MESSRS. Bill, Bright, Broderick, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Decolittle, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Houston, Johnson, of Tenn., King, Pugh, Rice, Seward, Simmons, Smith, Stuart, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—28.

The Senate being equally divided, Vice President Breckinridge gave the casting vote against the homestead. Every vote for Hunter's motion to postpone is Democratic, and all but five are from the South. Only three of the twenty-eight votes against Hunter's motion, and in favor of considering the homestead, are from the South—Bell and Johnson, of Tenn., and Houston, of Texas.

PART IV.

"The Great Question of the Day and the Age"—Shall we give "Lands and Homes to the Landless Freemen, or Slaves to the Slave-holders?"—"Niggers to the Niggerless, or Land to the Landless?"

On the 19th of February, two days afterward, Senator Wade again moved to set aside all prior orders and take up the homestead bill. The motion was defeated. Yeas (all Republicans but seven) 24, nays (all Democrats) 31. On the 25th of February the motion to take up the homestead bill was again antagonized by the Cuba bill. The Cuba bill prevailed. Yeas (all Democrats) 35, nays

(all Republicans but five) 24. After a debate—"an idle debate"—protracted far into the night, and resorted to only as a means of killing the homestead bill, the Republicans, at ten o'clock, P. M., made an effort to bring the latter bill before the Senate. In the debate which ensued, Mr. Seward urged:

"After nine hours yielding to the discussion of the Cuba question, it is time to come back to the great question of the day and the age. The Senate may as well meet face to face the issue which is before them. It is an issue presented by the competition between these two questions. One, the homestead bill, is a question of homes, of lands for the landless freemen of the United States. The Cuba bill is a question of slaves to the slaveholders of the United States."

Said Mr. Wade:

"I am very glad that this question has at length come up. I am glad, too, that it has antagonized with this nigger question. I have been trying here for nearly a month to get a straightforward vote upon this great question of 'land for the landless.' I glory in that measure. It is the greatest that has ever come before the American Senate, and it has now come so that there is no dodging it. The question will be, 'Shall we give niggers to the niggerless, or land to the landless?'"

The motion to take up the homestead bill was again lost. Yeas (all Republicans but two—Broderick, of Cal., and Johnston, of Tenn.) 19; nays (all Democrats) 29. No further attempt at that session was made to get it before the Senate.

PART V.

The Homestead Principle, through the Persistency of the Republicans, again triumphs in the House—The Grow Homestead Bill Adopted.

At the next session, on the 6th of March, 1860, in the House, Mr. Lovejoy, from the Committee on Public Lands, reported the Grow bill "to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain." The bill was referred to the Committee of the Whole. On March 12, on motion of Mr. Lovejoy, the bill was taken out of the Committee of the Whole by a vote of yeas 106, to nays 67 (the nays being all Democrats and South Americans, and among the former WILLIAM H. ENGLISH, of Ind.). And when Mr. Branch, of North Carolina, ineffectually moved to lay the bill on the table—yeas, 62 (all from the South except Mr. Montgomery, of Pennsylvania), and nays 112. The bill was then passed—yeas 115; nays 66, as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Adrian, Aldrich, Ashley, Babbitt, Barr, Bingham, Blake, Burges, Buffington, Church, Burnham, Campbell, Carey, Carter, Case, John Cochrane, Goltz, Conkling, Cooper, Corwin, Covode, Cox, Craig, Curtis, J. G. Davis, Davis, Dolano, Duell, Dunn, Edgerton, Eliot, English, Fenton, Ferry, Foster, Florence, Fouke, Frank, French, Gooch, Graham, Grow, Gurley Hale, Hall, Haskin, Helmick, Hickman, Hoard, Holman, Howard, Humphrey, Hutchins, Junkin, F. W. Kellogg, W. Kellogg, Kilgore, Killinger, Larabee, Leach, Lee, Logan, Loomis, Lovejoy, Mackay, Maxson, Martin, McClelland, McKean, McKnight, McPherson, Millward, Morrill, Morris, Morse, Niblack, Olin, Pendleton, Ferry, Porter, Potter, Pottle, Rice, Riggs, C. Robinson, J. C. Robinson, Royce, Schwartz, Scott, Stratton, Sherman, Sickles, Somen, Spinner, Stanton, Stout, Stratton, Tappan, Thayer, Tompkins, Train, Trimble, Vallandigham,

Vandever, Van Wyck, Varro, Waldron, Wallow, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Jr., Wells, Wilson, Windom, Woodruff—115.

NAYS.—ADAMS, T. L. Anderson, W. C. Anderson, Asery, Barksdale, Boccock, Bowham, Brabson, Branch, BRISTOW, Burnett, Clapton, Cobb, Curry, W. H. DAVIS, R. Davis, De Jarrette, Edmundson, ETHERIDGE, Garnette, Gabrell, GILMER, Hamilton, HARDENMAN, HARRIS, HATTON, HILL, Hindman, Houston, Hughes, Jackson, Jenkins, Jones, Keitt, Lamar, Landrum, Leake, Love, Mallory, Martin, MAYNARD, McQueen, McKee, Miles, Millson, Montgomery, Moore, NELSON, Noell, Peyton, Pryor, Pugh, Reagan, Ruffin, Simms, Singleton, W. Smith, W. N. H. SMITH, Stevenson, STOKES, Underwood, VANCE, WEBSTER, Whiteley, Woodson, Wright—66.

Again, the Republicans voted unanimously for homesteads, while all voting against them were Democrats, and all from the Slave States, except Mr. Montgomery, of Pennsylvania.

PART VI.

The Democratic Senate's Substitute for the Grow Bill—House Refuses to Concur—A Compromise—The House Accepts the Senate Bill, with Amendments, but Merely as an Avant-Courier—The Free Homestead Principle to be Demanded—President Buchanan Vetoes the Bill.

On the 17th of April, in the Senate, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, reported from the Committee on Public Lands, as a substitute for the Grow homestead bill which had passed the House, a bill granting homesteads to actual settlers at twenty-five cents per acre, but not including pre-emptors then occupying public lands. When this bill came before the Senate for action Mr. Wade moved to substitute the Grow bill for it, which motion was lost—yeas 26, nays 31. Yeas all Republicans but three—Douglas, Rice, and Toombs. Nays all Democrats. On the 10th of May the Johnson bill passed—yeas 44, nays 8. The nays are Bragg, Clingman, Hamlin, Hunter, Mason, Pearce, Powell, and Toombs. The House refused to concur, the Senate to recede, and the result was a protracted conference on the part of the committees of the two Houses.

On June 19 the committees came to an agreement by the House accepting the Senate bill with some amendments. Said Mr. Colfax, in reporting the compromise to the House:

"We struggled of course . . . to adopt the free homestead principle of the House bill, but on these points the Senate was inflexible, and we took what we did because it was the best we could get." But "this we have agreed to merely as an avant-courier. We shall demand the free homestead principle at the next session of Congress, and until it is granted—until all the public lands shall be opened to the people of the United States."

This report of the Conference Committee the House agreed to—yeas 116, nays 51. All the nays were from the South. The Senate also agreed to the report—yeas 36, nays 2—Bragg of North Carolina and Pearce of Michigan.

But even so scanty a measure of justice to our landless people—"half a loaf"—was, June 22, vetoed by President Buchanan.—He in effect denounces it as unconstitutional, unjust to the old States, unequal in its operations and pretended benefits—as a measure which "will go far to demoralize the people," or, in the language of Mason of Virginia, "fraught with mischief of the most demoralizing kind."

PART VII.

The President's veto sustained by the Democracy in the Senate.

In the Senate, in which the bill originated, this veto was sustained by a vote of 19 to 9, the question was: Shall this bill pass notwithstanding the objections of the President?

YEAS.—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Clark, Doolittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Fitch, Foot, Foster, Gwin, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, King, Lane, Latham, Nicholson, Polk, Pugh, Rice, Simmons, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Wade, Wilkinson, and Wilson—19.

NAYS.—Messrs. Bragg, Chestnut, Crittenden, Davis, Fitzpatrick, Green, Hemphill, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson of Tennessee, Johnson of Arkansas, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Powell, Sebastian, Wigfall, and Yule—9.

All the nays from the South, and all Democrats except Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky. So the bill failed, not having received the requisite two thirds vote to pass it over the President's veto. All the Republicans present not paired with Democrats on the question voted solidly for the bill, but were not strong enough to effect its passage. It was defeated by the Democratic slave-holding vote.

PART VIII.

The Sceptre falls from the hands of the Landed Democracy—The Slave - holding Aristocracy of the South — Homesteads Triumph in Republican success.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States. A little latter the Democracy, the landed aristocratic slave-holding Democracy, seceded, and through four years of unparalleled slaughter and crime warred to build up a Southern confederacy with "slavery as its corner stone," in which free labor, the free white laborer, would have been forever excluded from its lands whether public or private.

In their platform at Chicago in 1860, the Republicans had adopted the following plank :

Resolved, That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy, which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty ; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure, which has already passed the House.

Accordingly, the Republicans, now in control of both Houses of Congress and of the Executive, hastened to redeem this pledge early in 1862 by the enactment of the Homestead Act, which has been such a blessing to our people and our country. It grants 160 acres to every actual settler 21 years or more of age, or head of a family who is, or has declared his intention to become a citizen. That is its main feature, independent of the grant of 160 acres to every person, whether naturalized or not, and whether of age or not, who enlisted in the military service to crush the rebellion.

This noble Republican provision for actual settlers met with considerable Democratic opposition in 1862 before it could be put upon the statute book.

The vote by which it passed the House, February 28, 1862, was 114 yeas to 18 nays. Of the yeas there were 92 Republicans and 22 Democrats, a proportion of over 4 Republicans to 1 Democrat in favor of the bill; of the nays there were 3 Republicans and 15 Democrats, a proportion of 5 Democrats to 1 Republican against the bill.

The vote by which it passed the Senate, May 6, 1862, was even more significant.

It stood, yeas 33 to nays 7. Of the yeas 30 were Republican to 3 Democratic; of the nays 6 were Democratic to 1 Republican. Thus the vote showed a proportion of 10 Republicans to 1 Democrat in favor of the Homestead Bill, and 6 Democrats to 1 Republican opposed to it.

Had they the power of numbers, it is hardly necessary to say the Democrats would have killed the Homestead Act of 1862, as they had done in previous years to similar measures.

PART IX.

Extending the Homestead Act—Democratic Opposition and Votes.

In the House, February 8, 1866, a bill was passed extending the provisions of the Homestead Act to the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida. The vote by which it passed was 112 yeas to 29 nays—all the nays being Democrats except two. The names of these Democrats are:

T. G. Bergen, B. M. Boyer, James Brooks, John W. Chanler, John L. Dawson, Chas. A. Eldridge, Wm. E. Finck, A. J. Glossbrenner, Charles Goodyear, Henry Grider, Aaron Harding, B. G. Harris, John Hogan, Jas. M. Humphrey, Michael C. Kerr, F. C. Le Blond, Samuel S. Marshall, John A. Nicholson, Samuel J. Randall, A. J. Rogers, George S. Shanklin, Chas. Silgreaves, Myer Strauss, Stephen Taber, Nelson Taylor, Anthony Thornton, and Daniel W. Voorhees.

The Democracy as hostile to-day as before the rebellion to the homestead principle—to "public lands to actual settlers."

That is demonstrated by its persistent and systematic efforts to cripple, if not to wholly destroy the efficiency of the General Land Office. Appeals made again and again by the

Commissioner of the General Land Office, supported by the Secretary of the Interior, to Congress, for larger appropriations with which to secure more room and an increased clerical force absolutely demanded by the prompt and efficient execution of its increasing business, have been denied by the Democratic majorities of the two Houses, while but recently, during reconstruction, in the reports of the generals commanding the several military districts, this hostility was developed in the violent expulsion of settlers, who, under the Homestead Act, attempted to locate the lands of the South.

The homestead principle—"Public lands to actual settlers"—A distinguishing Republican measure.

The donation of the public lands to actual settlers—the homestead principle—the "great beneficent measure of the day and the age"—is a distinguishing Republican measure and no impudent or fraudulent attempt or claim of the Democracy can rob the Republicans of its authorship, or of the credit of the beneficent results which through it have accrued to the nation and the people.

PART X.

The beneficent effects of the Homestead Act demonstrated in the increased population, wealth, and power of the nation—Democratic hostility—The Homestead Principle essentially Republican.

Instead of being "fraught with mischief of the most demoralizing kind," as denounced by the Democracy, its wisdom and justice, its

beneficent results, alike to the States and nation may be seen by the following table :

Number of homestead entries made under the act up to date	464,197
Number living on such homesteads, (at the low average of 4.35 per family)	2,019,256
Number of acres entered under the act up to date	54,433,158

Equaling the Area of the following seven States—

New Hampshire	5,939,200
Massachusetts	4,992,000
Rhode Island	835,840
Connecticut	3,040,000
New York	30,060,000
New Jersey	5,394,680
Delaware	1,355,600

Plus nearly half the area of the State of Maryland	51,568,640
	2,864,518
	54,433,158

The population of 2,019,256 souls thus added to the Union equals the population of the following eight States, viz.:

California	560,341
Minnesota	436,707
Oregon	96,928
Kansas	364,333
Nevada	42,498
Nebraska	122,993
Colorado	39,864
Florida	187,748

Plus over two-sixths of the population of Arkansas	1,848,371
	170,885
	2,019,256

Thus adding a hardy, intelligent, industrious, and patriotic population to the States in which these homesteads were located, enhancing greatly the value of the lands of those States, enlarging their productive industries, creating profitable markets for those industries, and thus increasing the wealth and power of the States and nation to a degree immeasurably greater than the value of the lands to the Government when thus donated.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Tariff Question.

"A Tariff for revenue only."—Declaration 3, Democratic National Platform, 1880.

PART I.

Protection essentially the "American System"—Among its Illustrious Advocates: Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Clay, Jackson, Madison, Adams, Webster, Lincoln and Grant.

George Washington, in his first message to Congress, declared that :

"The safety and interest of the people require that

they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly for military, supplies."

The very first act of the First Congress—as pointed out in the able and exhaustive speech of Mr. Hubbell of Michigan, in the House, March 21, 1876,—from which this part is mainly condensed—was prefaced by a preamble declaring its object in this language :

"Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government for the discharge of the debt of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufacturers, that duties be levied on goods, wares and merchandise imported."

In his second message to Congress, George Washington said :

"Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to involve a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible."

Benjamin Franklin, in 1771, said :

"It seems the interest of all our farmers and owners of land to encourage our young manufactures, in preference to foreign ones imported among us from distant countries."

Alexander Hamilton, in 1779, wrote :

"To maintain between the recent establishments of one country and the long matured establishments of another country a competition on equal terms, both as to quality and price, is in most cases impracticable. The disparity in the one or in the other, or in both, must necessarily be so considerable as to forbid a successful rival-ship without extraordinary aid and protection from the government."

Henry Clay, in 1824, in the course of one of his great speeches, said :

"It is most desirable that there should be both a home and a foreign market. But with respect to their relative superiority, I cannot entertain a doubt. The home market is first in order and paramount in importance. * * * But this home market, desirable as it is, can only be created and cherished by the protection of our own legislation against the inevitable prostration of our industry, which must ensue from the action of foreign policy and legislation. * * * If I am asked why unprotected industry should not succeed in a struggle with protected industry, I answer: The fact has ever been so, and that is sufficient; I reply, the uniform experience evinces that it cannot succeed in such a struggle, and that is sufficient. If we speculate on the causes of this universal truth, we may differ about them. Still the indisputable fact remains. * * * The cause is the cause of the country, and it must and will prevail. It is founded on the interests and affections of the people. It is as native as the granite deeply embosomed in our mountains."

General Jackson, in 1824, wrote :

"It is time that we should become a little more Americanized, and, instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own."

James Madison, in 1828, said :

"A further evidence in support of the constitutional power to protect and foster manufactures by regulations of trade—an evidence that ought in itself to settle the question—is the uniform and practical sanction given in that power, for nearly forty years, with a concurrence or acquiescence of every State government throughout the same period, and, it may be added, through all the vicissitudes of party which marked that period."

Mr. Adams, in 1832, in a report from the Committee on Manufactures, said :

"And thus the very first act of the organized Congress united with the law of self-preservation, by the support of the Government just instituted, the two objects combined in the first grant of power to Congress: the payment of the public debts and the provision for the common defense by the protection of manufactures. The next act was precisely of the same character: an act of protection to manufactures still more than of taxation for revenue."

Daniel Webster, in 1833, said :

"The protection of American labor against the injurious competition of foreign labor, so far, at least, as respects general handicraft productions, is known historically to have been one end designed to be obtained by establishing the Constitution; and this object, and the constitutional power to accomplish it, ought never to be surrendered or compromised in any degree."

Abraham Lincoln, in 1832, said :

"I am in favor of the internal improvement system and a high protective tariff."

President Grant in three compact sentences, in defining the wants of the country, said :

"A duty upon those articles which we could dispense with, known as luxuries, and those of which we use more than we produce."

"All duty removed from tea, coffee, and other articles of universal use not produced by ourselves."

"Encouragement to home products, employment to labor at living wages, and development of home resources."

PART II.

Brief History of Tariff Legislation—1824 to 1860.

A careful and conscientious writer thus condenses the history of the American Protective Tariff and the Democratic opposition to it in a few brief lines:

"After the war of 1812 closed, there came a series of hard years in this country. Business was prostrated, wages were low, and employment was hard to get. A protective tariff was adopted in 1824, and strengthened in 1828, which revived our industries and brought good times. Town and country prospered alike, and the mechanic and farmer were equally benefited. The South hated this tariff, which made it pay tribute, its statesmen said, to the Yankees of New England. South Carolina tried to nullify it, and prevent the customs officers from collecting the duties at her ports."

"In 1832 the Democrats struck down this tariff by a law reducing duties on a sliding scale for ten years. Prosperity was immediately checked. Times grew harder and harder, until the great crash of 1837 came. No one whose memory does not go back to that time can imagine the misery which came upon the country. Flour sold as low as \$2.50 per barrel, and in many localities laboring men worked for thirty cents a day."

"In 1839 the people put into power the new Whig party, pledged to re-enact a protective tariff. The result was the tariff of 1842, which gave fresh life to the manufacturing and agricultural interests, and put business upon its feet again."

"In 1844 the Democrats carried the Presidential election by cheating the Pennsylvania voters into the belief that they would not disturb the protective tariff. Their campaign cry in that State was: 'Polk, Dallas and the Tariff of 1842.' As soon as they got possession of the government they proceeded to pass a low tariff bill at the dictation of the South. The vote on it was a tie in the Senate, and Vice President Dallas, a Pennsylvanian, pledged to protection, gave the casting vote to destroy the protective system. The bill established what was known as the tariff of 1846. It seriously crippled the manufacturing interests of the country. The growing industries of New England, New Jersey and Pennsylvania received a heavy blow. The worst effects of this Democratic revenue tariff were not immediately felt throughout the country, however, because of the stimulus which came from the discovery of gold in California. But in spite of that great gain to the national wealth, the crash of 1857 came, and swept business, labor and agriculture away into a common disaster."

"In 1860 the Republicans came into power and passed the Morrill Tariff Bill, which was based on the principle of protection. Many changes have been made in the law since, but in no case has this principle been abandoned. The Republican party has steadfastly defended all the great national industries, and their flourishing condition to-day is directly attributable to the long period of Republican ascendancy."

PART III.

The Morrison Tariff Bill—Its proposed iniquities—Analysis of the Democratic monstrosity.

The first attempt made by the Democrats

when they gained control of the House of Representatives to tinker the tariff, was in 1876, under the lead of Mr. Morrison of Illinois, then chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means. He introduced a tariff bill—known as the Morrison tariff bill—which had been drawn for him by the Free Traders and others interested in breaking down protection, ruining Home manufacture, and depriving our American home labor of a chance to earn an honest living, which excited great alarm at the time, and had its share in leading up to the succeeding panic and hard times. By Republican efforts, however, this Morrison tariff bill was so effectually exposed that it dared not afterwards show its head. From Mr. Hubbell's speech, a few extracts will suffice to show what was intended by this Democratic bill:

"The so-called Morrison tariff, manufactured in New York city, by order of the Free Trade League, under the inspiration of the American members of the English Cobden Club, strikes directly at the policy of protection, and aims a death blow at many of our important industries, while none of them are allowed to escape its crippling influences.

Rates of reduction of duties.

"On cotton, unbleached, from 5 cents to 2½ cents per square yard.
On cotton, bleached, from 5½ cents to 3½ cents per square yard of the ordinary sizes and forms.
On iron, rolled, one-half, bar iron being placed at one-half cent per pound.
Pig iron reduced from \$7 to \$5 per ton, or about 30 per cent.; or in other words, on iron and steel from 30 to 50 per cent.
On lead and manufactures of lead from 30 to 50 per cent.
On copper in plates, bars, ingots and pigs the duties are reduced from 5 cents per pound to 2 cents. Copper ore transferred to the free list.
On silk and silk goods—
On goods paying 35 per cent. reduced to 25.
" " " 40 " " " 30.
" " " 50 and 60 " " " 40.
Wools, first and second class. reduced about 50 per cent.
Marble, in blocks and slabs, reduced from 50 to 30 cents per cubic foot.
Pencils and pens, &c., &c., &c.,

Analysis of the Morrison bill.

"An analysis of the Morrison tariff, under a comparison with the rates of duty in 1876, gives the following results:

Decrease of duty from the actual receipts of the fiscal year 1876.....	\$18,454,081.72
Add amount of duties not collected during eight months and three days under the provisions 'less 10 per cent.—	
Cotton goods.....	\$ 700,907.04
Iron and steel.....	3,581,465.09
Copper.....	3,190.16
Lead.....	545,887.28
Wool.....	2,863,551.40
	<hr/>
	\$7,705,001.82
	<hr/>
Increase of duty.....	\$26,159,083.24
	<hr/>
Decrease of duty.....	20,036,580.85
	<hr/>
	\$6,120,502.39

Taxing the poor man's breakfast table.

"It will be observed that the increase of duty is not upon goods now paying duties, but mainly upon tea and coffee, which are now admitted free of duty, and ever ought to be, so long as they do not come into competition with home products of the same articles. The amount of duty proposed to be collected from those two items is \$19,216,701.14. So in future, if the

proposed (Morrison) tariff goes into operation, the poor man's family will be taxed heavily for these two important articles of daily consumption.

Outside tea and coffee, increased duties only \$821,579, while decrease for the year over \$26,000,000.

"Aside from the tax proposed to be levied on tea and coffee the increased duties amount to only \$821,579.71, while the decrease for the year is over \$26,000,000. Practically, however, even if tea and coffee should not be taxed, there will be little or no decrease in the aggregate receipts. The duties from the increase of importations, now unusually large, will overcome the reductions proposed in the tariff, and in a very few years return a larger custom revenue than that now collected. The Morrison tariff is an invitation to foreign manufacturers to surfeit our markets with imported wares, and the opportunity will be promptly embraced. The extent of its evil tendencies can scarcely be measured, and the country now appeals to the wisdom of this Congress to save the people from a practical realization of its fearful consequences."

PART IV.

The Wood Tariff Bill—How it unsettled Business Interests and Injured Manufacturers, Traders and Workingmen—Infamous Intentions of the Democrats—The Democratic Vote to consider it—The Republicans Kill it.

The Wood Tariff Bill of 1878 undoubtedly did more than any other one thing to unsettle values, to destroy confidence in our industries, to make capital timid of investment, and to react with cruel effect upon the mechanic and laboring men and women throughout the country. At first the industrial interests of the land proceeded as usual, under the belief that it was merely one of the usual clap-trap devices of Democracy, to secure some little political strength in certain localities, and that there was no serious purpose in it. But after a while apprehension was aroused and petition after petition came in from the bone and sinew of the land, deprecating and protesting against any change in the wise tariff act which had been given to the country by the Republican party. Deaf to these appeals, and refusing to give audience to the delegations which came to Washington in the interests of the trades and of labor, Mr. Wood and his Democratic friends continued defiantly to press his iniquitous, illy-digested tariff bill in the interests of foreigners and foreign importers, and against the interests of our tradesmen and workingmen, and the people generally. Republicans did all they could to refuse the measure any consideration whatever, but at last, on the 26th March, 1878, Mr. Wood succeeded in bringing the bill before the House. Upon his motion a resolution was adopted making his bill the special order for Thursday, April 4, and to continue from day to day until disposed of. The vote by which this resolution was agreed to was 137 yeas to 114 nays. Of the yeas there were 122 Democrats and only 15 Republicans;

of the nays 104 Republicans and only 10 Democrats. Thus, in spite of the almost solid Republican vote against giving this crude bill a hearing, an almost solid Democratic vote brought it before the House, and gave it a chance of being enacted into a law. The Democrats who voted to make the bill a special order are as follows:

Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Banning, H. P. Bell, Benedict, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Carlisle, Chalmers, A. A. Clarke, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Cobb, Cobb, Cowart, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culbertson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Eickhoff, Ellis, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, Hardenbergh, H. E. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartridge, Hartwell, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, Hunton, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, Knott, G. M. Landers, Ligon, Lockwood, Luttrell, Lynde, Manning, Martin, Mayham, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Muldrow, Muller, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Quinn, Rea, Reagan, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Robertson, Saylor, Scales, Shelley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Swan, Throckmorton, E. W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, E. B. Vance, Veeder, Waddell, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, F. Wood, and Young.

The panic it occasioned—Gallant fight by the Republicans for the laboring man—How they killed the Democratic tariff bill—Democrats who voted for the bill.

The Republicans, however, continued to fight the monstrous iniquities proposed by this bill, and finally, after a long and doubtful contest—during which many of our most important industries languished, hundreds of business houses were forced to suspend operations, hundreds of others were forced into bankruptcy, and thousands upon thousands of our laboring people were deprived of the chance to earn their daily bread—succeeded in killing this baleful Democratic measure. On the 5th of June, 1878, the enacting clause of the bill—to the intense chagrin of Mr. Wood and his Democratic colleagues—was stricken out, and the bill defeated by a vote of 134 yeas to 120 nays. Of the 134 yeas, 115 were Republicans and only 19 Democrats. Of the 120 nays, 113 were Democrats and only 7 Republicans. The Democratic vote in favor of the bill was therefore in the proportion of about six for it, to every one against it! The Republican vote against the bill was in the proportion of about sixteen against, to every one for it! The names of the Democrats who voted against killing the bill were as follows:

NAYS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Banning, Beebe, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bragg, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Carlisle, Chalmers, J. B. Clark, Jr., Cobb, Cook, Cowart, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culbertson, Davidson, Dean, Dibrell, Dickey, Eden, Eickhoff, Elam, Ellis, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, H. E. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartridge, Hartwell, Hatchler, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, Knott, Ligon, Luttrell, Martin, Mayham, McKenzie, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Pridemore, Rea, Reagan, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Saylor, Shelly, Singleton, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Swan, Throckmorton

E. W. Townsend, Tucker, E. B. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, F. Wood, Yates, Young.

Fernando Wood's admissions as to the infamous intentions of the Democratic tariff policy—Proposed reduction of duties by his bill 15 per cent.—Further reduction of 35 per cent. contemplated.

In order to see that the object of Fernando Wood's Tariff Bill and of the Democratic party is ultimately so to reduce the present rates of customs duties as to completely destroy the principle of protection, it is only necessary to glance at his speech, delivered in the House, April 9, 1878, in support of that monstrous measure. Speaking of the present rates of duties, this Democratic leader airily said:

"I recognize an implied moral right to a little longer continuation of the favor which they afford to the manufacturing interests. The bill reported affects them, so far as the rates of duties are concerned, but little. Its reductions are trifling as compared to what they should be, and, in my opinion, they could well afford to bear. If I had the power to commence *de novo*, I should reduce the duties 50 per cent. instead of less than 15 per cent. upon an average, as now proposed."

Here is an admission that his Tariff Act—for which, as we have seen, the Democrats voted so strongly—contemplates an average reduction of about 15 per cent., with a further future reduction of more than twice that amount, when, if ever, the administration, as well as both branches of Congress pass under Democratic control. The "little longer continuation" of the "favor" of the 15 per cent. reduction plainly refers to that period, should it ever, unfortunately for our manufacturing industries and the people who get their daily bread by them, arrive. The only hope then for our home industrial interests, to avoid the widespread ruin, not alone contemplated, but thus directly avowed by the Democratic party as a part of their policy, is to remit their Presidential and Congressional candidates to private life.

Another vote showing the antipathy of Democracy to manufacturers and workmen.

Another very instructive vote was that which was cast in the House, December 1, 1877, than which nothing could more forcibly prove the real antagonism of the Democratic leaders to the artisan, the mechanic, and the laborer, and their dislike of that system of protection which the Republican party has always afforded to the American workingman, by protecting the manufacturing interests which employ him, against the foreign manufacturer. At that date, upon a resolution offered by Mr. Mills, a Democrat, instructing the Committee on Ways and Means "to so revise the tariff as to make it purely and solely a tariff for revenue," and not for protection, the vote stood: yeas, 67; nays, 76. Of the 67 yeas, 60 were Democratic, and only 7 Republican. Of the 76 nays, 54 were Republican, and only 12 Democratic.

Following are the names of the Democrats who voted for this anti-protective resolution:

Messrs. H. P. Bell, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Boone, Bragg, Buckner, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, J. B. Clark, Jr., Cobb, Cravens, Culberson, Dabrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egan, Felton, Ferry, Franklin,

Fuller, Garth, Gause, Giddings, Glover, Goode, A. H. Hamilton, Hartzell, Hatcher, House, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Knott, Ligon, Luitrell, Martin, McKenzie, Mills, Morrison, Pridemore, Reagan, Riddle, Robertson, Sayler, Seales, Singleton, Slemons, W. E. Smith, Springer, Steele, Throckmorton, E. W. Townsend, Turner, E. B. Vance, Waddell, Whitthorne, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis.

CHAPTER XVII.

Greenbacks, Public Credit, and Resumption.

* * * * * "Honest money—the strict maintenance of the public faith—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and National." * * * —Declaration 3, National Democratic Platform, 1880.

PART I.

The Republican Party the Father, Friend, and Guardian of the Republican Greenback — History of the Greenback's Birth—The Legal Tender Act — Reason for its Being—Democratic Opposition and Votes—Secretary Chase's Letter.

To ascertain the position in which the two great parties of the country have hitherto stood on the legal-tender note, or "greenback" question, and the folly of the formation of a "Greenback party," when it is susceptible of positive proof that the Republican party has not only always been the best friend, but is the father and guardian of the greenback, while the Democratic party has been its bitter enemy, it may be well to look back into the history of its origin and its growth in public esteem.

It originated in 1862 as purely a Republican measure, suggested by a Republican Secretary of the Treasury, passed by a Republican Congress, approved by a Republican President as a means whereby a long and bloody war, brought on by the attempts of the rebel wing of the Democratic party to rule or ruin this Union of States, might end in a triumph of union and freedom.

February 6, 1862, under the management of that staunch "old commoner," Thad. Stevens, the bill first authorizing an issue of United States legal-tender notes were passed by the House. The vote was yeas 83, nays 59; the yeas (only seven Democrats being Democrats) being almost entirely Republican, and the nays (which included twenty Republicans) mainly Democratic. Among the prominent Democrats who voted against the greenback on this its first appearance, will be found the names of S. S. Cox, Holman, of

Indiana, Pendleton, and Vallandigham, of Ohio, and Voorhees, of Indiana, some of whom at this late day profess to be advocates and friends of the greenback! In the Senate the bill was passed by an affirmative vote of 30, of whom 25 were Republicans—only three Republicans voting against it! The bill became a law February 25, 1862.

The reason why the legal-tender clause was put into the act at the suggestion of the Republican Secretary of the Treasury, S. P. Chase, was because of the refusal of "some persons, and some institutions which refused to receive and pay" out United States notes and thus depreciated them. These "persons" and "institutions" were of the Democratic faith—and their effort was to cripple the Government in its war on the Southern wing of the Democratic party for the preservation of the Union. This is the precise language of Mr. Secretary Chase's letter of January 29, 1862, to Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, which led to the enactment of the legal-tender measure:

* * * "But, unfortunately, there are some persons and some institutions which refuse to receive and pay them (U. S. notes), and whose action tends not merely to the unnecessary depreciation of the notes, but to establish discrimination in business against those who, in this matter, give a cordial support to the Government, and in favor of those who do not. Such discriminations should, if possible, be prevented; and the provision making the notes a legal tender, in a great measure at least, prevents it by putting all citizens, in this respect, on the same level both of rights and duties. * * *

The Democratic opposition was intended to help the rebellion and cripple the Union Treasury. That was the motive. It was founded upon the pretense that the issue of legal tender greenbacks was unconstitutional. That was the pretext. The Democrats hated the greenback before its birth, at its birth, and until by Republican legislation it grew strong and beautiful. They still hate it. But with devilish cunning they now pretend to love it, and, with fond caresses, would embrace it only to its destruction and undoing.

PART II.

The Democrats Directly Responsible for Contraction—The Act of April 12, 1866—Analysis of the Votes by which it Passed.

The act of April 12, 1866, first session, Thirty-ninth Congress—providing for a contraction of the volume of greenbacks—may fairly be claimed by the Democrats as their own measure. Under that act it will be remembered, the Secretary of the Treasury actually retired \$44,000,000 legal tenders, reducing the volume of greenbacks in circulation to \$356,000,000, although subsequently after the panic of September, 1873, the Secretary issued (or reissued) more than half of what he had previously withdrawn. This contraction act passed the House March 23, 1866, by a vote of 83 yeas to 53 nays. There were 55 Republicans voting yea, while 53 Republicans voted nay. There were 28 Democrats who voted yea, and only one Democrat who voted nay. The Democrats had the balance of power, and under the lead of Samuel J. Randall, James Brooks, Michael C. Kerr, Samuel S. Marshall and Charles A. Eldridge, threw their united strength for the bill, leaving only one poor Democratic straggler—Edwin N. Hubbell—among the host of Republicans who fought the bill.

So, in the Senate. There the bill was passed April 9, 1866, by a vote of 32 yeas to 7 nays. The seven nays were all Republicans, and all the Democrats who voted, voted for the bill. Thus it appears that on the passage of the bill in both Houses the aggregate Democratic vote against contraction was a solitary one!

The Act of February 4, 1868, suspending contraction—Vote analysed—The same old story.

Again, there is the case of the act of February 4, 1868, passed during the second session of the Fortieth Congress, which reads in part as follows:

"Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to make any reduction of the currency, by retiring or canceling United States notes, shall be, and is hereby suspended." * * *

This act passed the House December 7, 1867, by 127 yeas to 32 nays; and of the 127 yeas only 24 were Democratic votes, while 103 were Republican.

Thus again and again do we see that while the Republicans did all they possibly could for the greenback, the Democrats did all they possibly could against it, and whenever they were strong enough did effectual harm. And as if to point the case still more strongly, the Democratic President, Andy Johnson, allowed the measure to become a law by the lapse of time (because he knew it was useless to veto it), but refused absolutely to sign it.

PART III.

The Public Credit Bill of 1869—Public Credit Act of 1869—Re-**sumption Act of 1875—Official Votes showing the Democrats solidly against them.**

When, in July last, at the Academy of Music in New York, Samuel J. Randall declared to the assembled multitude, that "It (the Democratic party) made easy the path to the resumption of specie payments, etc.," he exhibited a density of ignorance or a faculty for falsification absolutely astounding! Let us see with what remarkable persistency the Democratic party fought the public credit, the resumption of specie payments and the greenback, which that resumption has made as good as gold.

Public Credit and Specie-Contract Bill of 1869—Only 34 Democrats in Congress vote for it.

In the House January 20, 1869, Mr. Schenck introduced a bill (H. R. 1744) to "strengthen the public credit" which subsequently passed the House, was amended in the Senate, and out of the disagreement between the two Houses came a bill, reported by a Conference committee, which passed both Houses, but was "pocketed" by President Andrew Johnson. The vote upon that "public credit bill," as reported by the Conference Committee, was, in the Senate: 81 yeas to 24 nays—30 Republicans voting "yea" to 14 Republicans voting "nay," and only one Democrat voting "yea" to 10 Democrats voting "nay." In the House the vote upon the bill reported by the Conference Committee was 117 yeas to 59 nays. There were of these, 107 Republican "yeas" to 26 Republican "nays," and only 10 Democratic "yeas" to 33 Democratic "nays." In other words the Senate Republicans were more than 2 to 1, and the House Republicans more than 4 to 1, in favor of it; while the House Democrats were more than 3 to 1, and the Senate Democrats exactly 10 to 1 against it.

The bill upon which these votes were taken comprised only two sections—the first section being word for word the same as the "Public Credit Act" of 1869, hereafter quoted in full, and the second or specific contracts section being as follows:

Sec. 2. That any contract hereafter made specifically payable in coin, and the consideration of which may be a loan of coin, or a sale of property, or the rendering of labor or service of any kind, the price of which, as carried into the contract, may have been adjusted on the basis of the coin value thereof at the time of such sale or the rendering of such service or labor, shall be legal and valid, and may be enforced according to its terms; and on the trial of a suit brought for the enforcement of any such contract, proof of the real consideration may be given.

This bill went to President Johnson March 3, 1869, and was "pocketed," as before stated.

The Public Credit Act of 1869—The remarkable vote by which it passed—Not one Democrat votes for it!

March 12, 1869, Mr. Schenck introduced in the House (H. R. 7) the same bill precisely that had been "pocketed" by Andy Johnson at the close of his Presidential term a few days before.

The second (specific contract) section was stricken out by 87 yeas to 56 nays—53 Republican yeas and 54 Republican nays against 34 Democratic yeas and 2 Democratic nays—or in other words exhibiting a bare majority of Republicans in favor of the specific contract section, and a proportion of 17 to one of the Democrats against it!

The bill was now in the following shape:

An act to strengthen the public credit.

Be it enacted, etc., That in order to remove any doubt as to the purpose of the Government to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and to settle conflicting questions and interpretations of the laws by virtue of which such obligations have been contracted, it is hereby provided and declared, that the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin, or its equivalent, of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes, and of all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver. But none of said interest-bearing obligations not already due shall be redeemed or paid before maturity, unless at such time United States notes shall be convertible into coin at the option of the holder, or unless at such time bonds of the United States, bearing a lower rate of interest than the bonds to be redeemed can be sold at par in coin. And the United States also solemnly pledges its faith to make provision at the earliest practical period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin.

And the vote upon its passage was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Ambler, Ames, Armstrong, Arnold, Asper, Axtell, A. H. Bailey, Banks, Beaman, Benjamin, Bennett, Bingham, A. Blair, Boies, Boyd, Bufington, Burdett, Cassana, Churchill, C. L. Cobb, B. C. Cook, Conger, Cowles, Cullom, Dawes, Donley, Duval, Dyer, Farnsworth, Ferriss, T. W. Ferry, Finkelnburg, Fisher, Fitch, Gilliland, E. Hale, J. B. Hawley, Heaton, G. F. Hoar, Hooper, G. W. Hotchkiss, Jenckes, A. H. Jones, Judd, Julian, Kelsey, Ketcham, Knapp, Laffin, Leah, W. Lawrence, J. Lynch, Maynard, McGarry, McGrew, Mercur, J. H. Moore, W. Moore, S. P. Morrill, Nagley, O'Neill, Packard, H. E. Paine, Palmer, D. Phelps, Poland, Pomeroy, Prosser, Root, Sanford, Sargent, P. Sawyer, Schenck, Scofield, P. Sheldon, John A. Smith, W. C. Smith, W. Smyth, Stokes, Stoughton, Strickland, Tanner, Tillman, Twichell, W. H. Upson, B. T. Van Horn, H. Ward, C. C. Washburn, W. B. Washburn, Welker, W. A. Wheeler, Whittemore, Wilkinson, C. W. Willard, W. Williams, Winans—97.

NAYS—Messrs. Archer, Beatty, Beck, Biggs, Bird, Burr, B. F. Butler, R. B. Butler, A. Cobb, Coburn, Crebs, DeWeese, Dickinson, Eldredge, Gets, J. S. Golladay, Hawkins, Holman, B. F. Hopkins, J. A. Johnson, T. L. Jones, Kerr, Knott, Marshall, Mayham, McCormick, McNelly, Moffet, Mungen, Niblack, Orth, Reading, Reeves, Rice, Shanks, J. S. Smith, Stiles, F. Stone, Strader, Sweeney, Taft, L. S. Trimble, Tyner, Van Trump, J. T. Wilson, Winchester, Woodward—47.

Thus it will be seen that while there were 96 Republican yeas to 13 Republican nays, there were 34 Democratic nays to one Democratic yea—and as Mr. Axtell, who cast that solitary yea vote, is now a Republican, the Democratic vote was really "solid" against the measure.

In the Senate, March 15, 1869, the House bill (H. R. 7) was taken up and passed by 42 "yeas" to 13 "nays"—the former all Republican votes, while the Democrats voted solidly against its passage.

Thus in both Houses of Congress the Democrats (excluding the present Republican, Mr. Axtell) voted as a solid unit against the public credit!

It is hardly necessary to say that on the 18th of March, 1869, just two weeks after Andy Johnson "pocketed" a similar one, President Grant signed it and it became a law. It was the first act approved by him.

The Resumption Act of 1875—Every vote for it a Republican vote—Every Democratic vote against it!

Dec. 21, 1874, Mr. Sherman from the Committee on Finance, reported to the Senate the following bill, since known as the Resumption Act of 1875:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required, as rapidly as practicable, to cause to be coined at the mints of the United States, silver coins of the denominations of ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents, of standard value, and to issue them in redemption of an equal number and amount of fractional currency of similar denominations, or, at his discretion, he may issue such silver coins through the mints, the sub-treasuries, public depositories, and post-offices of the United States; and, upon such issue, he is hereby authorized and required to redeem an equal amount of such fractional currency, until the whole amount of such fractional currency outstanding shall be redeemed.

Sec. 2. That so much of section three thousand five hundred and twenty-four of the Revised Statutes of the United States as provides for a charge of one fifth of one per centum for converting standard gold bullion into coin is hereby repealed, and hereafter no charge shall be made for that service.

Sec. 3. That section five thousand one hundred and seventy-seven of the Revised Statutes of the United States, limiting the aggregate amount of circulating notes of national banking associations, be, and is hereby, repealed; and each existing banking association may increase its circulating notes in accordance with existing law without respect to said aggregate limit; and new banking associations may be organized in accordance with existing law without respect to said aggregate limit; and the provisions of law for the withdrawal and redistribution of national bank currency among the several States and Territories are hereby repealed. And whenever, and so often, as circulating notes shall be issued to any such banking association, so increasing its capital or circulating notes, or so newly organized as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the legal-tender United States notes in excess only of three hundred million of dollars, to the amount of eighty per centum of the sum of national bank notes so issued to any such banking association as aforesaid, and to continue such redemption as such circulating notes are issued until there shall be outstanding the sum of three hundred million dollars of such legal-tender United States notes, and no more. And on and after the first day of January, anno Domini eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem, in coin, the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding on their presentation for redemption, at the office of the assistant treasurer of the United States in the city of New York, in sums of not less than fifty dollars. And to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and provide for the redemption to use any surplus revenues, from time to time, in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to issue, sell, and dispose of, at not less than par, in coin, either of the description of bonds of the United States described in the act of Congress approved July fourteen, eighteen hundred and seventy, entitled, "An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt," with like qualities, privileges, and exemptions, to the extent necessary to carry this act into full effect, and to use the proceeds thereof for the purpose aforesaid. And all provisions of law inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Vote in the Senate on its passage—Every vote for it a Republican vote—Every Democrat against it.

December 22 the bill was taken up, and passed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Boutwell, Carpenter, Chandler, Clayton, Cragin, Edmunds, Fenton, Ferry of Michigan, Flanagan, Frelinghuysen, Hamlin, Harvey, Howe, Ingalls, Logan, Morrill of Maine, Morton, Oglesby, Patterson, Pease, Pratt, Ramsey, Sargent, Schurz, Scott, Sherman, Spencer, Washburn, West, Wright—32.

NAYS—Messrs. Boggs, Cooper, Davis, Dennis, Gold-thwaite, Hagar, HAMILTON of Texas, Johnston of Virginia, Merrimon, Ransom, Sprague, Stevenson, Thurman, TIPTON—14.

Vote in the House on its passage—Every vote for it a Republican—Every Democrat against it.

In the House, Jan. 7, 1875, the bill which had been reported by Mr. Maynard, and made a special order for that day, was taken up and passed by the following vote :

YEAS—Messrs. Albert, Averill, Barber, Barrere, Barry, Bass, Begole, Biery, Bradley, H. C. Burchard, Burleigh, Burrows, R. R. Butler, Cain, Carpenter, Cason, Cessna, Chittenden, Clayton, Clements, S. A. Cobb, Corwin, Colton, Crooke, Crounse, Curtis, Danford, Dobbins, Donnan, Duell, Eames, Farwell, J. C. Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Gunkel, E. Hale, Harmer, H. H. Harrison, Hathorn, J. B. Hawley, Hays, G. W. Hazelton, Hendee, Hodges, Hooper, Hoskins, Houghton, Howe, Hunter, Hynes, Kasson, Kellogg, Killinger, Lampert, Lansing, W. Lawrence, Loughridge, Lowe, Lowndes, J. R. Lynch, Martin, Maynard, McCrary, A. S. McDill, J. W. McDill, MacDougall, McKee, McNulta, Merriman, Monroe, Moore, Myers, Negley, O'Neill, Orr, Orth, Packard, Packer, Page, E. C. Parsons, Fellham, Fendleton, A. F. Pike, T. C. Platt, Polak, Pratt, Furman, W. H. Ray, Richmond, E. S. Roberts, J. W. Robinson, Ruess, Sawyer, H. B. Sayler, Scofield, I. W. Scudder, Sener, Sessions, Shanks, Sheela, L. D. Shoemaker, W. B. Small, Smart, A. H. Smith, H. B. Smith, J. A. Smith, J. Q. Smith, Sprague, Stannard, Starkweather, St. John, Strawbridge, Taylor, C. R. Thomas, C. Y. Thomas, J. M. Thompson, Thornburgh, Todd, Tremaine, Tyner, Waldron, A. S. Wallace, J. D. Ward, M. L. Ward, Wheeler, A. White, Whiteley, Wilber, G. Willard, J. M. B. Williams, W. Williams, W. B. Williams, J. Wilson, J. M. Wilson—136.

NAYS—Messrs. G. M. Adams, Archer, Arthur, Ashe, Atkins, Banning, Beck, H. F. Bell, Berry, Blount, Bowen, Bright, Bronberg, J. F. Brown, Buckingham, J. H. Caldwell, J. B. Clark, Jr., F. Clarke, Clymer, Comingo, Cook Cox, Crittenden, Crossland, Crutchfield, Dawes, DeWitt, Eldridge, Field, Finch, Giddings, Glover, Gooch, Gunter, Hagans, E. Hamilton, Hancock, B. F. Harris, H. E. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hatcher, Haven, J. R. Hawley, Herford, Herndon, E. R. Hoar, C. F. Hoar, Holman, Hulton, Kelley, Knapp, Lamar, Lawson, Leason, Leach, Magee, Marshall, McLean, Milliken, Mills, Morrison, Neal, Nesmith, Noble, Niles, H. W. Parker, I. C. Parker, Perry, Pierce, Randall, Read, W. M. Robbins, M. Sayler, Schell, H. J. Scudder, Sherwood, Sloss, W. A. Smith, Southard, A. H. Stephens, Stone, Storm, Swann, W. Townsend, R. B. Vance, Wadell, Wells, Whitehead, Whitehouse, Whitthorne, C. W. Willard, Willie, E. K. Wilson, Wolfe, P. Wood, Woodworth, J. D. Young, P. M. B. Young—58.

A Republican President signs it.

On the 14th January, 1875, President Grant approved the Bill, and signalized to the Senate his approval thereof in a special message, "because of its great importance to the country at large, and in order to suggest further legislation which seems to me essential to make this law effective."

What the double-pledge of the Public Credit Act was intended to mean.

It cannot too often be stated to the people that on every question, from the Public Credit Bill down, the Democrats in Congress have voted to cripple the greenback in every possible manner, and that, especially as to the

Public Credit Act—as well as for the other measures—designed to nurse and foster the greenback, to give it character and value in our own eyes and in the eyes of the world, the Republican party is entitled to the sole credit of originating, enacting, and carrying the same into effect. Note, in the Public Credit Act, the words of the double pledge, intended to strengthen and maintain the value of the greenback. The first pledge is that, some time or other, the greenback will be paid in coin, "or its equivalent." The second pledge is, that "provision" at the "earliest practicable period" shall be made for its redemption. There is nothing whatever in these pledges to show the intention was to retire the greenback whenever that "practicable period" should arrive. On the contrary, it was the manifest, palpable intention of these pledges—first to make the greenback dollar as good as a gold or silver dollar, and, second, to let all understand that the Government would pay a gold or silver dollar for the greenback dollar, just as soon as they could, provided anybody wanted a gold or silver dollar in place of the greenback dollar. There was not the slightest intention to force a retirement of greenbacks.

The Republican party conceived and created the greenback, and reared it to its present full and mature stature, despite all the diseases which it had to encounter in its infancy and youth, and despite all the malignant devices and machinations with which the Democracy sought early and late to enfeeble, cripple, and destroy it. The Republican party was not likely "to go back" on that which had proven to be its best friend.

Senator Hamilton's proposed amendment to knock the life out of the greenback.

December 10, 1873.—In the Senate, Mr. Hamilton, of Maryland (Democrat), proposed a new article in the Constitution, viz : That

"The United States shall never make anything but gold and silver coin a tender for the payment of debts, either public or private."

This never came to a vote.

PART IV.

Continuous and Desperate Efforts of the House Democrats to Hamper and Prevent Resumption—Holman's effort to Repeal the Resumption Act.

In the House, January 17, 1876, Mr. Holman, of Indiana, moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to submit the following:

Resolved, That it is unwise and inexpedient at this time that a specific and arbitrary period should be prescribed by law at which legal tender notes of the United States should be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury in coin, and, therefore, the act entitled "An Act to provide for the resumption of Specie Payment," approved January 14, 1875, ought to be repealed; and the committee on banking and currency is instructed,

at as early a period as may be practicable, to report to the House a bill for that purpose.

The motion (requiring two-thirds) was disagreed to by 112 yeas to 158 nays, 20 not voting. The yeas were nearly all Democrats, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Ainsworth, ANDERSON, Ashe, Atkins, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Blackburn, Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, CAMPBELL, Cason, Cate, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochran, Collins, Cook, Cowan, Joseph J. Davis, DeBolt, Dibrell, Dobbins, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Evans, Faulkner, Felton, Furney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Harbridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Haymond, Hereford, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Holman, Hopkins, House, Hunton, Jenkins, T. L. Jones, Kelley, Knott, F. Landers, B. B. Lewis, L. A. Mackay, McFarland, McMahon, Miliken, Morgan, Neal, New, Oliver, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, W. A. Phillips, Piper, Poppleton, D. Rea, J. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, C. B. Roberts, M. S. Robinson, Savage, M. Saylor, Scales, Sheakley, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, Stevenson, Stone, Terry, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, G. Z. Walker, Walling, Whithorne, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Yates, C. Young—112.

Republican resolution to facilitate resumption voted down by Democrats.

In the House, February 14, 1876, Mr. Eugene Hale offered the following resolution:

Be it resolved by the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That prompt measures should be taken by such legislation as is needed to render effective the policy to a resumption of specie payments, by placing in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury all necessary powers to carry out said objects, to the end that a sound and stable currency may be provided for the people.

Which was disagreed to—yeas 85, nays 139 (not voting 65), as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. C. H. Adams, Bagby, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Bass, S. N. Bell, Blaine, Blair, Bliss, Bradley, H. C. Burchard, Burleigh, Chittenden, Conger, Cropper, Crescenzo, Darvall, Davy, Denison, Dummer, Durand, James, Faywell, C. E. Freeman, Frost, Frye, Garfield, E. Hale, Haralson, B. W. Harris, Hendon, Hoskins, Hubbard, Joyce, Kasson, Kehr, Ketchum, Kimball, Lapham, W. Lawrence, Leavenworth, Lynch, McDougall, McCrary, J. W. McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Morton, Packer, Page, Pierce, T. C. Platt, A. Potter, Powell, Pratt, Rainey, Busk, Sampson, Seelye, Sinickson, R. Smalls, Straitt, Stowell, Tarbox, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, Van Vorhes, Waldron, A. S. Wallace, Wheeler, J. D. White, Whiting, G. Willard, A. Williams, A. S. Williams, C. G. Williams, W. B. Williams, Willis, J. Wilson, A. Wood, Jr., Woodburn—85.

NAYS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Ashe, J. H. Baker, Barnham, Beebe, B. Blackburn, Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, CAMPBELL, Candler, Cason, Cate, Caulfield, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Collins, Cook, Cowan, Cox, C. Cochran, C. Clymer, J. J. Davis, DeBolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Ellis, Evans, Faulkner, Felton, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Harbridge, Hartzell, Haymond, Hereford, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hunter, Hunton, Hurd, Hyman, F. Jones, T. L. Jones, Kelley, Knott, Lamar, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, Lynde, L. A. Mackay, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Miliken, Milken, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Mutchler, Neal, New, O'Brien, Oliver, E. Y. Parsons, Payne, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, W. A. Phillips, Piper, Poppleton, Randall, D. Rea—139.

Another Democratic vote against redemption, etc.

In the House, March 20, 1876, Mr. Atkins moved to suspend the rules and pass the following bill:

Be it enacted, etc., That all the provisions of the act entitled "An Act to provide for the resumption of specie payment," approved January 14, 1875, which authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem or cancel United States notes and to sell United States bonds for the accomplishment of that purpose be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

The motion was disagreed to (two thirds needed) by 110 yeas to 108 nays, 71 not voting, most of the Democrats voted yea, while the nays were mainly Republicans. The yeas were as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Ainsworth, ANDERSON, Ashe, Atkins, J. H. Baker, Banning, Blackburn, Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, CAMPBELL, Cannon, Cate, Caulfield, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochran, Cook, Cowan, DeBolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Ellis, Evans, Faulkner, Forney, Fort, Franklin, Fuller, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Harbridge, Hartzell, Haymond, Hays Hereford, G. W. Hewitt, Holman, Hopkins, House, Hunter, Hunton, Hurd, Hyman, Jenks, T. L. Jones, Kelly, Knott, F. Landers, B. B. Lewis, Lynde, McFarland, McMahon, Miliken, Morgan, Neal, New, Oliver, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, W. A. Phillips, Poppleton, D. Rea, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, H. M. Robbins, M. S. Robinson, Savage, M. Saylor, Scales, Sheakley, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stevenson, Stone, Terry, Tucker, Van Vorhes, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, J. W. Wallace, E. Wells, Whithorne, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Woodworth, Yates, C. Young—114.

Holman makes another effort, but Republicans votes beat him.

May 1, 1876, Mr. Holman moved that the rules be suspended so as to enable him to introduce, and the House to pass a bill to repeal so much of the act entitled "An Act to provide for the resumption of specie payments," approved January 14, 1875, as authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to redeem and cancel United States notes and to issue and sell United States bonds for the accomplishment of that purpose.

The motion was disagreed to (two-thirds needed) by 115 yeas to 111 nays, the Democrats almost solidly voting "yea," and the Republicans "nay."

Still another Democratic stab at resumption.

July 10, 1876, Mr. Holman moved to suspend the rules and pass the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Banking and Currency, be, and they are hereby, instructed to report to the House the following Bill, and that the same be made the special order for Thursday next after the morning hour, and be open for consideration and amendment, to wit:

A bill relating to the currency.
Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act entitled "An Act to provide for the resumption of specie payments," approved January 14, 1875, as authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem in coin United States notes be, and the same is hereby repealed.

The motion was disagreed to (two thirds needed) by 105 yeas to 96 nays—86 not voting—the Democrats voting almost solidly "yea," and the Republicans "nay."

And yet another.

July 17, 1876, Mr. Springer moved "to suspend the rules and pass a resolution instructing the Committee on Banking and Cur-

rancy to report to-morrow a bill to repeal the act for the resumption of specie payment, to be open for amendment."

The motion was disagreed to (two-thirds needed), by 102 yeas to 92 nays—the Democrats voting almost solidly "yea" and the Republicans "nay."

Bill to kill resumption-day clause—The bill passed by Democratic votes.

Aug. 5, 1876, Mr. Cox, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, reported the following bill:

A bill to repeal the resumption-day clause in the resumption act of 1875.

Be it enacted, etc., That the resumption-day clause in section 3 of an act entitled 'An act to provide for the resumption of specie payments,' approved January 14, 1875, which clause is in the words following, to wit:

"On and after the 1st day of January, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal tender notes then outstanding on their presentation for redemption at the office of the assistant treasurer of the United States in the city of New York, in sums of not less than \$50"—

Be and the same is hereby repealed."

A substitute to provide for a commission to consider the resumption of specie payments, was voted down by 92 yeas to 104 nays, and the bill, as then passed by 166 yeas to 86 nays—the Democrats voting almost solidly "yea," and the Republicans "nay." The Democrats voting "yea" were as follows:

Messrs. Ainsworth, Atkins, Banning, Bland, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. F. Brown, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. F. Caldwell, Cate, Caulfield, J. C. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochran, Collins, Cook, Cox, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Faulkner, Felton, Finley, Forney, Franklin, Gause, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, C. H. Harrison, Hartwell, Heymons, Henkle, Hereford, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Huston, Hurd, T. L. Jones, F. Landers, Lane, B. B. Lewis, Lynde, L. A. Mackey, Maish, McFarland, McMahon, Milsten, Mills, Morgan, Mutchler, Neal, New, Payne, J. Phelps, Poppleton, Randall, D. Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, Savage, Sheakley, Singleton, Slemons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Stenger, Stevens, Stone, Tessa, P. F. Thomas, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, Walsh, B. Wells, Whitthorne, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Wislacre, B. Wilson, Yates, C. Young—95.

This bill was not acted upon in the Senate.

PART V.

A Democratic Trick at the End of a Session—A Vote that Amounts to Nothing—A Previous Vote where the Democrats Refused to Adopt the Republican Senate's Proposition to make Greenbacks Receivable for Customs Duties—The Vote in Full.

After wasting many valuable months, on the 20th June, 1878, in the last hours of the session, the House went through the motions of passing a bill, offered by Mr. Southard, providing that "on and after the first day of October, A. D. 1878, legal tender notes of the United States shall be received at par in payment of customs duties," when it was quite evi-

dent that nothing could be done by the Senate at that session. As Congress will not meet again until after the date fixed in the bill, of course the measure is dead. It was a sharp trick to "fool" the people; but not sharp enough to make them believe that the life-long enemy of the greenback had really and sincerely become its friend all at once.

The Ewing Anti-Resumption House bill, as amended, having gone to the Senate, that Republican body on June 13th, 1878, amended and passed it, so that it read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act United States notes shall be receivable the same as coin in payment for the 4 percent. bonds now authorized by law to be issued; and on and after October 1, 1878, said notes shall be receivable for duties on imports.

If the Democrats wanted an opportunity to show love for the greenback, here was their chance, for here was a measure expressly designed by the Republicans to increase the value and usefulness of the greenback, and which measure, had the Democratic House not killed it, would have brought greenbacks fully up to par with gold and silver.

June 18, Mr. Fort, Republican, moved to suspend the rules and concur in the above Senate amendment.

The Democratic House refused to suspend the rules and concur by 140 yeas to 112 nays—a two-thirds vote being needed. Only 34 Democrats voted yea, while 97 of them voted nay. Following is the vote in full:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Banks, Bicknell, Bisbee, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, T. M. Browne, Bundy, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Cain, J. M. Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Caswell, Clafin, R. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Conger, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Culbertson, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eden, Eckhoff, Ellsworth, Errett, J. L. Evans, Fort, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Fuller, Gardner, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, Hale, A. H. Hamilton, Hanna, Harmer, Harrison, Haskell, P. C. Hayes, Hazelton, Hendes, Henderson, Hubbell, Hunter, Hunton, H. L. Humphrey, Ittner, James, F. Jones, Jorgenson, Keifer, Keightley, Kenna, J. H. Ketchum, Kimmel, Lapham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Loring, Luttrell, Marsh, Mayham, McGowan, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Mitchell, Morrison, Muller, H. S. Neal, Norcross, Oliver, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Peattie, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, Pound, Powers, Price, Pugh, Rainey, Randolph, Reagan, Reed, W. W. Rice, Roberts, G. D. Robinson, Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Schlesinger, Shallenberger, Stannickson, Smalle, Starin, Stenger, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Straff, J. M. Thompson, A. Townsend, M. I. Townsend, Tucker, Feeder, Watson, Welch, H. White, M. D. White, A. S. Williams, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, Willits, Wren,—140.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, Banning, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Blair, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bragg, Bright, Brogden, Butler, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Carbis, Chalmers, Chittenden, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Collins, Cook, Covert, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Crittenden, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dean, Dibrell, Dickey, Durham, Eames, Egan, I. N. Evans, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Garfield, Garth, Gause, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hart, Hartridge, Hartwell, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, Hungerford, J. T. Jones, J. S. Jones, Kelley, Lyon, Lockwood, Lynde, Mackey, Maish, Manning, McCook, McKennie, McMahon, Mills, Monroe, Morgan, Morse, Muldrow, O'Neill, C. N. Potter, Priemore, Rea, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, M. Ross, Sayler, Scales, Shelley, Singleton, A. H. Smith, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Turner, Turney, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Wait, W.

Ward, Warner, Whitthorne, J. Williams, R. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, A. Wilson, Young.—112.

Another Democratic vote against the Republican Greenback—Against its being receivable for customs, and in favor of cancelling and retiring it—Treasury order on the subject.

November 2, 1877—Mr. Hubbell, Republican, moved to strike out the enacting clause of the Ewing House bill—which sought to repeal the third section of the Resumption Act—and insert the following:

"That so much of section 3 of an act to provide for resumption of specie payments, approved January 14, 1875, as provides for the redemption in coin, by the United States, of all legal-tender notes outstanding on the first day of January, 1879, embraced in the clause of said section of said act, in the language following, to wit: 'And on and after the 1st day of January, A. D., 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding, on their presentation for redemption at the office of the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, in the city of New York, in sums of not less than \$50,' shall be so construed as not to authorize or require the Secretary of the Treasury to retire and cancel said notes, redeemed as aforesaid, but to authorize and require said Secretary to deposit said notes in the Treasury of the United States, whereupon said notes shall be paid out, at par value, in discharge of all claims and demands against the United States, or in exchange for coin; and said notes shall, as heretofore, continue to be a legal tender, and on and after January 1, 1879, shall be receivable, at their face value, in payment of all dues to the Government, and for all debts, except where coin payment is stipulated by contract or statute; and all provisions of law in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

This was defeated by 90 yeas to 158 nays—only six Democrats voting for it, and only thirty Republicans voting against it. The following is the vote in detail;

YEAS.—Messrs. Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Bisbee, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Briggs, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Camp, J. M. Campbell, Claflin, B. Clark, Cole, Conger, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Cummings, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Dennison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Ellsworth, I. N. Evans, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Hendee, Henderson, Hubbell, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Ittner, James, F. Jones, J. S. Jones, Jorgensen, Keightley, G. M. Landers, Lapham, Lindsey, Lockwood, Loring, Luttrell, McGowan, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Monroe, Morse, Norcross, O'Neill, Overton, Pacheco, G. W. Patterson, Peddie, Pound, Powers, Price, Pugh, Reed, W. W. Rice, G. D. Robinson, Sampson, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Stewart, J. W. Stoffs, A. Townsend, Wait, Watson, Welch, H. White, A. S. Williams, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, R. Williams, Willits, Wren.—90.

NAYS.—Messrs. Atkins, J. H. Baker, Banning, Bayne, Beebe, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Bland, Boone, Bragg, Brogden, J. M. Browne, Buckner, Cabell, Cain, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Calkins, Cannon, Carlisle, Chalmers, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cobb, Collins, Cook, Cover, Cravens, Crittenden, Culberson, Cutler, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Eickhoff, Elam, Errett, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Fort, Franklin, Fuller, Gardner, Garth, Gibson, Giddings, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, Hanna, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartbridge, Hartwell, Haskell, Hatcher, P. C. Hayes, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hooker, House, Hunter, Hunton, J. T. Jones, Joyce, Kelley, Kenne, Killinger, Kimmel, Knapp, Knott, Lashorp, Leonard, Ligon, Mackey, Maish, Manning, Marsh, Martin, Mayham, McCook, McKensie, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, Oliver, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, C. N. Potter, Fridemore, Rainy, Randolph, Rea, Reagan, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Robertson, M. S. Robinson, M. Rose, Ryan, Sapp, Saylor, Seale, Shelley, Singleton, Slemons, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stenger,

Stephens, Swann, J. M. Thompson, Threemorton, Tipton, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, Turney, R. B. Vance, Van Vorhes, Waddill, Walsh, Warner, M. D. White, Whitthorne, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Wright, Yeates, Young.—158.

At a subsequent period, Secretary Sherman gave instructions to his subordinates to receive greenbacks for custom dues.

Another Republican measure gets through both Houses.

April 29, 1878, Mr. Fort, Republican, introduced the following bill, which passed both Houses, and is now law, prohibiting any further retirement of the Republican greenback:

"Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act it shall not be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury or other officer under him to cancel or retire any more of the United States legal-tender notes. And when any of said notes may be redeemed or be received into the Treasury under any law from any source whatever, and shall belong to the United States, they shall not be retired, canceled or destroyed, but they shall be reissued and paid out again and kept in circulation: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall prohibit the cancellation and destruction of mutilated notes and the issue of other notes of like denomination in their stead, as now provided by law. All acts and parts of acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

The ten-dollar certificates of deposit—Democratic opposition to them—Another vote.

January 15, 1879, the following bill was before the House:

"Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to issue, in exchange for lawful money of the United States that may be presented for such exchange, certificates of deposit, of the denomination of ten dollars, bearing interest at the rate of three per cent. per annum, and convertible at any time, with accrued interest, into the four per cent. bonds described in the refunding act; and the money so received shall be applied only to the payment of the 5-20 bonds in the mode prescribed by said act, and he is authorized to prescribe suitable rules and regulations in conformity with this act.

Upon the passage of this bill (which, as subsequently amended in the Senate, so as to apply the funds to payment of any bonds bearing interest of not less than 5 per cent., is now law) the vote was:

YEAS.—Messrs. W. Aldrich, Bacon, Bagley, Ballou, Banks, Bayne, Blair, Bliss, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, Brogden, Browne, Buckner, Bundy, Burchard, Burdick, Cain, W. P. Caldwell, Camp, Campbell, Chandler, Cannon, Chittenden, Claflin, B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Collins, Conger, Cover, Cravens, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, H. Davis, J. J. Davis, Deering, Dennison, Dunnell, Eames, J. I. Evans, Fort, Foster, Garfield, Garth, Gibson, Gunter, Hale, Hamilton, Hanna, Hatcher, Hayes, Hazleton, Henderson, Hunter, Humphrey, Hungerford, James, J. S. Jones, Joyce, Keightley, Ketchum, Killinger, Kimmel, Landers, Lapham, Lashorp, Lindsey, Luttrell, Lynde, Maish, Marsh, McCook, Metcalfe, Mitchell, Monroe, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, Peddie, W. A. Phillips, Pounds, Price, Rainey, Randolph, Rea, Reed, A. V. Rice, Robbins, C. D. Robinson, Sampson, Sapp, Saylor, Seaton, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Starin: Stewart, A. Townsend, Tucker, Turney, Ward, H. White, M. D. White, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, J. Williams, B. A. Willis, Willits, F. Wood, Wright.—117.

NAYS.—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Benedict, Bicknell, Blackburn, Blount, Boone, Bragg, Bright, J. W. Caldwell, Culberson, Dean, Dibrell, Durham, Eden, Errett, J. H. Evans, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Goode, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hart, Hartwell, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, House, Ittner, F. Jones, Kelley, Kenne, Knapp, Knott,

Ligon, Mackey, B. F. Martin, McGowan, McMahon, Mills, Morrison, Morse, Muldrow, T. M. Paterson, Pridemore, Reagan, Roberts, Ross, O. R. Singleton, Slemmons, Southard, Springer, Steele, Strait, Tipton, R. W. Townsend, T. Turner, Vance, L. Warner, Whitthorne, Wigington, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wilson, J. S. Young—70.

Thus, while 85 Republicans voted for, and only 5 against it, only 32 Democrats voted for, to 65 Democrats who voted against it: Republicans for it. 17 to 1; Democrats against it, 2 to 1.

PART VI.

Democratic Hatred Pursues the Republican Greenback even into the Supreme Court—Democratic Justices hold the Legal-Tender Act Unconstitutional—Republican Justices hold otherwise.

As a further illustration of the impregnable position, that while the Democratic party has ever been the enemy of the greenback, the Republican party has ever been its best and only friend, it may be well to recall the fact that in the famous case of *Hepburn vs. Griswold*, involving the constitutionality of the legal-tender clause, as relates to contracts made prior to its adoption, the Democratic Supreme Court judges—Chief Justice Chase, and Associate Justices Nelson Clifford, Grier and Field—decided that the legal-tender act "is inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution; and that it is prohibited by the Constitution;" while the Republican judges—Miller, Swayne and Davis—dissented, and held the "very decided opinion that Congress acted within the scope of its authority," and declared, in their opinion, "the law to be constitutional." That is known as the legal-tender decision of 1869—and was not made by a full court. Subsequently, with a full bench, the Supreme Court made, in the cases of *Knox vs. Lee* and *Parker vs. Davis*, what is known as the legal-tender decision of 1871—the Republican justices, forming a majority of the court, holding the legal-tender "acts of Congress constitutional, as applied to contracts made either before or after their passage," thus overruling the former decision in *Hepburn vs. Griswold*; while the Democratic judges, to wit: Chief Justice Chase, and Justices Nelson, Clifford, and Field, dissented.

PART VII.

Utterances of Democratic Leaders in Congress Declaring the Greenback Unconstitutional.

The Democratic leaders, besides voting against the Republican greenback, worked against it and talked in Congress against it with all their might—taking the ground that it was unconstitutional to issue such money. Here is what some of them said on this point:

What Vallandigham, Democrat, of Ohio, said.

In a speech, February 3, 1862, Mr. VALLANDIGHAM said:

"Sir, if it were fifty-fold as constitutional as, in my deliberate judgment it is unconstitutional in letter, and abhorrent to the principles and spirit of that instrument, it could not command my support. I will not renew the discussion of the question of constitutional power to make Government paper or any other paper, a legal tender in payment of any debts, public or private, present or prospective. My colleague from the First district (Mr. Pendleton) the other day, with a clearness and force never exceeded in this hall, disposed of that question forever." * *

Mr. Powell, Democrat, of Kentucky, said:

"In my judgment the bill is plainly and palpably violative of the Constitution of the United States." * *

Hendrick B. Wright, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, said, February 5, 1862:

"This bill proposes, sir, to throw on the country \$100,000,000 of Treasury notes, payable at no time—payable nowhere—payable at the pleasure of the government—and the astounding clause is added, that these notes—payable at no place, at no time—shall be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, within the United States. Now I submit, as a matter of law, as a correct conclusion from the Constitution itself, that you cannot, under the Constitution of these United States, make anything but gold and silver a legal tender on contracts."

George H. Pendleton, Democrat, of Ohio, said, January 29, 1862:

"I find no grant of this power in direct terms, or as I think, by fair implication. It is not an accidental omission; it is not an admission through inadvertency: it was intentionally left out of the Constitution because it was designed that the power should not reside in the Federal Government."

Senator James A. Bayard, Democrat, of Delaware, February 13, 1862, said:

"The thing, to my mind, is so palpable a violation of the Constitution that I doubt whether in any court of justice in the country, having a decent regard to its own respectability, you can possibly expect that this bill which you now pass will not, whenever the question is presented judicially, receive its condemnation as unconstitutional and void in this clause."

Senator James A. Pearce, Democrat, of Maryland, said, February 13, 1862:

"I see no power from which we can infer authority in this Government to make paper money a legal tender."

Senator Willard Saulsbury, Democrat, of Delaware, said, February 13, 1862:

"It is so clearly unconstitutional, in my opinion, that I cannot conscientiously vote for it."

PART VIII.

Notes, etc., outstanding for each year from 1860 to 1880—Currency Totals—Value of Currency Totals in Gold—Value of Paper Dollar in Gold each year to Par.

The following table prepared by the Treasury Department will furnish most interesting food for reflection to the Republican and Greenback political student:

Statement showing the amount of *Notes and Fractional Silver Coin outstanding at the close of each fiscal year from 1861 to 1880 inclusive.*
Prepared at the Treasury Department, July 1, 1880.

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30.	State Bank circulation.	National Bank cir- culation.	Demand Notes.	Legal-tender Notes.	One and two-year notes of 1863. (See Note 2.)	Compound Interest Notes. (See Note 3.)	Silver certificates. (See Note 4.)	Fractional currency, paper. (See Note 4.)	Fractional silver. (See Note 4.)	Total amount in currency.	Value of paper dol- lars as compared with coin, July 1 of each year.	Value of cur- rency in gold.
1860.....	\$107,105.47									\$207,102,477.00		
1861.....	207,066.79									210,905,767.10	\$0.86 6	\$288,769,500.41
1862.....	148,709.07									333,262,079.00	0.76 6	497,798,338.59
1863.....	238,077.33									640,267,293.75	0.78 7	322,649,246.94
1864.....	178,127.77	\$31,285.270								833,218,964.84	0.70 4	692,256,354.77
1865.....	143,913.63	146,137,960								983,318,688.96	0.66 0	588,687,092.73
1866.....	179,935.123	281,479,908								891,504,688.96	0.71 7	593,906,769.07
1867.....	4,484.771	298,635,979								926,927,168.52	0.70 1	505,004,234.52
1868.....	3,183.871	299,762,855								720,412,602.76	0.73 5	510,050,351.61
1869.....	2,858.124	299,929,624								706,275,899.48	0.83 0	599,531,769.95
1870.....	2,927,103	299,766,994								711,875,781.06	0.83 0	638,909,418.44
1871.....	3,198,038	318,261,241								758,063,368.94	0.87 5	648,163,866.76
1872.....	1,780,838	337,654,295								738,570,903.52	0.86 4	646,249,540.58
1873.....	1,265,070	347,267,061								711,900,916.17	0.81 0	671,156,753.71
1874.....	1,000,001	351,981,931								775,646,728.69	0.87 2	671,619,947.42
1875.....	768,244	354,418,068								748,308,473.89	0.84 6	694,375,246.54
1876.....	435,396	352,998,396								731,379,542.84	0.81 7	725,088,924.62
1877.....	311,011	317,048,872								729,315,608.27	1.00 1	734,801,994.78
1878.....	436,604	324,514,924								735,622,956.37	1.00 3	735,622,956.37
1879.....	392,732	329,691,607										
1880.....	269,600	344,505,427										

NOTE 1.—The amount of State and national bank circulation is compiled from the reports of the Comptroller of the Currency at the nearest dates obtainable to the end of each fiscal year; the other amounts are taken from the official printed reports of the Secretary of the Treasury.

* NOTE 2.—Exclusive of \$3,375,984, amount estimated as lost or destroyed, act June 21, 1879.

NOTE 3.—The one and two-year notes of 1863, and the compound interest notes, though having a legal tender quality for their face value, were in fact interest-bearing securities, payable at certain times, as stated on the notes. They entered into circulation for but a few days, if at all, and, since maturity, those presented have been converted into other interest-bearing bonds, or paid for in cash, interest included.

NOTE 4.—The amount of fractional currency in circulation in 1860, 1861, and 1866, cannot be stated. The amount stated for 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1879, are the amounts coined and issued since January, 1876. To these amounts should be added the amount of silver previously coined which has come into circulation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Blundering Democratic Financial Administration.

*"Reform is necessary to * * * restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor."*—National Democratic Platform, 1876.

PART I.

A History of Democratic Administration—Mismanagement of Finances from 1836 to 1848—A Constant Succession of Deficiencies and Issues of Treasury Notes and Bonds to Meet them—Growth of the Public Debt, etc.

In contrast with the wise, honest, and brilliant financial history of the Republican party, it is only necessary to glance back at the blunders, if not crimes, of past Democratic administration from the days of Jackson down, to be convinced that the business man cannot trust the Democratic party. The following authentic review (comprising Parts I. and II.) was prepared at the U. S. Treasury:

"Flush times" of 1836—The debt extinguished—Surplus in the Treasury.

In the year 1836 the United States was, for the first time in the history of the country, practically out of debt. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to Congress, dated December 8, 1835, estimated the amount of the public debt still outstanding at \$326,582.10, and this remained unpaid solely because its payment had not been demanded, ample funds to meet it having been deposited with the Bank of the United States as commissioner of loans during the preceding year. At the same time the estimates of the receipts and expenditures presented showed the probability of a surplus in the Treasury, at the close of the year 1836, of at least \$14,000,000, and this estimate was really, as events showed, far below the truth.

In this favorable state of the public finances Congress resolved to deposit all the surplus revenue over \$5,000,000 with the several States, and provided the method by which it should be deposited in four instalments under the act approved June 23, 1836.

Panic of 1837—Specie payments suspended—The wheels of Government almost blocked.

In 1837, however, the condition of the country had changed. The "flush" times of 1835 and 1836 had been succeeded by unprecedented depression and panic. By the month of May most of the banks had suspended specie payments. The receipts from the sales

of public lands and duties on the large importations of foreign goods, which had helped to swell the balance in the Treasury to over \$42,000,000, had fallen off enormously. Even on the goods that were already imported it was exceedingly difficult to collect the duties at all, as the law required them to be paid in specie, and specie was hard to obtain; and it had not only become impossible to pay the fourth instalment of the surplus at the end of 1836 to the several States, but even to meet the current expenses of the Government from its ordinary revenues.

A deficit of \$2,000,000—Issue of \$10,000,000 six-per-cent. Treasury notes—Greater economy proposed.

Secretary Woodbury therefore suggested that contingent authority be given the President to issue Treasury notes bearing interest at six per cent. A bill for this purpose was introduced in the House of Representatives September 13, which, after a lengthened debate, passed that body, and, passing the Senate, became a law. The bill was supported on several grounds. One was that the issue of Treasury notes was absolutely necessary, there being already a deficit of \$2,000,000, which promised to largely increase should the then condition of the country continue; and another was that so large an increase of the circulating medium would tend to alleviate the prevailing distress. The principle of the bill was opposed, however, by those who thought that greater economy in expenditures would tend to relieve the Treasury, while others denounced it as an attempt "to start a Treasury bank."

The bill passed the House by a small majority, but in the Senate there were only six votes against it; and it was approved October 12, 1837. The President was authorized to cease the issue of Treasury notes in such sums as the exigencies of the Government might demand (not to exceed in the aggregate \$10,000,000), of various denominations, not less than \$50, redeemable one year after date, bearing interest from their respective dates for the term of one year at rates to be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, but not to exceed 6 per cent. They were to be issued in payment of debts due by the United States to such public creditors or other persons as chose to receive them in payment at their par value; were to be transferable by delivery and assignment indorsed on them, and were to be received in payment of all duties and taxes laid by the United States, for all public

lands sold by the said authority, and of all debts by the United States; credit to be given for the interest due on the notes at the time of payment. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to borrow, on the credit of the notes, at not below par, such sums as the President might deem expedient.

1838—Unavailable balances—Conflicting statements—"Government must stop in a few days" if not relieved.

The state of the country and of the public finances was no more favorable at its close of the year 1837 than it had been at its beginning. There was in the Treasury January 1, 1838, an apparent balance of over \$34,000,000, but of this amount the largest portion was unavailable. It consisted of the amount deposited with the several States, \$28,101,644.97; of money belonging to the Government deposited with suspended or insolvent banks; of amounts due from merchants or bonds given for duties on imports, difficult or impossible to collect; and of various other items aggregating, so large an amount that the Secretary of the Treasury estimated the available balance at the close of the year at only \$1,118,393. It is probable that even this estimate was too large, as President Van Buren informed Congress in May, 1838, that the available means in the Treasury amounted to about \$216,000, with large demands suspended in the departments awaiting payments from appropriations yet to be made by Congress, and that the Government must stop in a few days if provision was not made to carry it on. The dues to the Government being largely paid in the Treasury notes of 1837, which the Department was forbidden to reissue, the revenue was almost nothing, and it became necessary to provide additional means.

Further relief given—Another issue of Treasury notes.

The act of May 21, 1838, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approbation of the President, to cause Treasury notes to be issued, according to the provisions of, and subject to all the conditions, limitations and restrictions contained in the act of October 12, 1837, in place of such notes as had been or might be issued under that act and afterward paid into the Treasury and canceled.

1839—Again in trouble—Another issue authorized.

The act of March 21, 1839, authorizing a further issue on similar conditions, was passed at the instance of the Secretary of the Treasury, who informed the House that it would still be impossible to meet the demands upon the Treasury without it.

1840—More "embarrassment"—Another issue to relieve it.

President Van Buren in a special message, dated February 17, 1840, informed Congress

that, although the means of the Treasury for the whole year would probably be equal to the expenditures, yet the Department might, notwithstanding, be unable to meet the claims upon it when they fell due, because the largest proportion of the charges upon the Treasury, including the payment of pensions and the redemption of Treasury notes, became due in the early part of the year, while the resources on which it might otherwise rely would mostly be unavailable until the last half of the year, and a portion, being debts due from banks, might not be punctually paid.

The act of March 31, 1840, was passed to remedy this inconvenience, although strenuously opposed as unconstitutional and unnecessary, the House of Representatives being in session at one time for twenty-five hours on the bill. It renewed the provisions of the act of October 12, 1837, except as to the amount of notes and the time in which they might be issued; and authorized the issue of notes in lieu of those which had been or might be redeemed, but not to exceed, in the amount of notes outstanding at any one time, the sum of \$5,000,000 to be redeemed sooner than one year if the means of the Treasury would permit, by giving sixty days notice of those notes which the Department was ready to redeem; no interest to be allowed thereon after the expiration of the sixty days, the act to continue in force one year and no longer.

1841—"Embarrassed" again—Big deficiency!—In four years expenditures exceed revenue by over thirty millions—Again "relieved."

Secretary Woodbury, in his report on the finances, dated December 7, 1840, estimated that at the close of the year 1841 there would remain in the Treasury an available balance of only \$924,273, and that even this small balance might entirely disappear and an actual deficit of several millions be found under the operations of the compromise tariff act of 1833, which was rapidly reducing the amount of customs duties levied, aided by fluctuations in the amount of goods imported, which had fallen off during the year 1840 nearly sixty millions of dollars.

To ward off the danger of this possible deficit the act of February 15, 1841, was passed, with the limitations and provisions of the act of October 21, 1837, as modified by the act of March 31, 1840.

President Tyler in his message to Congress, at its extra session in June, 1841, estimated the probable deficit in the Treasury at the close of the year at \$11,406,132.98, while Secretary Ewing estimated the deficiency on the 1st of September at \$5,251,398.30, and informed Congress that during the previous four years the expenditures had exceeded the revenue by \$31,310,014.20. On this point he says:

"Thus and to this extent, within the last four years were the expenditures pushed beyond the amount of the revenues. They were made to absorb the surplus in the Treasury and the outstanding debts due the United States, so that the Treasury was, on the 4th of

March, 1841, exhausted of its means and subject to heavy and immediate liabilities. It was already burdened with a debt incurred in time of peace, and without any adequate resources except the authority granted by law to augment that debt. As yet no provision has been made to relieve this debt, or to check its constant and rapid increase. We find it, therefore, as far as past legislative and financial arrangements characterize it, a permanent and increasing national debt. The temporary expedients by which it has been sustained do not at all vary its essential character."

A funded debt—Loan bill of 1841—The loan goes a-begging—More relief in 1842, by issue and re-issue of treasury notes, etc.
—"Loan bill of 1842."

The only remedy for these continually recurring deficits was by a loan, redeemable at a time sufficiently distant to allow the public finances, aided by returning prosperity among the people, a chance for recovery. A bill to borrow \$12,000,000, redeemable after eight years, was introduced in the House, June 14, 1841, and debated during many successive days. It was opposed by some who declared themselves averse to creating a national debt; by others who professed to see in it a scheme for starting a national bank, and by others who preferred the issue of treasury notes to obtaining a loan. It was advocated by members who said that it was not creating a debt, but funding one which already existed, entailed on the country by the Democratic administration which had just gone out of power, and that it was the more manly course to openly ask a loan, payable at some distant day, rather than to continue the issue of notes which must return to the treasury in a few weeks or months to cause another deficit.

The bill finally passed both houses, and was approved July 21, 1841. It authorized the President to borrow, on the credit of the United States, at any time within one year, a sum not exceeding \$12,000,000, at a rate of interest not exceeding 6 per cent., payable quarterly or semi-annually, the loan to be reimbursable either at the will of the Secretary of the treasury after six months' notice, or at any time after three years, from January 1, 1842. The money borrowed was to be applied to the redemption of outstanding treasury notes, and to defray the public expenses. The Secretary was authorized to purchase at any time before the time named for the redemption of the stock such portions thereof as the funds of the Government might admit of, and any surplus in the Treasury was pledged for the redemption of the stock.

This loan does not appear to have met with much favor from those who had money to lend, owing to the unsettled state of the money market, and the short period which was to elapse before it became redeemable. Up to December 20, 1841, the amount received was only \$5,532,726.88; while the estimated deficiency on January 1, 1842, was \$627,559.90, and the estimated excess of expenditure over the revenue for the year 1842 was \$14,218,570.68. In this emergency Secretary Forward recommended an extension of the time within which the residue of the loan not yet taken should be redeemable, the reissue of the treasury notes heretofore authorized by

law, and an increase of the duties on certain classes of imports. An act authorizing the issue and reissue of treasury notes was approved January 31, 1842, after meeting with much opposition on the old grounds of the unconstitutionality of bills of credit, the expediency of adding to the paper money of the country, and the plea that a little economy would enable the Government to meet its expenses without causing a deficit in the treasury. Its supporters denied that the measure was unconstitutional, and admitted that the best way to provide for the deficiency would be by obtaining a loan, but asserted that if a loan bill was passed the money could not be obtained in this country, and that it would be necessary to send the bonds to Europe for sale, which would consume much time, while the needs of the treasury were urgent.

The act authorized the notes to be issued under the provisions and limitations contained in the act of October 12, 1837, except that the authority given to issue was to expire at the end of one year from the passage of the act. It was manifest, however, that the power to keep \$5,000,000 in treasury notes outstanding could not make up a deficiency of over \$14,000,000; and in order to provide for this deficit, a bill had been introduced in the House, December 21, 1841, extending the time limited by the first section of the act of July 21, 1841. In the debates which followed the responsibility for the condition of the finances was charged by each party on the other.

This bill became a law April 15, 1842. It provided that so much of the loan obtained after its passage should be reimbursable as should be agreed upon at the time of issuing the stock not to exceed twenty years from the first day of January, 1843. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to dispose of the stock below par if its par value could not be obtained, but not until the loan had been duly advertised and proposals for subscriptions invited. The President was also authorized to borrow an additional sum of \$5,000,000 if the exigencies of the Government should require it, under the same provisions and limitations.

More relief—Another re-issue of treasury notes in 1842.

Notwithstanding the favorable terms offered to investors it was still found impossible to obtain par for the stock; and to prevent its sacrifice a bill was introduced in the House to allow the issue of treasury notes when the remainder of the stock could not be sold at par. It was stated in debate by the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, who introduced the bill, that the immediate liabilities of the Government were \$4,875,000, and to meet these demands not one dollar was available, and that the stock must be either "sacrificed to the Shylocks of the country" or some other means must be provided to meet these liabilities.

The bill does not appear to have met with much opposition, the necessity for its passage being apparent. It was approved August 31,

1842. It provided that no stock authorized by the act of July 21, 1841, and April 15, 1842, should hereafter be sold at less than par, and in case the stock could not be sold at or above par, and the exigencies of the public service should require it, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to issue in lieu thereof treasury notes to the amount of not more than \$6,000,000 under the provisions and limitations contained in the acts of October, 1837, and March, 1840. The notes when redeemed might be reissued or new notes issued in their stead, but none were to be issued after April 15, 1843, and the amount outstanding at any one time was not to exceed \$6,000,000. The treasury notes issued under the act of March 3, 1843, were simply issues of new notes in place of such as had been issued under any previous acts of Congress, and which had been or might be redeemed at the Treasury, or received in payment of dues. The necessity for the issue was in the fact that the estimated revenues for the year were very little in excess of the current expenses.

1843—A growing national debt—A new loan and new issue of treasury notes.

The National debt at that date was said to be \$27,409,338, of which \$11,068,977 fell due during the year, and might be presented for payment. Under these circumstances it became necessary either to obtain a new loan, to increase the taxes—always an unpopular expedient—or to issue new Treasury notes, as had been done at each session for the past six years. The course was adopted of giving authority both to obtain a new loan and to issue treasury notes, though this latter expedient was characterized in debate as a mere makeshift to enable the Government to get along from day to day and to maintain its credit without repudiation. The bill was approved March 3, 1843. It provided that when any outstanding treasury notes, issued under previous acts of Congress, should, after the passage of the act, be redeemed, the Secretary of the Treasury, if the public service required it, might cause other notes to be issued in their stead, under the limitations and provisions of the acts under which the notes were originally issued. It authorized the payment of interest on notes issued under this act after maturity, and also on those issued under the act of August 31, 1842. The third section of the same act authorized the President, if, in his opinion, it should be for the interest of the United States so to do, to redeem such of the notes then outstanding as they became due by the issue of stock of the United States, under the limitations and provisions of the act of April 15, 1842, except that no commissions were to be allowed to agents, and the stock should be redeemable at a period not later than ten years from the issue thereof. Under this act stock to the amount of \$7,004,231.25 was issued, most of which was sold at a small premium.

1846—The Mexican war begins—Large threatening deficiency—More treasury notes issued.

War with Mexico was declared May 13, 1846.

On the 15th of June Secretary Walker informed Congress that if the war should continue till July 1, 1847, there would be a deficiency in the Treasury of \$12,587,000. To prevent this threatened disaster a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives July 6, 1846, and passed both Houses, although opposed on the ground that the only honorable way of providing for the increased expenses necessary while the war lasted was by increased taxation: that the feature of the bill, which allowed the reissue of treasury notes as fast as they were redeemed, was converting the treasury into a national bank, and that the course of legislation showed the inconsistency of the Democratic party, then in power, which had originated the Sub-Treasury bill, requiring payments to or by the Government to be made in gold or silver, and was now asking authority to issue paper money, after having at the outbreak of the war, so reduced the tariff that the revenue was likely to be lowered at least \$10,000,000.

The bill was approved July 22, 1846. It authorized the issue of treasury notes according to the exigency of the Government, and in place of the notes redeemed others were to be issued; but the amount of this emission outstanding at any one time was not to exceed \$10,000,000. The notes were to be issued under the limitations and provisions of the act of October 12, 1837, except that the authority given was to expire at the end of a year from the passage of the act. The same act also authorized the President, if, in his opinion, the country needed it, to borrow on the credit of the United States such a sum as he might deem proper, instead of issuing the whole amount of Treasury notes authorized, but not exceeding, together with the Treasury notes issued, the sum of \$10,000,000—the stock to be issued under the limitations and provisions of the act of April 15, 1842, and to be redeemable at a period not exceeding ten years from the date of issue; no commissions were to be paid to agents.

1847—Fallacious Treasury estimates—Another Loan Act.

The estimate of Secretary Walker, before referred to, proved very fallacious. A sum larger than his estimate of the amount needed to prevent a deficit was obtained; yet in his annual report, dated December 9, 1846, the Secretary was obliged to inform Congress that a deficit of \$4,779,042.01 was still probable. In January, 1847, he appears to have informed the Chairman of Ways and Means that the treasury was nearly empty, and that there was an immediate necessity for authority to issue more treasury notes or to obtain a new loan. A bill authorizing the issue of new treasury notes or a loan to the amount of \$3,000,000 passed both Houses and became a law January 28, 1847; but the origin and conduct of the war with Mexico had been reviewed in debate, and various propositions were made to so amend the tariff on foreign goods imported as to increase the revenue, especially to lay a heavy duty on tea and coffee.

It authorized the President to cause treas-

ury notes to be issued for such sums as were required, but not exceeding in the whole amount issued the sum of \$23,000,000, and no note was to be of a less denomination than \$50. The notes were to bear such interest from date of issue until redeemed as should be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and were redeemable at one and two years after date. The Secretary was authorized to borrow money on the credit of the notes, but no notes were to be pledged, hypothecated or sold at less than their par value with accumulated interest. They were to be paid to such public creditors as chose to receive them at par and were made receivable for all duties, taxes and debts due the United States. The Secretary was authorized to purchase said notes at any time, but only at par for the principal and accrued interest. When any of the notes authorized by the act were redeemed, other notes might be issued in their stead, but the amount of said notes outstanding at any time, together with the stock authorized by the same act, was at no time to exceed \$23,000,000. The principal of the notes could be funded at any time in stock bearing 6 per cent. interest, redeemable at any time after December 31, 1867, and this privilege was extended to the holders of any treasury notes issued under previous acts. The authority given by the act of July 22, 1846, to issue treasury notes, was extended by the fifteenth section to the period fixed by this act on the same terms and conditions, but the issue under this section was not to exceed \$5,000,000. Section 16 of the same act gives the usual authority to the President, if needed, to borrow money instead of issuing the whole amount of treasury notes, and to issue therefor stock bearing interest at not exceeding 6 per cent., redeemable after Dec. 1, 1867.

1848—Still another loan.

President Polk, in his message of December 7, 1847, informed Congress that if the war with Mexico continued until July 1, 1848, the expenditure would probably exceed the revenue about \$16,000,000, while Secretary Walker, in his report of December 8, estimated that the sum necessary to be kept in the treasury to meet the wants of the Government, and maintain the enlarged operations at the mint, would require \$18,729,114.27, in addition to the probable revenue. A bill to authorize a loan not to exceed \$18,500,000 was accordingly introduced in the House, January 19, 1848. The Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, informed the House during the debate, that an error had been discovered in the financial statement of the Secretary of the Treasury, which disclosed the gratifying fact that there were in the treasury nearly \$7,000,000 more than had been stated to the House in consequence of which it was supposed the loan might be reduced to \$12,000,000, but that the Secretary of War had since asked an appropriation of nearly four millions to supply certain deficiencies in that branch of the public service, and it would therefore be necessary to make the amount \$16,000,000, and he moved an amendment making the alteration,

avowing at the same time his utter want of confidence in the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury, and stating that at least \$25,000,000 would be required. The bill eventually passed both Houses; but the administration was charged with having plunged the country into an unnecessary foreign war, and the conduct of the struggle was reviewed and severely condemned. The bill was approved March 31, 1848. It authorized the President to borrow within a year from the approval of the act on the credit of the United States, a sum not exceeding \$16,000,000 at an interest of not more than 6 per cent. per annum, payable quarterly or semi-annually, reimbursable at any time after July 1, 1868. No certificate was to be issued for a less amount than \$50. The expenses attending the execution of the act were not to exceed \$16,000,000.

The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to purchase the stock of the loan at any time before the date at which it became reimbursable at the market price not below par. Under this act stock was issued amounting to \$16,000,000.

PART II.

Continued Democratic Mismanagement of Finances from 1857 to 1861—Another Series of Blunders—Dissolving Treasury Balances—Embarrassments and Deficiencies become Chronic—Continual cry for more Treasury Notes and more Loans—The various responsive Acts—The National Credit down to Zero—Increasing Expenditures and Diminishing Revenue.

The revolution in trade and commerce which occurred in the year 1857 disastrously affected the revenues of the Government, as it did the incomes of the people, and the Administration which had just declared that amid such wide-spread financial wreck and ruin the Treasury would continue to pay gold and silver only, was forced really to the humiliating necessity of asking authority to issue paper money.

In December, 1857, large treasury balance of a few months back dissolving and a deficiency threatened—increasing expenditures with a diminishing revenue. An issue of \$20,000,000 treasury notes.

The Secretary of the Treasury informed Congress in his report of December 8, 1857, that although there was a balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year of \$17,710,114.27, yet such was the falling off in the revenues from customs that it was necessary to provide the treasury with some additional means of meeting the demands upon it, and that unless relief was speedily afforded there was great danger that available funds might be exhausted. He therefore asked authority to issue

\$20,000,000 in treasury notes. A bill for this purpose was introduced, and in the debates which followed it was truly said that the closing hours of the XXXIVth Congress had been consumed in efforts to deplete an overflowing treasury, while the early days of the XXXVth Congress were devoted to efforts to fill an empty one. Only a short time before the Secretary had asked Congress to reduce the accumulating coin on hand by a revision of the revenue laws, and now he was asking leave to fill its empty coffers by the issue of paper money. Instead of proposing a reduction of expenditures an increase was recommended. The Secretary of the Treasury asked increased expenditures to collect the diminishing revenue, while the Secretary of War wanted permission to raise four or five additional regiments at an additional expense of four or five millions of dollars—though the whole business of the country was paralyzed, its commerce almost destroyed, its industrious classes living in enforced idleness, with willing hands imploring in vain the privilege of labor, and the Government bankrupt, asking authority to fill its coffers by the issue of paper money. A bill authorizing the issue of \$20,000,000 treasury notes was consequently passed, but a prediction was made that this amount would be largely insufficient, and that by the end of the year the treasury would be many millions in debt, and that prediction was soon verified.

**In 1858 asking a loan to meet expenses—
Loan Act of 1858 passed.**

In May, 1858, the Secretary of the Treasury was compelled to inform Congress of his difficulties; that owing to the appropriations having been increased by legislation nearly \$10,000,000 over the estimates, and the revenue from customs having fallen below the estimate about an equal amount, means to meet the deficit should be provided. A bill to authorize a loan not exceeding \$15,000,000 was reported to the House May 26, 1858. This bill was subsequently amended, the amount being increased by the Senate to \$20,000,000, and became a law June 14, 1858. The interest was not to exceed 5 per cent., and the loan was made redeemable at any time after fifteen years.

**Another treasury note reissue asked for in
1859—Loan Act of 1860 passed instead.**

Secretary Cobb, in his annual report to Congress, dated December 22, 1859, uses the following language:

"In the estimated means of the Treasury for the present and fiscal years it will be seen that no provision is made for the permanent redemption of any portion of the \$20,000,000 of Treasury notes. The authority for re-issuing these notes will expire on the 20th of June next, and it will, therefore, be necessary for Congress to extend the law for that purpose another period."

Congress appears to have differed with the Secretary as to the propriety of reissuing the notes; for instead of giving authority to do so, a bill providing for their redemption by means of a loan was introduced, and passing both houses almost without debate was ap-

proved June 22, 1860. It authorized a loan of \$21,000,000 with interest at not exceeding 6 per cent., redeemable in not less than ten or more than twenty years.

The failure to realize the whole amount authorized was caused by the political troubles that culminated in the war of the rebellion. Bids were invited for \$10,000,000 on September 8, 1860, and the whole amount offered was speedily taken. A commercial crisis ensued, during which a portion of the bidders forfeited their deposits, and the loan was withdrawn from the market. The amount finally secured was only \$7,022,000.

Another issue of treasury notes needed.

As a result of this failure authority for a further issue of treasury notes was asked for by Secretary Cobb. In his report of December 4, 1860, he says:

"To meet the remaining outstanding Treasury notes and interest thereon there is yet to be negotiated \$11,000,000 of the loan authorized by the act of June, 22, 1860. The statement just made of the difficulties attending the payment for the stock already sold, in connection with the fact that capitalists in the present condition of the country seem unwilling to invest in United States stock at par, renders it almost certain that this remaining \$11,000,000 cannot now be negotiated upon terms acceptable to the Government. The condition of the Treasury is such that no serious delay can be indulged. Authority should be given for the issue of treasury notes to an equal amount, to be negotiated at such rates as would command the confidence of the country, and to create that confidence the public lands should be unconditionally pledged for the ultimate redemption of the Treasury notes which it might become necessary to issue."

Usurious rates of interest.

The rate of interest actually paid on the notes issued under this act has been the subject of frequent dispute, and the facts, as given in an official form, are as follows:

"Under the Act of December 17, 1860 (12 Statutes, 121), treasury notes were issued, redeemable at the expiration of one year from date, bearing interest as follows: \$70,200 at 6 per cent. \$5,000 at 7 per cent., \$24,5000 at 8 per cent., \$33,000 at 8½ per cent., \$10,000 at 8¾ per cent., \$65,000 at 9 per cent., \$10,000 at 9½ per cent., \$16,000 at 9¾ per cent., \$77,000 at 9¾ per cent., \$1,027,500 at 10 per cent., \$266,000 at 10½ per cent., \$623,000 at 10¾ per cent., \$1,367,000 at 10¾ per cent., \$1,439,700 at 11 per cent., \$4,840,000 at 12 per cent., making a total of \$10,010,900. Additional offers were received, ranging from 15 to 34 per cent., which were refused."

**More embarrassments during profound
peace—The credit of the nation at zero—
Proposition to back it with that of the
several States:**

In January, 1861, the Secretary, in order to relieve the treasury from its embarrassments, was forced to ask Congress for authority to obtain a loan without restriction as to the price of the bonds. This money was needed, not to meet loans falling due, or to pay the expenses of war, but was asked for in a time of profound peace, to meet the current expenses of the Government. Never before, since the year 1789, when a small sum was borrowed to pay salaries, etc., under the new Government, had a loan been asked to meet ordinary expenditures. So low had the credit of the Government fallen at that time that Secretary Dix suggested to Congress, as a financial resource, that the several States be

asked, as security for the repayment of any money the Government might find it necessary to borrow, to pledge the deposits received by them from the Government under the act for the distribution of the surplus revenues in 1836, the Secretary believing that a loan contracted on such a basis of security, superadding to the plighted faith of the United States that of the individual States, could hardly fail to be acceptable to capitalists.

\$25,000,000 Loan Act of Feb. 8, 1861.

A bill was introduced February 2, 1861, authorizing a loan of \$25,000,000, to bear interest not to exceed 6 per cent., and to be redeemed in not less than ten or more than twenty years. The bill became a law February 8, 1861, after earnest debates, in which, however, no opposition was manifested to the bill as a whole, but simply to details, both parties agreeing that a loan was absolutely necessary. Bonds to the amount of \$18,415,000 were sold under the authority of this act at an aggregate discount of \$2,019,776.10, or an average rate of \$89.03 per \$100. Secretary Cobb in his report before referred to, says:

"The estimated balance that will be in the Treasury on June 30, 1861, is only \$3,530,195.61, and leaves no margin for additional appropriations. If, therefore, the appropriations should exceed the estimates, or Congress should determine to provide within this period for the payment of any portion of the public debt, it will become necessary to make provision for such contingencies. The idea of increasing the public debt to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government should not be entertained for a moment. If additional demands are created upon the Treasury by the legislation of the present Congress, provision must be made to meet them by such increase of tariff duties as may be required for that purpose."

How the debt was increased to meet current expenses—Loan Act of March 2, 1861.

A bill for the repayment of outstanding Treasury notes, to authorize a loan, and to regulate and fix the duties on imports, was introduced in the House of Representatives March 12, 1860. It was sarcastically said, in debate on the bill, that the idea of not increasing the public debt to meet current expenses was a very patriotic one, but the Administration had practically illustrated the sentiment by steadily increasing the debt to meet these expenses during every year that it had been in power. This was shown by the following table:

Public debt July 1, 1857.....	\$29,060,366.90.
Public debt July 1, 1858.....	44,910,777.60.
Public debt July 1, 1859.....	68,754,699.33.

In addition to this increase of the public debt, there was a rapid decrease in the amount of cash in the Treasury during the years mentioned. It was furthermore charged that this had taken place under the tariff that practically discriminated against our own people, compelling us, for every fourteen or fifteen millions of revenue collected at home, to foot a bill of a hundred millions abroad. The debate on the bill took a very wide range, including the subjects of the tariff and of protection to American industries, and often branching off to the state of the Union and the political troubles which brought on the War of the Rebellion; but the bill failed to pass both Houses at that session. It was taken up at the next meeting of Congress, and became a law March 2, 1861.

CHAPTER XIX.

Relative Weight of the "Solid South."

PART I.

Weight of the "Solid South" Politically and Commercially as Compared with the other States—Facts and Figures.

Should the Democrats succeed in electing Hancock, we all know that the Solid South will rule. To convince us, it needed not the emphatic utterance of Robert Toombs, of Georgia, to a friend in Washington:

"You may depend upon it, sir, that 'Yank' or no 'Yank,' if elected, the old boys of the South will see that Hancock does the fair thing by them. In other words, he will run the machine to suit them, OR THEY WILL RUN THE THING THEMSELVES. They are not going to be played with any longer."

Political Weight.

So far as political weight is concerned, there are in the present House of Representatives 148 Democrats, of whom 81 members, or 55 per cent., are from the solid South. In the

Senate there are 42 Democrats, of whom 24, or 57 per cent., are from the solid South. If the States of Delaware, Maryland and Missouri be included, the South has in the present House of Representatives 99 Democratic members, or 67 per cent., and in the Senate 80 members, or 71 per cent. In the event of the success of the Democratic party at the approaching election the solid South would cast a large majority of the Democratic votes in the Electoral College, probably at least 57 per cent. If, as is well known, the possession in a single interest of 40 per cent. of the stock of a corporation can control its operations, much more can the possession of over 50 per cent. of the political power of a party in a single interest control the policy of that party.

The total population of the United States in 1870 was 38,558,371, of which the population of the States of the solid South amounted to 11,246,435, or 29 per cent. of the whole. This undoubtedly presents that section in a much more favorable light than will the census of

1880. Of the total population of the States of the solid South, 7,067,213 were white and 4,179,222 colored.

Without going into details as to the political proclivities of the two races at the South, it appears to be proper to assume that the Democratic party in that section represents the political sentiments of about six millions of people, or 15 per cent. of the population of the country. And now let us see what relationship the solid South bears to the commercial and industrial interests of this country. The information upon these points is embraced in the following official communication from the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics in response to a letter of inquiry from Hon. Edward McPherson to the Secretary of the Treasury:

Chief Nimmo's Statistical Letter.

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, U. S. A.,

"BUREAU OF STATISTICS,

"Washington, D. C., August 19, 1890.)

"HON. JOHN SHERMAN,

"Secretary of the Treasury:

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter addressed to you by Hon. Edward McPherson, under date of August 7, 1890, and referred to me for reply.

"I respectfully submit the following statements in the order of the questions propounded:

"The expression, 'the Southern States,' in each case refers to the States mentioned in Mr. McPherson's letter, viz.: Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky.

Internal commerce.

"1. The internal commerce of this country greatly exceeds in magnitude its foreign commerce. From the data furnished by Mr. H. V. Poor, the accepted authority upon railroad statistics, it appears probable that the value of the traffic upon the railroads of the country alone, counting each separate shipment, is at least twenty times as great as the value of our foreign commerce. About 90 per cent. of our internal commerce now finds the means of transportation on railroads.

Commerce on railroads.

"2. The only means of measuring the relative magnitude of the internal commerce of the Southern States on railroads is by the number of freight cars employed. This affords a pretty correct basis of estimate upon the subject. According to Poor's *Railroad Manual* for 1879 the total number of the freight cars employed on the railroads of the United States was 428,018 cars, of which number 31,248, or 7.4 per cent., were employed on railroads in the Southern States referred to.

Tonnage of vessels.

"3. The total tonnage of vessels employed in the internal commerce of the United States on water lines of transportation, including the coast-wise trade on the ocean, and the inland trade on rivers and the Great Lakes, as stated by the Register of the Treasury, amounted, during the year ended June 30, 1890, to 2,678,067 tons, of which 242,548 tons, or 9 per cent., was owned in the Southern States mentioned.

Foreign commerce—Exports.

"4. The records of the Bureau of Statistics show that the total value of the exports of merchandise from the United States during the year ended June 30, 1890, amounted to \$835,633,595, and that the value of the exports from ports south of the Potomac River amounted to \$188,629,717, or 22.57 per cent. of the total exports of merchandise from the United States. Of the total exports of the South, the value of the exports of cotton amounted to \$168,184,526, or 84 per cent. of the total exports of the Southern States.

"5. The cotton shipped to Northern States as well as exported from the South to foreign countries, appears to be moved chiefly by Northern capital. It is stated by the Secretary of the New York Cotton Exchange

that, 'a very small percentage of the crop is moved by Southern capital,' and that, 'all that is taken by the North is controlled by Northern capital, while that exported to foreign countries is controlled either by foreign or Northern capital.'

Foreign commerce—Imports.

"6. The value of the imports of merchandise into the United States during the year ended, June 30, 1890, amounted to \$667,953,302, of which the value imported at ports south of the Potomac River amounted to \$15,934,301, or 2.38 per cent.

Revenue of the National Government from customs duties.

"7. The latest report of the Register of the Treasury shows that the total revenue of the National Government from customs during the year ended, June 30, 1879, amounted to \$187,250,048, of which \$2,145,545, or 1.56 per cent, was collected at ports of the Southern States named.

Internal revenue.

"8. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue has supplied me with the following information: The Internal Revenue receipts of the United States during the year ended, June 30, 1880, which can be apportioned among the several States and Territories, amounted to \$116,848,221. Of this amount \$20,839,864, or 17 per cent, was collected in the Southern States. Of the amount collected in the Southern States \$19,463,954, or 95 per cent, was realized from spirits and tobacco.

The postal service.

"9. According to the latest information furnished by the Post Office Department, the total weight of mails carried on railroads in the United States amounted to 551,370,158 pounds, of which mail matter 94,394,853 pounds, or 17.12 per cent., was transported on railroads in the Southern States.

Manufactures.

"10. The most recent source of information in regard to manufactures is the Census of 1870. During that year the total value of the manufactures of the country amounted to \$4,232,325,442, of which \$2,777,720,637, or 6½ per cent., was the product of the Southern States.

Mining.

"11. The Census of 1870 shows that the value of the products of mining amounted to \$152,598,994, of which \$4,995,052, or 3¼ per cent., was the product of the Southern States.

Bank loans and circulation.

"12. According to the latest report of the Comptroller of the Currency the total amount of National Bank loans and discounts of the entire country on the 2d of October, 1879, was \$878,503,097, of which \$46,360,007, or 5.3 per cent., was of banks in the Southern States.

"13. The latest report of the Comptroller of the Currency shows that the total amount of circulation of the State and National Banks of the country on the 2d of October, 1879, was \$314,103,233, of which \$28,479,426, or 7.47 per cent., was issued by banks in the Southern States.

Savings banks.

"14. The latest report of the Comptroller of the Currency shows that the total deposits in savings banks in the United States during the six months ending May 31, 1878, amounted to \$783,135,817, of which \$2,637,423, or not quite 4-10ths of one per cent., was deposited in the banks of the Southern States.

Railroads.

"15. The total cost of railroads and their equipments in the United States, as stated by Mr. Poor, amounts to \$4,166,331,921, of which the cost of the railroads and equipments, of the States referred to, amounts to \$556,274,979, or 13.35 per cent.

"I am unable to state, with any degree of precision, what proportion of the capital stock, mortgage bonds, or other forms of indebtedness of Southern railroads is held in the Northern States, but from the best information it amounts to a large sum.

Education.

"16. From the latest report of the Commissioner of Education, it appears that the total income for public

schools in all the States and Territories amounted to \$88,978,101, of which the income for public schools in the Southern States amounted to \$8,536,797, or 9.8 per cent.

The course of internal commerce.

"17. In his 17th inquiry Mr. McPherson asks for the relative magnitude of the east and west trade currents over railroads north of the Ohio River, and of the commerce of the Mississippi River.

"In answer to this question I submit the following:

"The great trunk lines of railway extending west from Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, now constitute the principal channels of the internal commerce of this country. Over each one of these trunk lines there flows a commerce much larger and more valuable than that which ever floated upon the Mississippi River. Commerce flows in upon these trunk lines, on subordinate and tributary lines, from the North, from the South, and from the West. The tonnage of merchandise shipped east across the Mississippi River, over railroad bridges north of St. Louis, is twelve times as great as the tonnage shipped down the river to that city. At St. Louis the eastward movement of commerce now largely exceeds the southward movement. Twenty-five years ago the commerce of St. Louis was carried on entirely by river, but the record of the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange shows that of the total tonnage of freight received and shipped during the year 1879, there were 6,948,794 tons moved by rail, and only 1,366,116 tons by river.

"A few years ago a railroad bridge was constructed across the Mississippi River at St. Louis, and to-day that bridge is a far more important avenue of commerce than is the river which flows beneath it. With its double track it has a capacity for traffic ten times as great as ever floated upon the Mississippi River. During the year 1875 the tonnage to and from the East at St. Louis by rail amounted to 2,930,855 tons, while the tonnage to and from the South by river amounted to only 692,520 tons. During the same year the southern movement by rail amounted to 1,952,098 tons.

"Grain shipped from St. Louis to Liverpool via any one of the four Atlantic ports—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore—or via New Orleans, is about 920 miles nearer to its destination when it reaches Baltimore, and still nearer when it reaches Philadelphia, New York or Boston, and about 652 miles farther from its destination when it reaches New Orleans. Thus it happens that Baltimore and New Orleans are to-day sharp competitors for the trade of the great Northwest.

Change in the course of trade.

"18. In his 18th inquiry Mr. McPherson asks for a brief statement as to the change in the course of the commerce described on pages 86 to 96 of my last report on the Internal Commerce of the United States.

"In answer to this question I submit the following reply: An important change has, within a few years, taken place in the course of the commerce of the States and parts of States situated South of the Ohio River, and South of the State of Missouri, viz: Kentucky, Tennessee, Western Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas. Twenty-five years ago the chief commercial entrepôts of the States mentioned were Mobile, New Orleans, and Galveston, but to-day this trade is dominated by the cities of Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis. The commercial front of these States has been changed from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico to the shores of this great interior east-and-west current of trade over railroads. The aggregate population of the three interior cities is nearly three times as great as the aggregate population of the three Gulf Cities. Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis have secured a large proportion of the trade of the States referred to, with respect to the sale of breadstuffs and provisions, dry goods, groceries, hats, caps, clothing, and manufactured goods of every description.

"In return, there is being shipped to those cities a large proportion of the surplus products of the South. During the present cotton year about 1,000,000 bales of cotton have been shipped overland, by rail, the greater part passing through these cities. This is one of the direct results of the establishment of the great east-and-west current of trade over the trunk railroad lines north of the Ohio River, and of the fact that Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis now enjoy

the advantages of a system of railroads permeating into all parts of the Southern States.

"I am, sir, very respectfully yours,

"JOSEPH NIMMO, JR.,
"Chief of Bureau of Statistics."

Tabulated comparative summary.

The following table summarizes the facts hereinbefore presented in regard to population, commerce, transportation, the public revenues, the postal service, manufactures, mining, banking, and education:

	SOLID SOUTH.
	Percentage of the entire country.
White population, Census of 1870.....	18
Ocolored population, Census of 1870.....	11
Total population of "solid South".....	29
Internal commerce on railroads.....	72-5
Internal commerce on water-lanes.....	9
Foreign Commerce: Exports.....	22-1-2
Imports.....	2-1-3
Total exports and imports.....	13-3-5
Revenues from customs.....	12-3
Internal revenue.....	47
Weight of mails carried.....	17-1-8
Manufactures.....	31-2
Mining.....	81-4
Railroads, Loans and Discounts.....	51-3
Note circulation.....	71-2
Deposits in Savings Banks.....	0-4-10
Income for Public Schools.....	9-2-5
Cost of Railroads.....	431-8

This table exhibits not only the fact that the "solid South" has a very small share in the commercial, industrial, financial, and educational interests of the country, but that that share is very much less than the proportion which its population bears to the total population of the country, and in almost every case is even less than the proportion which its white population alone bears to the total population of the country.

The foregoing comparison is based upon the census of 1870, and it is impossible that an honest census for 1880 shall exhibit a condition of affairs relatively more favorable to the solid South.

A few additional comparative figures.

Only 7.4 per cent. of the number of freight cars employed on the railroads of the United States are employed on the railroads of the States of the "solid South," i. e., the States which actually seceded, including Kentucky. This represents not only the share of the "solid South" in the internal commerce of the country, but it also represents the relative importance of the South with respect to agriculture, mining, and manufactures, since the freights transported on railroads are the products of these great industries.

Owing to the fact that the South has the best exportable product of the country—cotton—she is able to export 22½ per cent. of the total exports of the country, but this crop is chiefly moved by Northern and by foreign capital.

Although a sufficient number of ships arrive at ports of the "solid South" to carry

away 22½ per cent. of the exports of the country (almost all of it cotton), yet owing to the inertness of that section with respect to commercial enterprise, it appears that of the total imports into the United States amounting to \$667,950,887, those ships brought to her ports imports to the amount of only \$15,934,391, or 2½ per cent. of the imports into the country.

Only 1.6 per cent. of the revenues of the National Government from customs, are collected at ports of the "solid South," and of the internal revenues of the United States collected in the "solid South," 95 per cent. is realized from whiskey and tobacco.

A very large proportion of the capital stock, mortgage, bonds and other forms of indebtedness of the Southern railroads is held in Northern States.

The commercial ascendancy of the North is clearly indicated by the fact that the principal currents of the internal commerce of the United States are over railroads extending from the Atlantic seaboard to and beyond the Mississippi River.

PART II.

The "Solid Southern" Census of 1880—The Conspiracy of the Rebel Brigadiers to Increase the Political Power of the South, to Subjugate the North and West by Bulldozed Census Returns from the South.

The great struggle of the Democratic leaders of the South has been and is one for political power for the control of all the departments of the National Government as a means of taxing the majority and wealth of the nation for the indemnity of the rebel States and their people for losses incurred through their rebellion against the Constitution and the Union. Supported by the Democracy North, the success of the rebel Brigadiers has been great. With the Ku Klux and White Leagues they have suppressed all opposition in the South—have recaptured all the ex-rebel States, and in the exultant language of a noted Confederate organ (the *Okolona, Miss., Southern States*) have "captured the National Capitol"—have captured both Houses of Congress. But the probable results of the new census of 1880 filled them with terror. Reasoning from the facts and results, the comparative increase and decrease North and South in all the elements of population and wealth in previous censuses, and from the known condition of the Southern States under Confederate rule, it was confidently expected that the results of the new census would reduce even their present representation in the House, and proportionally their power in the Electoral College. A result so disastrous to them the rebel Brigadiers determined to defeat. They accordingly made

This census the focus of a new conspiracy to maintain, and even to increase, their present power in the House and Electoral College. Having through violence and fraud, by the

suppression of the Republican vote in all the ex-Confederate States, a majority in the U. S. Senate, they rejected the President's nomination of loyal men to supervise the taking of the census in the South, and demanded the appointment of Confederate or rebel sympathizers to perform the work. The President was compelled to submit. Having thus obtained their own supervisors for the work in hand the result is shown in the

Frauds in all the census returns from the "solid Southern" States,

increasing out of all proportions their respective and aggregate populations. The frauds are palpable. They are borne upon the very face of the returns thus far public, and all applications up to Sept. 9 to the Census Bureau for a verified statement of the census returns from the States have been met with the reply that it has "no completed results" for any of the States North or South.

The figures given by a "solid Southern" Democratic organ.

But the New Orleans *Democrat*, a rebel organ, as early as the 15th of August, 1880, published what it described as the "census returns, official, and estimated, from all the States and all but four of the Territories—Alaska, New Mexico, Washington, and Wyoming."—as follows:

STATES.	1880.	1870.
Alabama.....	1,150,000	996,992
Arkansas.....	780,000	481,471
California.....	860,000	560,247
Colorado.....	195,161	39,864
Connecticut.....	622,166	537,434
Delaware.....	145,000	126,015
Florida.....	300,000	187,748
Georgia.....	1,450,000	1,184,109
Illinois.....	3,100,000	2,539,591
Indiana.....	2,056,500	1,680,637
Iowa.....	1,500,000	1,194,020
Kansas.....	1,009,000	364,399
Kentucky.....	1,734,331	1,321,011
Louisiana.....	940,000	726,915
Maine.....	642,000	626,915
Maryland.....	935,000	780,894
Massachusetts.....	1,783,812	1,467,351
Michigan.....	1,600,000	1,184,060
Minnesota.....	780,872	439,706
Missouri.....	2,300,000	1,721,295
Mississippi.....	1,044,000	827,922
Nebraska.....	452,549	122,015
Nevada.....	63,000	42,491
New Hampshire.....	347,311	318,300
New Jersey.....	1,100,000	906,098
New York.....	5,080,000	4,382,769
North Carolina.....	1,400,008	1,071,961
Ohio.....	3,200,000	2,665,260
Oregon.....	175,635	90,923
Pennsylvania.....	4,226,099	3,521,951
Rhode Island.....	278,710	217,363
South Carolina.....	983,410	705,606
Tennessee.....	1,678,000	1,288,520
Texas.....	1,600,000	808,579
Virginia.....	1,600,000	1,225,163
Vermont.....	334,455	330,551
West Virginia.....	708,000	442,014
Wisconsin.....	1,300,000	1,054,670
Total.....	49,302,144	38,162,329
TERRITORIES.	1880.	1870.
Arizona.....	41,500	21,807
Dakota.....	135,000	14,181
District of Columbia.....	174,000	131,700
Idaho.....	30,000	14,999
Montana.....	38,998	20,595
Utah.....	144,000	86,786
Total.....	568,998	290,068

"Full official figures will not change these"—Strange figuring!

The *Democrat* adds:

"The grand total of States and Territories given above is 49,866,142. The territories not yet reported will bring the aggregate for the whole country up to 50,200,000. The increase, for the decade is 11,700,000, or a fraction over 30 per cent. Full official figures will not materially change those here presented, although a slight increase may be shown, especially in the States of Alabama, Georgia, Iowa and Missouri."

The sixteen Southern States show a total population of 18,595,007, an increase of 4,717,408, and a gain of nearly 34 per cent. The aggregate population of the twenty-two Northern and Western States is 30,107,187, an increase of 6,422,407, or 29 per cent."

A grand and very natural result. *The "solid Southern" States; stagnant from the pestilence and their turbulent condition, expelling thousands from within their limits, because neither life nor property is safe; repelling all immigration; discouraging the investment of capital; repressing and degrading industry; yet, increase in population 34 per cent!—while the population of the Northern and Western States, the great depots of immense European immigration of the last ten years, the great centres of capital and marts of commerce and multiplied industries, increase only 26 per cent.!*

The false census figures intended to serve a double purpose.

But the *Democrat*, in a previous issue—that of July 20, 1880—unwillingly exposes a cause besides that of gambling for political power, for this disproportionate increase. The South, its amiable and law abiding populations, had been "slandered" before the world. It had been accused, and it might have added convicted a thousand times, of appalling social and political crimes which unsettled all the elements or conditions of growth—which indeed rendered any marked growth either in population or wealth, absolutely impossible. It asks:

"How could a State increase in population, where the laboring class was lynched and burned and run off, as the 'bloody shirters' were wont to declare; how could the South be improving in wealth and industry when all manner of crimes went unpunished?"

Truly, how could it? Hence, to demonstrate such charges false, and even unfounded, as simply the "malignant lying" of the loyal conquerors of the confederacy, it was necessary to fabricate such lying census results as the above.

The solid South gains in aggregate representation over all the other States.

Hence, the *Democrat* closes its issue of Aug. 15 with the exultant declaration:

"Far from losing Congressmen by the next apportionment, as has been the hope and calculation of the Republican press and politicians, the South will increase her representation in the lower House. This section now has 106 Representatives. If the apportionment is raised to 170,000, as is probable, the next House will contain just 290 members from the States, or 3 less than there are in the present House. Of these 109 will come from the South. The net gain for this section, therefore, will be 6 members. The New England, Middle and older Western States will lose largely, while the new West will gain members, together with the South. The only Southern States that will lose in representation are Alabama and Tennessee."

That is, the whole increase, and the only increase, as between the two sections, will be with the Confederate States.

Crowing over the bulldozed increase of representation under the Fifteenth Amendment.

The *Democrat*, in its issue of July 20, 1880, declares:

"In 1873, under the apportionment act passed by a Republican Congress, the South, thanks to the fifteenth amendment, gained thirty-five Representatives. It is this gain then made by the South [a gain subsequently secured to the rebel Brigadiers through terrorism and fraud] that has enabled the Democratic party to maintain control of the lower House of Congress for several years, that gave it a majority [that is, a fraudulent majority notoriously obtained, through violence and crime, or rather no lawful majority at all] in the Electoral College in 1877, and that will elect Winfield Scott Hancock President of the United States in November."

The ultimate object of the conspiracy to subjugate the North.

Here we have the grand object of all the numerous conspiracies at the South since reconstruction—to recapture the control of the Southern States—to seize upon their political organizations by the violent suppression of the Republican vote, and thus, through a "solid South," aided by the Northern Democracy, to subjugate the North and West—to tax its wealth and industries as a means of indemnifying the Confederate populations for losses in the rebellion, and to degrade their intelligent majorities into "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the service of the rebel Brigadiers. Here also is the purpose of this fraudulent census.

CHAPTER XX.

National Political Platforms, 1880.

PART I.

Republican—1880.

The Republican party, in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration:

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the National authority [applause]; it reconstructed the Union of the States with freedom instead of slavery as its corner stone [applause]; it transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of "things" to the rank of citizens [applause]; it relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and

charged it to see that slavery does not exist, [applause]; it has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent. to the par of gold [applause]; it has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country, [applause]; it has lifted the credit of the Nation from the point of where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86, to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. [Applause.]

Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 miles in 1879. [Applause.] Our foreign trade increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879. [Applause, and cries of "Good!" "Good!"] Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government besides the accruing interest on the public debt; and has disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid \$880,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$150,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. [Applause.] Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the States, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National, and not by the State tribunal. [Cheers.]

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but

the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all. [Applause.]

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism, while each State is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools. [Cheers.]

5. We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876 that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor (cheers); that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption. That we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our seacoast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease. [cheers]; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to him for a Presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive; and that history will accord to his Administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws. [Cheers.]

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the National Government and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of the suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots, and invented fraudulent certification of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of States in the

House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills upon whose passage the very movement of Government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the Rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories and to overcome the inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom and individual equality.

The equal, and steady, and complete enforcement of the laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunity guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation. [Applause.]

The dangers of a "solid South" can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizen. [Applause.] The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. [Applause.] Whatever promises the nation make the nation must perform. A nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the States. The "solid South" must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud. [Applause.]

And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be possible, and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope. [Applause.]

The Republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last National Convention of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

PART II.

Democratic—1880.

The Democrats of the United States, in Convention assembled, declare—

1. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Dem-

ocratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party.

2. Opposition to centralizationism, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. No sumptuary laws; separation of Church and State, for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

3. Home rule; honest money—the strict maintenance of the public faith—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and National, and a tariff for revenue only.

4. The subordination of the military to the civil power, and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

5. The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

6. The existing Administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insult the people and imperil their institutions.

7. The great fraud of 1876-77, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government; the Democratic party, to preserve the country from a civil war, submitted for a time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880; this issue precedes and dwarfs every other; it imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of free men.

8. We execrate the course of this Administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand a reform by statute which will make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

9. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden, not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

10. Freeships and a living chance for American commerce on seas and on the land. No discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations or monopolies.

11. Amendment of the Burlingame Treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded.

12. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

13. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the commune.

14. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress which has reduced the public expenditure \$40,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the National honor abroad, and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

PART III.

Greenback—1880.

1. That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, conferring upon a subordinate irresponsible power absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued and its volume controlled by the Government, and not by or through banking corporations, and when so issued should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

2. That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as is practicable, according to contract. To enable the government to meet these obligations, legal-tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the National banks, the National banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

3. That labor should be so protected by National and State authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results; the eight-hour law of Congress should be enforced; the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control; the competition of contract convict labor abolished; a bureau of labor statistics established; factories, mines, and workshops inspected; the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

4. Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore, immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame Treaty.

5. Railroad land grants forfeited by reason

of non-fulfillment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the government; and henceforth the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

6. It is the duty of Congress to regulate inter-State commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

7. We denounce as destructive to prosperity, and dangerous to liberty, the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad and money corporations and monopolies, invested with, and exercising powers belonging to the government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise.

8. That the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that them who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldier and sailor who periled their lives and shed blood on land and sea in defense of their country; and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican party which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him and in favor of the bondholder.

9. All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, but we demand a graduated income tax.

10. We denounce as most dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

11. We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

12. We demand absolute Democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

13. We demand a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a government of the bondholders, by the bondholders, and for the bondholders; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife, as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

14. In the furtherance of these ends we ask the co-operation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war upon classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, and largely over the press and the machinery of government, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions, and over our life and property.

15. That every citizen of due age, sound mind, and not a felon, be fully enfranchised, and that this resolution be referred to the States, with recommendation for their favorable consideration.

CHAPTER XXI.

Analysis of Platforms, 1856-1880.

PART I.

General Party Doctrines.

Democratic.

1856—That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the *asylum of the oppressed** of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books. [Plank 8.]

1860—Reaffirmed.

1864—

1868—

1872—We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.*

[Plank 1.]

1876—

1880—Opposition to centralizationism, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of Government, a real despotism. [Plank 2.]

Republican.

1856—That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States shall be preserved; that, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction. [Plank 1.]

1860—That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved. [Plank 2.]

1864—

1868—

1872—Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal Legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color or previous condition of servitude. [Plank 3.]

1876—The United States of America is a Nation not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State Governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

1880—The constitution of the United States is a supreme law and not a mere contract. Out of confederate States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the States, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National, and not by the State tribunal. [Cheers.] [Plank 2.]

* NOTE.—For the practical application of these pretended Democratic "principles," see chapters on "Recent Southern Outrages and Peonage at the South," "The Homestead Question, etc."

PART II.

The Rebellion.

Democratic.

1864—That this convention does *explicitly declare*, as the sense of the American people, that *after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war-power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material property of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable*

Republican.

1864—That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinions, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government, in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

Democratic.

means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States. [1st resolution.]

Republican.

That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions. [1st and 2d resolutions.]

PART III.**Reconstruction.****Democratic.**

1868— * * * We regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary and void. * * *

Republican.

1868—We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the States, lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy. [Plank 1.]

The guaranty by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States. [Plank 2.]

That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people. [Plank 3.]

PART IV.**Home Rule.****Democratic.**

1856—That we recognize the right of the people in all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and wherever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution * * * and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Republican.

1856— * * * * * The dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test-oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present Administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment. [Plank 3.]

Democratic.

1860—That when the settlers in a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

[Plank 3, Breckenridge, Dem.

Republican.

1860—That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

[Plank 4.

1864—

1868—After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it [the Republican party] has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the *habeas corpus*, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded in time of peace the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American Capitol into a bastille; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; it has abolished the right of appeal on important constitutional questions to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution, while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. * * * Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its President, we will meet as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

1872—Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and freedom of persons under the protection of the *habeas corpus*. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order; for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

[Plank 4.

1880— * * "Home Rule."

[Plank 3.

1880—

PART V.**The Veto Power.****Democratic.**

1856—That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

[Resolve VII.

1860—Reaffirmed.

[Plank 1.

1864—

1868—

1872—

Republican.

1856—

1860—

1864—

1868—

1872—

Democratic.**1876—****1880—**Resolve VII of the platform of 1856 reaffirmed, and the following added:

* * * and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its [the present administration's] corrupt and despotic power, insult the people and imperil their institutions. [Plank 6.]

Republican.**1876—****1880—****PART VI.****Internal Improvements.****Democratic.**

1856—That the Constitution does not confer upon the general Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.* [Plank 2.]

1860—Reaffirmed.**1864—****1868—****1872—****1876—****1880—**Plank 2 of 1856 reaffirmed.**Republican.**

1856—That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens. [Plank 7.]

1860—That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens. [Plank 15.]

1864—**1868—****1872—****1876—**

1880— * * * That we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our seacoast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease.

* **NOTE—**Yet the outrageous River and Harbor Bill of 1876 was a Democratic measure, concerning which the following message was sent by President Grant to the Democratic House:

"To the House of Representatives:

"In affixing my signature to the River and Harbor Bill, No. 3822, I deem it my duty to announce to the House of Representatives my objections to some features of the bill, and the reason I sign it. If it was obligatory upon the Executive to expend all the money appropriated by Congress, I should return the River and Harbor Bill with my objections, notwithstanding the great inconvenience to the public interests resulting therefrom, and the loss of expenditures from previous Congresses upon incompleting works. Without enumerating, many appropriations are made for works of purely private or local interest, in no sense national. I cannot give my sanction to these, and will take care that during my term of office no public money shall be expended upon them.

"There is very great necessity for economy of expenditures at this time, growing out of the loss of revenue likely to arise from a deficiency of appropriations to insure a thorough collection of the same. The reduction of revenue districts, diminution of special agents, and total abolition of supervisors, may result in great falling off of the revenue. It may be a question to consider whether any expenditure can be authorized under the river and harbor appropriation further than to protect works already done and paid for. Under no circumstances will I allow expenditures upon works not clearly national.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 14, 1877.

"U. S. GRANT."

PART VII.**Pacific Railroad.****Democratic.**

1856—That Democratic party recognizes the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication through our own territory between the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts of the Union, and it is the duty of the Federal Government to exercise all its constitutional power to the attainment of that object, thereby binding the Union of these States in indissoluble bonds, and opening to the rich commerce of Asia an overland transit from the Pacific to the Mississippi River, and the great Lakes of the North.

[Resolution attached to Platform.*]

1860—That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional Government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Coast at the earliest practicable period.

[Resolve III, of Douglas (Dem.) Platform.]

* **NOTE—**In their platform of 1876, the Democracy, with characteristic inconsistency, denounce the Republicans for aiding in the building of the Pacific Railroads by grants of the public lands. They declare the roads works of "great importance," "one of the greatest necessities of the age," and pledge the nation to their construction, and then denounce the only means by which they could be built.

[See Part viii., Public Lands.]

Republican.

1856—That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad. [Plank 6.]

[Plank 6.]

1860—That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established. [Plank 16.]

[Plank 16.]

Democratic.

Whereas, one of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Coasts; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

1864—

Republican.

1864—That we are in favor of a speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific Coast.

[Plank 9.]

PART VIII.**Public Lands.****Democratic.**

1856— * * * The proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution. [Resolve VI.*]

1860—Reaffirmed.

[Plank 1]

Republican.

1856—

1860—That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

[Plank 13.]

1864—

1868—That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the preemption of homestead lands, or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the Government. When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

1872—We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

[Plank 10.]

1876—Reform is necessary to put a stop to the prodigal waste of public lands, and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 of acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to fillers of the soil.

1880— * * * Public lands to actual settlers.

[Plank 12.]

* In 1856, and in all their history prior to 1861, the Democracy sternly opposed the homestead principles—the granting of public lands to actual settlers. In their opinion the policy was agrarian, unconstitutional, and demoralizing. See chapter on “The Homestead Question.”

1880— *Reaffirmed.

[Plank 5.]

1876—Reaffirmed.

[Plank 9.]

1872—We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

[Plank 6.]

PART IX.**The National Debt and Interest, the Public Credit, Repudiation, etc.****Democratic.**

1864—

1868—Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable; all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the Government, eco-

Republican.

1864—That the National faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the National currency.

[Plank 10.]

1868—We denounce all forms of repudiation as a National crime; and the National honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not

Democratic.

nominally administered, being honestly applied to such payment, and where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the *lawful money* of the United States. * [Plank 3.]

Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities. [Plank 4.]

1872—* We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industries of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof. * * * [Plank 5.]

* The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise. [Plank 7.]

1876—* Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor. [Plank 6.]

1880—* * * Honest money—the strict maintenance of the public faith—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and national. [Plank 3.]

* NOTE.—See chapters on "Democratic Administrative Financial Blundering," "Solid Southern Internal Revenue," "Greenbacks, Public Credit, and Resumption," and "Tariff," to ascertain the difference between these Democratic "principles" and the Democratic "practice."

PART X.**Resumption.****Democratic.**

1872—* A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government. [Plank 8.]

1876—We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party, which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the *resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.*

1880—* * * Honest money, * * * consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand.

* NOTE.—See chapter on "Greenbacks, Public Credit, and Redemption."

PART XI.**Capital and Labor.****Democratic.**

1868—Resolved, That this convention sympathize cordially with the working men of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

Republican.

only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted. [Plank 3.]

It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit. [Plank 4.]

The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done. [Plank 5.]

That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected. [Plank 6.]

1872—* * * A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. * * [Plank 1.]

We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance. [Plank 13.]

1876—In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment. [Plank 4.]

1880—It [the Republican party] has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent. to the par of gold [applause]; it has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country [applause]; it has lifted the credit of the nation from the point of where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86, to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. [Preamble.]

Republican.

1872—* * * Our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment. [Plank 13.]

1876—In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the "earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

1880—* * * It [the Republican party] has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all National obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country.

Republican.

Democratic.**1872—**

1880—The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the commune.*
[Plank 13.]

* **NOTE.**—And manifests its friendship by cutting down to starvation rates the pay of all the laborers in the Departments, by tariff-tinkering, by inaugurating systems of peonage in the South, and by other means.—(See chapters on "Labor," "Peonage," "Tariff," and "Homesteads.")

Republican.

1872—Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.
[Plank 11.]

1880—**PART XII.****Tariff.****Democratic.**

1856—The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of * * * progressive free trade throughout the world, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.
[Resolve I.]

That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country.
[Plank 4.]

1860—Reaffirmed.**1864—**

1868—* * * A tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the Internal Revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.
[Plank 6.]

1872—* * * * Recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts, and to the decision of the Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation.
[Plank 6.]

1876—* * * * *We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.*
[Plank 11.]

1880—* * * * A tariff for revenues only.
[Plank 3.]

NOTE.—See "Tariff" chapter for the Democratic Legislative record.

Republican.**1856—**

1860—That, while providing revenue for the support of the general Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.
[Plank 12.]

1864—**1868—**

1872—* * * * Revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country.
[Plank 7.]

1876—The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.
[Plank 8.]

1880—Reaffirmed.**PART XIII.****Education.****Democratic.**

1876—The false issue with which they [the Republicans] would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their

Republican.

1876—The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any pub

Democratic.

*foundation,** and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the Treasury to any.

1880— * * * Common Schools fostered and protected. [Plank 2.]

* NOTE—"Cherished" amid conflagration and outrage—by outraging, violently expelling, or murdering school teachers and burning school houses. In the South, prior to the war, common schools for the education of the people were contemptuously styled "*free*" schools, and their pupils regarded as an inferior caste, on an equality with *free* "niggers"!

Republican.

No funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control. [Plank 4.]

1880—The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the Nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all. [Plank 3.]

PART XIV.**Duty to Union Soldiers and Sailors.****Democratic.**

1864—* That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of our country, and, in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic so nobly earned. [Plank 6.]

1868— * * * * * That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory, against a most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

1872—* We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame for the full reward of their patriotism. [Plank 9.]

1876— * * * The soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens. [Last resolution.]

1880—

Republican.

1864—That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have perilled their lives in defense of the country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance. [Plank 4.]

1868—Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of their country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's care. [Plank 10.]

1872—We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge. [Plank 8.]

1876—The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation, in the kindest remembrance. [Plank 14.]

1880—That the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

* NOTE.—See chapters on "Democratic Hatred of Union Soldiers," and "Bounties and Pensions."

PART XV.**Naturalization and Allegiance.****Democratic.**

1860—That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens. [Plank 6.]

Republican.

1860—The Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the right of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both home and abroad. [Plank 14.]

Democratic.**1864—**

1868—Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad, the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction. [Plank 8.]

1872—**1876—****1880—****Republican.****1864—**

1868—The doctrine of Great Britain and other European Powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf. [Plank 9.]

1872—The doctrine of Great Britain and other European Powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—*having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned*, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former Governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration. [Plank 9.]

1876—It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native born, and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose. [Plank 10.]

1880— * * * * * Everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption. [Plank 5.]

PART XVI.**The Chinese.****Democratic.**

1876—Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress, and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race re-crossing the Atlantic, of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

1880—Amendment of the Burlingame Treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded. [Plank 11.]

Republican.

1876—It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country. [Plank 11.*]

1880—Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result. [Plank 6.]

* NOTE.—The Republican was the first political party to recognize the Chinese question as one of national importance, by the declaration in its platform of 1876—the subsequently adopted Democratic plank on the subject being simply a demagogical bid for votes.

PART XVII.**Civil Service.****Democratic.**

1872—The civil service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and per-

Republican.

1872—Any system of the civil service, under which the subordinate positions of the Government

Democratic.

sonal ambition and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of Republican Government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that the honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

1876—Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience that proves efficient, economical conduct of Governmental business is not possible if the civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition.

1880— * * * Thorough reform in the civil service.

Republican.

are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office. [Plank 5.]

1876—Under the Constitution the President and heads of Departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country. [Plank 5.]

1880—The Republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last National Convention of respect for the Constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

* "To the victors belong the spoils," is the maxim which controlled the Democracy in all its past history in making appointments which now govern the rebel Brigadiers, in control of the Senate and House, and will govern them in control of the National Government. (See chapter on "Democratic Hatred of Union Soldiers.")

CHAPTER XXII.**Letters of Acceptance of Republican Presidential and Vice-Presidential Nominees.****PART I.****Honorable James A. Garfield's Letter of Acceptance.**

"MENTOR, OHIO, July 12, 1880

"DEAR SIR: On the evening of the 8th of June last I had the honor to receive from you, in the presence of the committee of which you were chairman, the official announcement that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had that day nominated me as their candidate for President of the United States. I accept the nomination with gratitude for the confidence it implies, and with a deep sense of the responsibilities it imposes. I cordially endorse the principles set forth in the platform adopted by the Convention, on nearly all the subjects of which it treats, my opinions are on record among the published proceedings of Congress. I venture, however, to make special mention of some of the principal topics which are likely to become subjects of discussion.

"Without reviewing the controversies which have been settled during the last twenty years, and with no purpose or wish to revive the passions of the late war, it should be said that while Republicans fully recognize and will strenuously defend all the rights retained by the people, and all the rights reserved to the

States, they reject the pernicious doctrine of State supremacy which so long crippled the functions of the National Government, and at one time brought the Union very near to destruction. They insist that the United States is a nation with ample power of self-preservation; that its Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land; that the right of the nation to determine the method by which its own Legislature shall be created cannot be surrendered without abdicating one of the fundamental powers of Government; that the national laws relating to the election of Representatives in Congress shall neither be violated nor evaded; that every elector shall be permitted freely and without intimidation to cast his lawful ballot at such election and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person.

"The best thoughts and energies of our people should be directed to those great questions of National well-being in which all have a common interest. Such efforts will soonest restore perfect peace to those who were lately in arms against each other; for justice and good-will will outlast passion. But it is certain that the wounds of the war cannot be completely healed, and the spirit of brotherhood cannot fully pervade the whole country, until every citizen, rich or poor, white or black, is secure in the free and equal enjoyment of

every civil and political right guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. Whenever the enjoyment of these rights is not assured, discontent will prevail, immigration will cease, and the social and industrial forces will continue to be disturbed by the migration of laborers and the consequent diminution of prosperity. The National Government should exercise all its constitutional authority to put an end to these evils; for all the people and all the States are members of one body, and no member can suffer without injury to all. The most serious evils which now afflict the South arise from the fact that there is not such freedom and toleration of political opinion and action that the minority party can exercise an effective and wholesome restraint upon the party in power. Without such restraint party rule becomes tyrannical and corrupt. The prosperity which is made possible in the South by its great advantages of soil and climate will never be realized until every voter can freely and safely support any party he pleases.

Popular education.

"Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither freedom nor justice can be permanently maintained. Its interests are entrusted to the States and to the voluntary action of the people. Whatever help the Nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools; but it would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the Nation, or of the States, to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the Church and the State in everything relating to taxation should be absolute.

The National finances.

"On the subject of National finances my views have been so frequently and fully expressed that little is needed in the way of additional statement. The public debt is now so well secured, and the rate of annual interest has been so reduced by refunding, that rigid economy in expenditures and the faithful application of our surplus revenues to the payment of the principal of the debt will gradually but certainly free the people from its burdens, and close with honor the financial chapter of the war. At the same time, the Government can provide for all its ordinary expenditures, and discharge its sacred obligations to the soldiers of the Union, and to the widows and orphans of those who fell in its defense. The resumption of specie payments, which the Republican party so courageously and successfully accomplished, has removed from the field of controversy many questions that long and seriously disturbed the credit of the Government and the business of the country. Our paper currency is now as national as the flag, and resumption has not only made it everywhere equal to coin, but has brought into use our store of gold and silver. The circulating medium is more abundant than ever before; and we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars to insure to labor and capital a measure of value from the use of which no one can suffer loss. The great prosperity which the country is now enjoying, should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments.

The tariff.

"In reference to our custom laws, a policy should be pursued which will bring revenues to the treasury, and will enable the labor and capital employed in our great industries to compete fairly in our own markets with the labor and capital of foreign producers. We legislate for the people of the United States, and not for the whole world; and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor. Our country cannot be independent unless its people with their abundant natural resources possess the requisite skill at any time to clothe, arm and equip themselves for war, and in time of peace to produce all the necessary implements of labor. It was the manifest intention of the founders of the Government to provide for the common defense, not by standing armies alone, but by raising among the people a greater army of artisans, whose intelligence and skill should powerfully contribute to the safety and glory of the nation.

Internal improvements.

"Fortunately for the interests of commerce, there is no longer any formidable opposition to appropriations

for the improvement of our harbors and great navigable rivers, provided that the expenditures for that purpose are strictly limited to works of National importance. The Mississippi River, with its great tributaries, is of such vital importance to so many millions of people, that the safety of its navigation requires exceptional consideration. In order to secure to the nation the control of all its waters, President Jefferson negotiated the purchase of a vast territory, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. The wisdom of Congress should be invoked to devise some plan by which that great river shall cease to be a terror to those who dwell upon its banks, and by which its shipping may safely carry the industrial products of 25,000,000 of people. The interests of agriculture, which is the basis of all our material prosperity, and in which seven-twelfths of our population are engaged as well as the interests of manufacturers and commerce, demand that the facilities for cheap transportation shall be increased by the use of all our great water-courses.

Chinese immigration.

"The material interests of this country, the traditions of its settlement, and the sentiment of our people, have led the Government to offer the widest hospitality to emigrants who seek our shores for new and happier homes, willing to share the burdens as well as the benefits of our society, and intending that their posterity shall become an undistinguishable part of our population. The recent movement of the Chinese to our Pacific Coast partakes but little of the qualities of such an immigration, either in its purposes or its result. It is too much like an imposition as well as welcomed without restriction; too much like an invasion to be looked upon without soltitude. We cannot consent to allow any form of servile labor to be introduced among us under the guise of immigration. Recognizing the gravity of this subject, the present administration, supported by Congress, has sent to China a commission of distinguished citizens for the purpose of securing such a modification of the existing treaty as will prevent the evils likely to arise from the present situation. It is confidently believed that these diplomatic negotiations will be successful without the loss of commercial intercourse between the two powers, which promises a great increase of reciprocal trade and the enlargement of our markets. Should these efforts fail, it will be the duty of Congress to mitigate the evils already felt, and prevent their increase, by such restrictions as, without violence or injustice, will place upon a sure foundation the peace of our communities and the freedom and dignity of labor.

The civil service.

"The appointment of citizens to the various executive and judicial offices of the Government is, perhaps, the most difficult of all duties which the Constitution has imposed on the Executive. The convention wisely demands that Congress shall co-operate with the Executive department in placing the Civil Service on a better basis. Experience has proved that with our frequent changes of administration, no system of reform can be made effective and permanent without the aid of legislation. Appointments to the military and naval service are so regulated by law and custom as to leave but little ground for complaint. It may not be wise to make similar regulations by law for the Civil Service. But, without invading the authority or necessary discretion of the Executive, Congress should devise a method that will determine the tenure of office, and greatly reduce the uncertainty which makes that service so unsatisfactory. Without depriving an officer of his rights as a citizen, the Government should require him to discharge all his official duties with intelligence, efficiency, and faithfulness. To select wisely, from our vast population, those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled, requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of any one man. The Executive should, therefore, seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed best qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice.

"The doctrines announced by the Chicago convention are not the temporary devices of a party to attract votes and carry an election; they are deliberate convictions resulting from a careful study of the spirit of our institutions, the events of our history and

the best impulses of our people. In my judgment, these principles should control the legislation and administration of the Government. In any event, they will guide my conduct until experience points out a better way.

"If elected it will be my purpose to enforce strict obedience to the Constitution and the laws, and to promote, as best I may, the interest and honor of the whole country, relying for support upon the wisdom of Congress, the intelligence and patriotism of the people, and the favor of God. With great respect, I am truly yours.

JAMES A. GARFIELD."

PART II.

Hon. Chester A. Arthur's Letter of Acceptance.

"To the Hon. GEO. F. HOAR, *Chairman, etc.*

"DEAR SIR: I accept the position assigned me by the great party whose action you announce. This acceptance implies approval of the principles declared by the convention, but recent usage permits me to add some expression of my own views. The right and duty to secure honesty and order to popular elections is a matter so vital that it must stand in front. The authority of the National Government to preserve from fraud and force elections at which its own officers are chosen is a chief point on which the two parties are plainly and intensely opposed. Acts of Congress for ten years have, in New York and elsewhere, done much to curb the violence and wrong to which the ballot and the count have been again and again subjected—sometimes despoiling great cities, sometimes stifling the voice of a whole State, often seating, not only in Congress, but on the bench, and in legislatures, numbers of men never chosen by the people. The Democratic party, since gaining possession of the two Houses of Congress, has made these just laws the object of bitter, ceaseless assault, and, despite all resistance, has hedged them with restrictions cunningly contrived to baffle and paralyze them. This aggressive majority boldly attempted to extort from the Executive his approval of various enactments destructive of these election laws by revolutionary threats that a constitutional exercise of the veto power would be punished by withholding the appropriations necessary to carry on the Government. And these threats were actually carried out by refusing the needed appropriations, and by forcing an extra session of Congress, lasting for months, and resulting in concessions to this usurping demand, which are likely, in many States, to subject the majority to the lawless will of a minority. Ominous signs of public disapproval alone subdued this arrogant power into a sullen surrender for the time being of a part of its demands. The Republican party has strongly approved the stern refusal of its representatives to suffer the overthrow of statutes believed to be salutary and just. It has always insisted, and now insists, that the Government of the United States of America is empowered and in duty bound to effectually protect the elections denoted by the Constitution as national. More than this, the Republican party holds, as a cardinal point in its creed, that the Government should, by every means known to the Constitution, protect all American citizens everywhere in the full enjoyment of their civil and political rights. As a great part of its work of reconstruction, the Republican party gave the ballot to the emancipated slave as his right and defense. A large increase in the number of members of Congress, and of the Electoral College, from the former slaveholding States, was the immediate result. The history of recent years abounds in evidence that in many ways and in many places—especially where their numbers have been great enough to endanger Democratic control—the very men by whose elevation to citizenship this increase of representation was effected have been debarréd and robbed of their voice and their vote. It is true that no State statute or constitution in so many words denies or abridges the exercise of their political rights; but the modes employed to bar their way are no less effectual. It is a suggestive and startling thought that the increased power derived from the enfranchisement of a race now denied its share in governing the country—wielded by those who lately sought the overthrow of the Government—is now the

sole reliance to defeat the party which represented the sovereignty and nationality of the American people in the greatest crisis in our history. Republicans cherish none of the resentments which may have animated them during the actual conflict of arms.

"They long for a full and real reconciliation between the sections which were needlessly and lamentably at strife; they sincerely offer the hand of good will, but they ask in return a pledge of good faith. They deeply feel that the party whose career is so illustrious in great and patriotic achievement, will not fulfill its destiny until peace and prosperity are established in all the land, nor until liberty of thought, conscience, and action, and equality of opportunity shall be not merely cold formalities of statute, but living birth-rights, which the humble may confidently claim and the powerful dare not deny.

"The resolution referring to the public service seems to me deserving of approval. Surely no man should be the incumbent of an office the duties of which he is for any cause unfit to perform, who is lacking in the ability, fidelity, or integrity which a proper administration of such office demands. This sentiment would doubtless meet with general acquiescence, but opinion has been widely divided upon the wisdom and practicability of the various reformatory schemes which have been suggested, and of certain proposed regulations governing appointments to public office. The efficiency of such regulations has been distrusted mainly because they have seemed to exalt mere educational and abstract tests above general business capacity, and even special fitness for the particular work in hand. It seems to me that the rules which should be applied to the management of the public service may properly conform, in the main, to such as regulate the conduct of successful private business. Original appointments should be based upon ascertained fitness. The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should, so far as practicable, be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers. The investigation of all complaints and the punishment of all official misconduct should be prompt and thorough. These views, which I have long held, repeatedly declared, and uniformly applied when called upon to act, I find embodied in the resolution, which, of course, I approve. I will add that by the acceptance of public office, whether high or low, one does not, in my judgment, escape any of his responsibilities as a citizen or lose or impair any of his rights as a citizen, and that he should enjoy absolute liberty to think and speak and act in political matters according to his own will and conscience, provided only that he honorably, faithfully and fully discharges all his official duties.

"The resumption of specie payments, one of the fruits of Republican policy, has brought the return of abundant prosperity and the settlement of many distracting questions. The restoration of sound money, the large reduction of our public debt and of the burden of interest, the high advancement of the public credit, all attest the ability and courage of the Republican party to deal with such financial problems as may hereafter demand solution. Our paper currency is now as good as gold, and silver is performing its legitimate function for the purpose of change. The principles which should govern the relations of these elements, of the currency, are simple and clear. There must be no deteriorated coin, no depreciated paper. And every dollar, whether of metal or paper, should stand the test of the world's fixed standard.

"The value of popular education can hardly be overstated. Although its interests must of necessity be chiefly confided to voluntary effort and the individual action of the several States, they should be encouraged, so far as the Constitution permits, by the generous co-operation of the National Government. The interests of the whole country demand that the advantages of our common school system should be brought within the reach of every citizen, and that no revenues of the nation or of the States should be devoted to the support of sectarian schools.

"Such changes should be made in the present tariff and system of taxation as will relieve any overburdened industry or class, and enable our manufacturers and artisans to compete successfully with those of other lands.

"The Government should aid works of internal improvement national in their character, and should promote the development of our water-courses and harbors wherever the general interests of commerce require.

"Four years ago, as now, the nation stood at the threshold of a Presidential election, and the Republican party, in soliciting a continuance of its ascendancy, founded its hope of success, not upon its promises, but upon its history. Its subsequent course has been such as to strengthen the claims which it then made to the confidence and support of the country. On the other hand, considerations more urgent than have ever before existed forbid the accession of its opponents to power. Their success, if success attends them, must chiefly come from the united support of that section which sought the forcible disruption of the Union, and which, according to all the teachings of our past history, will demand ascendancy in the councils of the party to whose triumph it will have made by far the largest contribution."

"There is the gravest reason for apprehension that exorbitant claims upon the public Treasury, by no means limited to the hundreds of millions already

covered by bills introduced in Congress within the past four years, would be successfully urged if the Democratic party should succeed in supplementing its present control of the national legislature by electing the Executive also.

"There is danger in intrusting the control of the whole law-making power of the Government to a party which has in almost every Southern State repudiated obligations quite as sacred as those to which the faith of the nation now stands pledged.

"I do not doubt that success awaits the Republican party, and that its triumph will assure a just, economical, and patriotic administration.

"I am respectfully, your obedient servant,

"C. A. ARTHUR.

"To the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR,

"President of the Republican National Convention.

"NEW YORK, July 15, 1890."

CHAPTER XXIII.

General W. S. Hancock.

PART I.

Brief review of events, etc., in the Department of the Gulf prior to Hancock's assignment to it—The Reconstruction Acts—New Orleans Mechanics' Institute Massacre of July 30, 1866—Its atrocious character—Sheridan assumes command, March 19, 1867—General Order No. 1—Disloyal Officials—President Johnson's sympathy—Sheridan's Loyal Code—Attorney-General Stanbery's opinion that the Reconstruction Laws are unconstitutional—Bad goes to worse.

The act of March 2, 1867, and the supplemental act of March 23, 1867, "to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States," passed over the vetoes of President Andrew Johnson, declare the civil governments of those States to be "provisional only," and "in all respects subject to the paramount authority of the United States at any time to abolish, modify, control, or supersede." They divide those States into five military districts, and make it the duty of their several commanders, who shall not be below the rank of brigadier-generals, "to protect all persons in their rights of person and property, to suppress insurrections, disorders, and violence, and punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals."

These laws also provide for the reconstruction of the rebel States through conventions elected by its loyal masses, and for their admission into the Union when thus rehabilitated. They placed the registration of voters in the hands of boards to be appointed by the military commanders, defined the qualifica-

tion of voters, and prescribed the "iron-clad oath" to be taken by all applicants for registration.

Under these laws General Sheridan, in March, 1867, was assigned to the command of the Fifth Military District, comprehending the States of Louisiana and Texas. But Sheridan for a year previous had commanded what was called "the Department of the Gulf," embracing the States of Louisiana, Florida and Texas, and had, amid a terrible experience, studied and ascertained the true character of their native populations. It was during this command that the massacre at New Orleans of July 30, 1866, occurred.

The Mechanics' Institute massacre—Its atrocities—Sheridan's denunciation—Fort Pillow over again!—Report of the military commission.

The Louisiana Unionist Convention of 1864, which had adjourned subject to the order of its president, R. K. Howell, attempted, under his call, to reassemble at Mechanics' Institute, in New Orleans. It met July 30, 1866. It was promptly suppressed by Mayor Monroe and his police, aided by the rebel State authorities. General Sheridan, in a dispatch to General Grant, says:

"The mayor suppressed the convention by the use of the police force, and in doing so attacked the members of the convention and a party of two hundred negroes with fire-arms, clubs, and knives, in a manner so unnecessary and atrocious as to compel me to say that it was murder."

In a subsequent dispatch, the General says:

"The more information I obtain of the affair of the 30th in this city [New Orleans], the more revolting it becomes. It was no riot; it was an absolute massacre by the police, which was not excelled in murderous cruelty by that of Fort Pillow. It was murder which the mayor and police of this city perpetrated, without the shadow of a necessity. Furthermore, I believe it was premeditated, and every indication points to this."

The military commission, composed of four brevet major-generals—Mower, Quincy, Gregg, and Baldy—which investigated the massacre, report:

"The work of massacre was pursued with a cowardly ferocity unsurpassed in the annals of crime. The escaping negroes were mercilessly pursued, shot, beaten, and stabbed to death by mob and police—wounded men on the ground begging for mercy were savagely dispatched by mob, police, firemen, and, incredible as it may appear, in two instances by women!"

Even "ladies" advocated "the immediate killing of the leaders, Dostie and Henderson, in their houses." The report continues:

*"Finally, the assailants obtain full possession of the building; the negroes in hiding are brought out and dispatched; others perched for safety on cross-beams and rafters are picked off like game by well-aimed shots, the whites taken to the station houses with blows and abuse, and at last, just as the advancing bayonets are seen to glisten on the levee, the 'riot' is over for the lack of victims!" * * * "Three-fourths of them [the police] were ex-confederate soldiers, and at least one of their officers * * * a notorious thug, assassin, and former leader of the very men of blood who might be expected to be foremost in the attack."*

The commission add:

*"They would also call attention to the evidence on the subject of the renewal of the attack on negroes and the shooting of them in their dwellings, by both citizens and police, late on the same night in Victory street. The board will state it as their firm conviction that but for the declaration of martial law and the presence of the troops, fire and bloodshed would have raged throughout the night in all negro quarters of the city, and that the lives and property of Unionists and Northern men would have lain at the mercy of the mob. The conservators of the peace being, for the time, the instigators of violence, nothing would have remained but an arming for self defence, and a scene might have ensued unparalleled in the history of the age!" * * * "The board would respectfully call attention to the small proportion of negro testimony taken, and to the fact that all important points regarded as established rest upon white testimony alone."*

The absolute impunity with which this causeless massacre was perpetrated, a fact as revolting as the massacre itself, and the shameless character of the judiciary, and other authorities of New Orleans and Louisiana, are shown in a subsequent dispatch of General Sheridan, dated March 27, 1867, to General Grant. Sheridan says:

"Mayor Monroe controlled the element engaged in this riot, and when backed by an attorney-general [A. J. Herron] who would not prosecute the guilty, and a judge [E. Abell] who advised the grand jury to find the innocent guilty and let the murderers go free, felt secure in engaging his police force in this riot and massacre."

Sheridan assumes command—His general order No. 1—General Griffin's declaration as to Texas—Sympathy with the "Lost Cause."

In general order No. 1, dated March 19, 1867, in assuming command, General Sheridan describes the provisions and purposes of the laws under which he is appointed, and declares:

"No general removal from office will be made unless the present incumbents fail to carry out the provisions of the law or impede the reorganization, or unless a delay in reorganizing should necessitate a change. Pending the reorganization, it is desirable and intended to create as little disturbance in the machinery of the various branches of the provisional governments as possible, consistent with the law of Congress and its successful execution; but this condition is dependent upon the disposition shown by the people, and upon the length of time required for reorganization."

In his official report, dated November 21, 1867, Sheridan declares:

"I found, upon a close examination of the existing civil governments of those two States (Louisiana and Texas), that nearly every civil functionary, from the Governor down, had been soldiers or aiders and abettors in the rebellion; and that in nearly all cases they had been elected on Confederate grounds, and solely for services rendered in their attempt to destroy the General Government. In fact many, if not all, had advertised, when they were candidates, their services in this respect as a meritorious appeal for votes. I found also, that they were nearly all disfranchised by the law, and were substantially aliens. It is scarcely necessary to state that from this condition of affairs nearly every civil officer within my command was either openly or secretly opposed to the law, and to myself as the authority held responsible by the order of the Executive of the nation for its faithful execution. It was a difficult situation in which to be placed, rendered still more so by the apparently open sympathy of the President with the functionaries above alluded to."

Major-General Charles Griffin, commanding the Department of Texas under Sheridan, in a dispatch to the latter, dated March 28, 1867, urges:

"I cannot find an officer holding position under the State laws whose antecedents will justify me in reposing trust in him in assisting in the registration."

Again, June 10, 1867, General Griffin declares:

"Many of the officers [of the State government] were nominated on their record of disloyalty to the General Government, and elected upon the merits of their services in the attempt to destroy it. Numbers are disfranchised, while the sympathies of others are with the 'lost cause.'"

Up-hill work—Sheridan's loyal code.

In the Administration of the Fifth Military District, General Sheridan acted with characteristic decision and vigor. With the approval of General Grant and Secretary Stanton, he digested or formulated the provisions of the laws and oath into a brief code, defining the classes disfranchised, and prepared a series of questions to be answered by all applying for registration as a means of determining whether they were disfranchised or not. These, with specific instructions as to their duties, Sheridan furnished to the Boards of Registration, which he constituted, as far as practicable, of loyal and intelligent men, to whom he could trust for a faithful execution of the work, promptly removing all who failed, or who placed or connived at impediments to a proper or lawful registration.

Andrew Johnson and cabinet to the rescue—Attorney-General Stanbery's opinion that the Reconstruction Laws were unconstitutional—Chaos anticipated.

Attorney-General Stanbery's opinions, in which he denounces the reconstruction laws as unconstitutional, were digested into a new code of registration, by which a multitude of confederates, a "host of officers" under the Confederate State and municipal governments, were declared qualified voters. It was approved in cabinet by all except Secretary Stanton, and on the 20th of June, 1867, was dispatched to the several military commanders for their government.

General Sheridan, in a dispatch to Grant, dated June 27, 1867, urges:

"The result of Stanbery's opinion is now beginning to show itself by a defiant opposition to all acts of the military commander by impeding and rendering helpless the civil officers acting under his appointment."

"I fear the chaos which the opinion will make, if carried out, is but little understood. Every civil officer in the State will administer justice according to his own views; many of them, denouncing the military bill as unconstitutional, will throw every impediment in the way of its execution, and bad will go to worse, unless this embarrassing condition of affairs is settled by permitting me to go on in my just course, which was endorsed by all people except those disfranchised, many of whom are office-holders, or hope to be so."

The anticipation verified—Denunciation of the Government and of the law—Disloyal disorder running riot—Chaos induced—Military compelled to interfere—Restoration of law and order.

As Sheridan anticipated, bad went to worse, Sheriffs and their deputies refused to serve writs for the arrest of Confederate assassins, judges and grand juries to indict them, and petit juries to convict them. Confederate murderers, arrested by the military and turned over to the civil authorities, were released by *habeas corpus*, enlarged upon trifling or bogus bail, or otherwise allowed to escape. Sheriffs and jurors, indeed, were often the assailants—the disturbers of the public peace. But the innocent loyal victims of the rebel shot-gun, pistol, or knife, if so unfortunate as to survive, were indicted and convicted, mulcted in heavy fines, or imprisoned and fined. The State courts attempted to enforce or maintain the confederate act confiscating the property of Unionists; to annul the laws of Congress authorizing the United States Government to release or dispose of abandoned rebel property; to perpetrate, under "colorable judicial proceedings," the most "flagrant wrongs upon the rights of persons and property" of loyal men and women; to enforce the Johnsonian acts "regulating contracts of labor," by which the laborer was maltreated and swindled, and to indict and convict loyal men as a means of robbery. Magistrates defiantly declared that they would enforce the diabolical Louisiana and Texas "Black Codes" until the supreme courts of their States declared it unlawful; and judges, like Dougherty, of the twelfth judicial district of Texas, even "in the office and presence of the military commander," denounced the Government of the United States, denounced the laws of Congress, denied their supremacy, and declared that they would not obey or enforce them where they conflicted with those of their States. Union men were expelled from the jury box. Loyal voters were disfranchised, and loyal judges—native Unionists—elected, as in the fourth and eleventh judicial districts of Texas, by large majorities, were legislated out of office under a pretended reorganization or consolidation of the districts.

The Unionists were absolutely outlawed, and their lives and property were wholly at the mercy of their confederate rulers. The military were compelled to interfere for their protection; to displace the confederate gov-

ernors of Louisiana and Texas, and other officers of the State governments; to remove municipal officers like Mayor Monroe of New Orleans; to expel disloyal judges, clerks of courts, magistrates, sheriffs, and policemen; to supply their places with Unionists, and to force the local courts to open the jury box to loyal men. Thus peace, law, and order were restored.

PART II.

Sheridan to be Removed and Hancock to Replace him—The Command Baited with a Presidential Nomination—The Hancock - Jerry Black - Walker - Campbell - Conspiracy against Reconstruction.

The President and Cabinet at Washington, seeing that loyal reconstruction was now a success, hastened to remove Sheridan from his command, and to assign General W. S. Hancock to it—the command being baited with the Democratic Presidential nomination. Hancock's assignment is dated August 27, 1867. He did not reach his command until November 29, 1867. In the interim at Washington, Hancock was closeted with Jeremiah S. Black, Robert J. Walker, and ex-Judge Campbell, of Louisiana, notoriously the ablest and bitterest enemies of reconstruction, and in conjunction with them concocted the plot against reconstruction, which he afterward attempted to carry out as commander of the Fifth Military District.

At a serenade in Washington, given to him by this disloyal Democracy elated over his appointment, Hancock, in a speech in response, declared: "As a soldier I am to administer the laws rather than to discuss them." At the same serenade Robert J. Walker argued: "His [Hancock's] duty is purely a ministerial duty." * * * Not even the President, much less any subordinate officer, possesses any judicial power whatever. The judicial power, according to the Constitution, is vested exclusively in the courts of the country—that is, primarily, in the local State courts. But the President had exercised judicial powers: had, through the opinions of his Attorney-General, approved by his Cabinet and by Robert J. Walker *et al.*, judicially declared the reconstruction laws unconstitutional; had placed upon them an interpretation hostile to their meaning and the purposes of Congress, and had instructed the commanders of the several military districts to enforce them in accordance with that interpretation.

In newspapers of the day the whole hostile programme was boldly announced and applauded. Hancock was to explode all Sheridan's loyal work—to practically annul Sheridan's registration upon a loyal basis in conformity with the laws of Congress; to restate the Confederate enemies of the nation removed by Sheridan, and to reassemble the

rebel legislature; in a word, to revive the reign of terror and blood by which the Confederates hoped to defeat reconstruction.

About a month previous to his recall, Sheridan telegraphed from New Orleans to General Grant:

"Last night the largest political assembly which ever collected together in this city—mostly of colored people—paraded the streets without the slightest disturbance. I had made every preparation, should any disturbance occur, but did not show publicly a single soldier. I desired to make this case a test one, and the result was most satisfactory."

PART III.

Hancock Assumes Command — The Immediate Effects—Chaos and Terror Return—General Order No. 40 Issued in the midst of it—He Pretends that "Peace and Quiet" still Reign —This Military Satrap Overrides the "Civil Power" of Congress under the Pretense of "Subor- dinating the Military to the Civil Power."

In Louisiana and Texas the removal of Sheridan and the assignment of Hancock to the command, emboldened the Confederates in the State governments and courts, and among the people, to openly assume the aggressive. They no longer cloaked their hostility to reconstruction. In Texas the Ku Klux, and in Louisiana the Knights of the White Camellia, murdered and plundered, and by the terrorism which they created paralyzed all civil government. General Mower commanding in Hancock's absence, was compelled to remove the whole executive government of Louisiana—all but its loyal governor Flanders; in both States to displace judges and magistrates, the attachés of courts, police jurors, etc., and to command the military to be vigilant and vigorous in its pursuit of the gangs of organized murderers.

Upon his arrival at New Orleans Hancock issued the following:

GENERAL ORDERS NO. 40.
HEADQUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., November 29, 1867. }

I. Assumes command.

II. The general commanding is gratified to learn that peace and quiet reign in his department. It will be his purpose to preserve this condition of things. As a means to this great end, he regards the maintenance of the civil authorities in the faithful execution of the laws as the most efficient under existing circumstances.

In war it is indispensable to repel force by force and overthrow and destroy opposition to lawful authority. But when insurrectionary force has been overthrown and peace established, and the civil authorities are ready and willing to perform their duties, the military power should cease to lead, and the civil administration resume its natural and rightful dominion. Solemnly impressed with these views, the general announces that the great principles of American liberty still are the lawful inheritance of this people, and ever should be. The right of trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, and the natural rights of persons and the rights of property must be preserved.

Free institutions, while they are essential to the prosperity and happiness of the people, always furnish the strongest inducements to peace and order. Crimes and offenses committed in this district must be referred to the consideration and judgment of the regular civil tribunals, and those tribunals will be supported in their lawful jurisdiction.

Should there be violation of existing laws which are not inquired into by the civil magistrates, or should failures in the administration of justice by the courts be complained of, the cases will be reported to these headquarters, when such orders will be made as may be deemed necessary. While the general thus indicates his purpose to respect the liberties of the people, he wishes all to understand that armed insurrections or forcible resistance to the law will be instantly suppressed by arms.

By command of Major-General W. S. Hancock.

Hancock's work of restoration—The old disloyal crowd in power again—His animus—No power to remove disloyal officials, but full power to expel loyal ones—General Grant on general orders No. 40.

The work of restoration began with Hancock's assumption of the command. Officials, State, municipal, and judicial, removed by Sheridan and Mower and Griffin, were reinstated in their former places. Many of them had been removed for malfeasance and fraudulent practices in office, as well as for disloyalty. Hancock restored them and announced that if any charges were preferred against them, the civil authorities, the local courts, or their official superiors were fully competent to investigate and decide upon them. In cases where, by the notorious character or guilt of the officials, he was forced to acquiesce in their removal, Hancock ousted their loyal successors and supplied their places with the openly disloyal or with covert sympathizers with treason.

Confederate officials engaged in a new rebellion against the laws of the nation. The military, in Hancock's judgment—which he held to be superior to that of the people's Congress—had no lawful or just authority to remove, and he was equally clear that no legal or just impediment existed forbidding the summary expulsion by the military of Unionist officials. He proposed to guillotine them all. Again and again was General Grant obliged to restore and protect upright and efficient officers removed by Hancock without a shadow of cause except that they were loyal men favorable to reconstruction. B. F. Landers, the loyal Governor of Louisiana appointed by Sheridan, was recognized as an energetic and efficient officer. Sheridan remarks, after Flanders had been some time in office: "He [Flanders] is a man of integrity and ability, and I now feel as though I was relieved of half of my labors." But his integrity and ability, his loyalty, and his fealty to Congress and the laws, rendered him an impediment to the confederate plot—a sharp thorn in Hancock's side. Hancock did not venture to directly remove Flanders because Grant would have instantly reinstated him; but by a series of hostile and impudent acts, he forced the Governor to resign.

The New Orleans Board of Aldermen was a loyal body, elected by the people. Shortly after Hancock's advent at New Orleans, the

office of Recorder of the second district of the city became vacant. Under the laws and the order of the court, it was the duty of the Aldermen to fill the vacancy, and an attempt was made to perform that duty. But a number of them sufficient to destroy a quorum, dreading Hancock, refused to participate in the election, and the Aldermen failed to elect. But this "attempt to hold an election" in obedience to the laws and the instructions of the court, Hancock construed into a "contempt" of the military by these civil functionaries and summarily ejected nine of them from the board. This audacious nine were loyal men—some of them were blacks. Their presence as a part of the civil administration of the city was highly offensive to the confederate aristocracy—to "the better class of citizens." Hence Hancock's motive for guillotining them. General Grant, in reinstating them, caustically justifies their acts by citing, from General Orders No. 40, some of its pompous platitudes respecting the supremacy of the civil authorities over the military.

General Grant now prohibited all further removals.

PART IV.

Hancock Appoints New Registration Boards and Enforces Attorney General Stanbery's Opinions—General Griffin and Governor Pease Denounce State Courts and Juries as the Protectors of Rebel Assassins—Hancock Sustains the Courts—General Reynolds on General Order No. 40—Hancock Annuls Griffin's celebrated Order No. 13.

In further execution of the confederate plot against reconstruction, Hancock appointed new boards for the revision of the registration. He pompously announced his repudiation of Sheridan's loyal registration code, and instructed the boards to rely for their government upon "the laws alone," with Attorney General Stanbery's opinion placing upon them an interpretation hostile to their meaning and purpose.

General Griffin, in a dispatch to Sheridan, dated May 29, 1867, in referring to the rebel denunciation of his famous circular No. 13, compelling all jurors to take the "iron-clad oath," says it was simply "an attempt to open the courts of Texas to loyal jurors for the protection of all good citizens." He adds:

"Their [the rebels'] object is attained if they can again fill the jury-boxes of Texas with men of secession antecedents, inimical to the General Government and hostile toward Union citizens. Their motto seems to be: 'Rule or ruin!'"

But Hancock announced a different judgment. He declared that "the qualification of a juror under the [State] law is a proper subject for the decisions of the [State] courts."

He therefore abrogated circular No. 13, and again, as predicted by Griffin, loyal men were excluded from the jury-box. Again the murder and outrage and robbery of Unionists multiplied over the State, and went unpunished. General J. J. Reynolds, commanding in Texas, after the death of Griffin, in a dispatch to Hancock, declares that the rebels' construction of General Orders No. 40 "supercedes the laws of Congress," practically nullifies them, and "renders the military force powerless to execute the 3d section of the act of March 2, 1867"—powerless to protect loyal and peaceable men in their rights of person and property.

Governor Pease, of Texas, in one letter to Hancock, encloses a telegram from Judge Noonan, a loyal judge, with other evidence of the lawlessness of the rebels in Uvalde and other counties,—of the impossibility of trying criminals in the civil courts, of even preventing their escape from the jails where they were confined, and prays Hancock's intervention for the protection of loyal men. In another letter to Hancock, Governor Pease declares that, since the promulgation of General Orders No. 40, crimes and hostility to the United States Government had increased; that "it is a lamentable fact that over one hundred cases of homicides had occurred in Texas in the past twelve months;" that "within the last few months United States officers and soldiers have been killed in the discharge of their duties," but that not "one tenth" of the perpetrators had been arrested, and not "one twentieth" tried. None were punished. Rebel grand juries refused to indict, rebel petit juries to convict, and the military were paralyzed by General Orders No. 40.

PART V.

The loyal Lindseys petition Hancock for Redress — Hancock consigns them to the Ku Klux and they are Murdered!—Hancock's reply to Pease—"Peace" Reigns in Warsaw!—He slanders the Judiciary — General Grant forced to Remove him.

The cases of the Lindseys, father and son, may be cited in illustration of a multitude of others. They were native Texans, but Union men. At the opening of the rebellion the son was conscripted into the rebel army. The Lindseys abandoned their homes, fled to the Union lines, and the son joined the national forces. At the close of the rebellion they returned to Texas, and actively opposed the execution of the peonage laws—the infamous "Black Code" of Texas. They collected the proofs of numerous outrages perpetrated under color of the Code, put them in the form of a petition, and transmitted it to Hancock. Hancock referred it to the local authorities. His doing so he knew was equivalent to their

death-warrant. Again the Lindseys, for their loyalty and humanity, were obliged to abandon their homes. They fled to an adjacent county (Atascosa), pursued by a warrant upon an atrocious but trumped-up charge of horse-stealing, were brought back to Bell county, and placed in jail. Ex-confederate T. T. Teal, a prominent lawyer, collected the facts in the case, demonstrated that the charge was a fraud, that the arrest was merely a means to the assassination of the men, and appealed to General Mason, commanding the district, for the protection of the military. Under the instructions of Hancock the General dared not interfere. A few nights later a party of Ku Klux entered the jail, and with shotgun and pistol assassinated both father and son.

In his reply to Governor Pease, appealing to him for protection for the lives and property of Union citizens, Hancock says :

"At this time the country is in a state of profound peace. The State Government of Texas, organized in subordination to the authority of the Government of the United States, is in the full exercise of all its proper powers. The courts duly empowered to administer the laws, and to punish all offenders against those laws, are in existence."

Hence, the State courts, notoriously the refuge and defenders of rebel assassins, were the legitimate and lawful tribunals to which Union men must look for protection or redress. With civil matters, except to enfranchise the rebels, to redress their grievances, enlarge their power, or to support them in their tyranny, the military, in Hancock's judgment, had lawfully nothing to do. What if the lives and property of Unionists were unsafe? What if it was difficult, impossible, in Texas, to enforce the criminal laws? What if rebel sheriffs refused to arrest the perpetrators of crime? What if grand juries refused to indict rebel offenders against the laws, and petit jurors protected the guilty by verdicts of acquittal? Was that any reason why he, as military commander, should interpose with the sword? He declared that *"like facts"—the utter demoralization of the judiciary, its conversion into a sanguinary engine of brutal tyranny,—"are continually happening" in every State North!*

General Grant could endure no more. He removed Hancock.

PART VI.

The terrible results of Hancock's brief Mal-administration reviewed—General Reynold's Report of November, 1867—General Sheridan's Report—Report of Committee on Lawlessness, etc.—Official arraignment of Hancock for Innumerable Murders and other Crimes—Another Massacre.

Hancock's mal-administration extended only four months, from Nov. 29, 1867, to March 28, 1868. But in that brief time, although he failed in wholly defeating reconstruction, yet

he succeeded in humiliating the loyal people, colored and white, of Louisiana and Texas—in inflicting upon loyal men, supporting the Government and laws of the nation, the greatest evils and the severest sufferings. Hancock enfranchised the rebel enemies of the nation, advanced them to authority and place in the State governments, and supported them in their tyranny and crime. He brought the authority of the Nation into contempt, degraded the laws of Congress, encouraged their violation, and thus stimulated in the State governments and courts, and among the masses, that spirit of lawlessness and violence which, even to-day, crushes out all freedom of speech, all liberty of the press, all the rights of person and property!

General Reynold's report—The Ku Klux—Civil law a dead letter.

General Reynolds, in his report dated November, 1867, says :

*"Armed organizations, generally known as 'the Ku Klux Klan,' exist independently or in concert with other armed bands, in many parts of Texas, but are most numerous, bold, and aggressive east of Trinity River. The objects * * * of the organizations seem to be to disarm, rob, and in many cases murder Union men and negroes, and as occasion may offer, murder United States officers and soldiers. * * * The civil law east of Trinity River is almost a dead letter. In some counties the civil officers are all, or a portion of them, members of the Klan. * * * The murder of negroes is so common as to render it impossible to keep an accurate account of them. * * * These organizations are evidently countenanced, or at least not discouraged by a majority of the white people in the counties where the bands are most numerous. They could not otherwise exist."*

"They cannot be punished by the civil courts until some examples by military commissions show that men can be punished in Texas for murder and kindred crimes. Perpetrators of such crimes have not, heretofore, except in very rare instances, been punished in this State at all."

"Free speech and a free press, as the terms are generally understood in other States, have never existed in Texas. In fact the citizens of other States cannot properly appreciate the state of affairs in Texas without actually experiencing it. The official report of lawlessness and crime, so far from being exaggerated, do not tell the whole truth."

This condition of affairs "made it necessary to order more troops" from the frontier to the interior. General Reynolds says :

"This movement weakens the frontier posts to such an extent as to impair their efficiency for protection against Indians, but the bold, wholesale murdering in the interior of the State seems at present to present a more urgent demand for the troops than Indian depredations."

General Sheridan's report—1,884 killed and wounded.

In 1875, in a report upon the atrocities in Louisiana in 1867-68, General Sheridan declares :

"Since the year 1866 nearly 3,500 persons, a great majority of whom were colored men, have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1868 the official record shows that 1,884 were killed and wounded. From 1868 to the present time no official investigation has been made, and the civil authorities, in all but a few cases, have been unable to arrest, convict, and punish perpetrators. Consequently there are no correct records to be consulted for information. There is ample evidence, however, to show that more than 1,200 persons have been killed and wounded during this time on account of their political sentiments. Frightful massacres have occurred in the parishes of Bossier, Caddo, Cantahoula, Saint Bernard, Saint Landry, Grant and Orleans."

The general character of the massacres in the above-named parishes is so well known that it is unnecessary to describe them."

Another shocking massacre.

And the Presidential election of 1868, was preceded by a massacre rivaling in its atrocities that of July, 1866, at the Mechanics' Institute in New Orleans. For days the Republicans, colored and white, were hunted through swamps and fields, and over two hundred were killed and wounded. Thirteen helpless captives were taken from one jail and shot, and a pile of twenty-five dead bodies was found in the woods buried. The Republicans having thus been conquered, their leaders assassinated or expelled, and the masses captured, the rank and file were collected in bodies, marked with badges of red flannel, enrolled in clubs, led to the polls, compelled to vote the Democratic ticket, and given certificates of the fact. Thus at the election of 1868, in the parish of Orleans, of its 15,020 registered Republican voters, only 1,178 were polled for General Grant. In the parish of Caddo, of its 2,987 registered Republican voters, only one was polled for General Grant. In the parish of St. Landry, of its 3,000 registered Republican votes, not one was polled for General Grant; the whole vote of the parish, 4,787, were polled for Seymour and Blair, and so on throughout the State, wherever the janizaries of Hancock's "better class of citizens" reigned.

In these official reports and their terrible story we have some of the results of Hancock's work as a soldier-civilian in 1867-8 in Louisiana and Texas. These atrocities, this wholesale butchery of unoffending men, assassinated because of their loyalty to the nation and its laws, because of their fealty to loyal principles—the utter demoralization and lawlessness of courts and juries—were the achievements of the men whom Hancock, in 1867-'68, restored to authority—of Hancock's "better class of citizens"—of the brutal and sanguinary tyranny which Hancock established over the States of Louisiana and Texas; in other words, *were the immediate results of Hancock's own rebellion against Congress and its authority, and of his systematic degradation of the authority and laws of the nation!*

Report of the Committee on Lawlessness, 1868—Hancock's accountability again officially declared—A fearful indictment.

The report of the Committee on Lawlessness and Violence, made June 30, 1868, to the Reconstruction Convention of Texas, says:

"During three months of Governor Pease's administration, aided and sustained by Generals Sheridan and Mower, and previously to the advent of General Hancock, the murders in Texas, as already seen, averaged nine per month. The number during the other months of the same year averaged eighteen per month. And confining our estimates to the records of the Freedmen's Bureau, the number since the first of December, 1867, has averaged thirty-one per month. During the first month of Hancock's administration, December, there were thirty murders reported by the Bureau. In other words, according to the lowest calculation, the peace administration of General Hancock and Buchanan has to account for twice the number of murders committed under the Sheridan-Throckmorton administration

tion and three times the number under the Sheridan-Pease administration.

"Moreover, the fuller reports show that since the policy of General Hancock was inaugurated, sustained as it is by President Johnson, the homicides in Texas have averaged fifty-five per month, and for the last five months they have averaged sixty per month. And it is for Commander of the Fifth Military District to answer to the public for at least two thirds of 330 or more homicides committed in Texas since the first of December, 1867. Charged by law to keep the peace, and afford protection to life and property, and having the Army of the United States to assist him in so doing, he has failed. He has persistently refused to try criminals, rejected the prayers of the Executive of the State and Commanding General of the District of Texas for adequate tribunals, and turned a deaf ear to the cry of tried and persecuted loyalists. And, knowing whereof we affirm, and in the face of the civilized world, we do solemnly lay to his charge the death of hundreds of the loyal citizens of Texas—a responsibility that should load his name with infamy, and hand his very memory to coming years as a curse and an execration."

PART VII.

Hancock admits he sought the Presidency in 1868—But "not for Joe, not for Joseph, oh no, no!"—He glories in the Southern "principles" he has, through massacre, promoted—His stipulated reward comes at last—He gets the Democratic Nomination!

That Hancock was after the Presidency in 1868 is shown clearly enough in the following effusion, although when he touches upon the "Spirit of revolution" and "every sacred precinct of liberty," he has sadly confused things. Says he:

"I never aspired to the Presidency on account of myself. I never sought its doubtful honors and certain labors and responsibilities merely for the position. My own wish was to promote, if I could, the good of the country, and to rebuke the spirit of revolution which had invaded every sacred precinct of liberty. When, therefore, you pronounced the statement in question false, you did exactly right. Principles and not men, is the motto for the rugged crisis in which we are now struggling. Had I been made the Presidential nominee I should have considered it a tribute not to me, but to the principles which I had proclaimed and practised. But shall I cease to revere those principles because, by mutual political friends, another has been appointed to put them into execution? Never! Never! Never!"

But Hancock sighs no longer. He has at last received the promised reward for his terrible work—the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. He is, as we have already proved, the nominee of a "solid South"—chosen because of his record in resistance to construction; and hence, his success at the polls, his occupancy of the Chair of Washington, would transfer the national authority and power to the confederate enemies of the Republic. In his own words, "principles and not men" are the points at issue in this crisis of our national history. The Confederates range themselves on one side in this struggle to regain through Hancock the "lost cause;" all loyal men should range themselves on the other.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Hon. William H. English.

PART I.

Bleeding Kansas—The Great Struggle from 1854 to 1860, in and out of Congress, for Freedom, Free Ballots and Majority Rule—Wm. H. English Opposed to all These.

In consequence of the Propagandist devilry for the subjugation of Kansas, natural outcrop of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, a mighty struggle, from 1854 to 1860, in Congress and the country, was maintained *between the friends of free and slave Kansas—between the friends and opponents of a free ballot—the friends and opponents of the right of a majority to rule! What, in that conflict, was the attitude of Wm. H. ENGLISH? Was it not that of an opponent to free Kansas—an opponent of a free ballot and of the right of a majority to rule?*

Mr. ENGLISH voted in the first instance for the "Kansas-Nebraska infamy"—for the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and for a renewal of the slavery agitation which enabled the "Propaganda" to precipitate the South into rebellion, and to involve the North in an appalling war for the preservation of the Union! He voted against all investigation into the sanguinary and brutal Propagandist outrages in Kansas, and voted to seat in the House the Kansas pro-slavery delegate elected through outrage and fraud. At the second session of the 34th Congress, Mr. ENGLISH voted against the Grow Bill, which denounced the pro-slavery legislature of Kansas, as chosen in violence and fraud—as "usurpers"—which repealed its "cruel and oppressive laws," and provided for the organization and Government of the Territory by its actual or *bona fide* settlers; or in other words Mr. ENGLISH voted to maintain "the brutal pro-slavery code of Kansas," and to justify the "Border Ruffians," in their outrages and crimes for the subjugation of Kansas.

The bloody assault on Charles Sumner—Wm. H. English opposes expulsion of Brooks, or the censure of his accomplices.

Charles Sumner, in the Senate of the United States, on the 19th and 20th of May, 1856, dared, in severe but parliamentary language, to denounce the "crime against Kansas"—dared to arraign its authors and supporters as guilty of crimes against humanity and freedom! For that, for the exercise of a plain constitutional right, for the performance of a duty which, as a Senator, he owed to the nation and his State, Mr. Sumner two days later was assaulted in the Senate by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina. Says Anson Burlingame, in a speech in the House:

"The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Sumner] sat in the silence of the Senate Chamber engaged in the employments appertaining to his office, when a member from this House, who had taken an oath to sustain the Constitution, *stole into the Senate—that place which had hitherto been held sacred against violence—and smote him as Cain smote his brother.*"

"*One blow was enough; but it did not satiate the wrath of that spirit which pursued him through two days. Again and again, quicker and faster, fell the leaden blows until he was torn away from his victim, when the Senator from Massachusetts fell into the arms of his friends, and his blood ran down on the Senate floor.*"

The whole nation was startled, outraged by this transfer to the United States Senate of the murderous methods of the "Border Ruffian" for the suppression of free speech. The House promptly investigated. Its committee reported a resolution for the expulsion of Brooks and the censure of his accomplices, Keitt, of South Carolina, and Edmundson, of Virginia. Every law-abiding man throughout the civilized world condemned and reprobated Brooks' act. But WILLIAM H. ENGLISH did not feel it so deeply. As he voted against the repeal of the "brutal code of Kansas," so Mr. ENGLISH voted against the resolution for the expulsion of Brooks and the censure of his accomplices, Edmundson and Keitt! As he voted to protect the "Border Ruffian" in his tyranny and crimes, so Mr. ENGLISH voted to shield Brooks and his accomplices from the consequences of their attempted assassination of Charles Sumner!

And the animus or spirit which manifestly influenced these votes characterizes Mr. ENGLISH's congressional career during all this great struggle between Freedom and Slavery!

He attacks the Republican party as a party "with but one idea, and that one idea the Negro!"

In the 33d, 34th, and 35th Congresses, while supporting the Propagandist measures for the aggrandizement of slavery, Mr. ENGLISH proudly announces the doctrines of his political faith. He also treats us to an elaborate indictment of the Republican party. Its heaviest count is, that in every State where the Republican party had obtained control it had instantly banished the infamous "Black Code" with which the Democracy had disgraced the Statute Book—had remodeled the institutions of the State in conformity with the civilization and progress of the age. It had even admitted that the African was a human being capable of improvement like other men, had admitted him to colleges and established schools for his instruction—had even established precedents which admitted that by labor and culture he might become a lawyer or doctor or a member of any learned profession. To Mr. ENGLISH's comprehensive statesmanship, therefore, the Republican was a sectional party—"a party with one idea, and that one idea is the negro!" He exclaims:

"Separate them [the Republicans] from Sambo and Cuffee and they are as helpless as babes. * * * How long will it be [if the Republicans obtain power] before Hon. Pompey Smash, Fred. Douglas, or some other kinky-headed and thick-lipped darkey presents himself here, all redolent with the peculiar odor of his race, to claim a seat as one of the people's representatives."

Hence, in Mr. ENGLISH's judgment, the salvation of the nation, the perpetuity of its institutions, and the liberties and rights of its people, rested wholly upon the pro-slavery Democracy.

Amid the din of coming treason and rebellion he is for Slave-Democracy—He proclaims the abject cowardice and meanness of Northern Democracy.

All around him, in both Houses of Congress, as throughout the South, was heard the defiant and treasonable declaration that if the North closes us out of the Territories, if it elect a President upon an anti-slavery platform, the Union will be dissolved. All around him was heard the barbarous doctrine that "*Slavery is national—Freedom sectional*"—that "*slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laborer*"—that "*slavery is right and necessary whether WHITE or black!*" At his very side Lawrence M. Keitt, of South Carolina, announced as a cardinal doctrine of Democratic faith that—

"Slavery is a great primordial fact, rooted in the origin of things. As a corollary to this it may be safely deduced that the existence of laborers and mechanics in organized societies was the result of the partial and progressive emancipation of slaves * * * History tells us also that when the [white] working classes stepped out of the condition of bondage by the process of emancipation, they branched into four constantly recurring subdivisions—the *hireling*, the *beggar*, the *thief*, and the *prostitute*, which have no general existence in slave countries unless there have been a commencement of emancipation."

The North at the same moment was also aflame at the infamous dragging of its cities in the execution of the "Fugitive slave law." The venerable Josiah Quincy, sen., in 1854, in Boston, Mass., exclaimed:

"What has been seen, what has been felt, by every man, woman, and child in this metropolis and in this community, and virtually by every man, woman, and child in Massachusetts? We have seen our court-house in chains, two battalions of dragoons, eight companies of artillery, twelve companies of infantry, the whole constabulary force of the city police, the entire disposable marine of the United States, with its artillery loaded for action, all marching in support of a pretorian band consisting of 120 friends and associates of the United States Marshal, with loaded pistols and drawn swords, in military costume and array—for what purpose? To escort and conduct a poor trembling slave from a Boston court-house to the fetters and lash of his master!"

Nevertheless Mr. ENGLISH "proudly" announces his fealty to the Democracy—not to the Douglas Democracy—he belonged "to no such party"—but "to the great Democratic party"—to the "Propaganda!" Instead of denouncing Keitt and his barbarous doctrines, he applauded him as a distinguished leader of the Democracy! Instead of denouncing the treasonable doctrines of secession, he admitted the right, but pleaded that his associates, the Propagandist leaders, would not exercise the right—that they would stay in the Union, not for the sake of the Union, nor for the institutions and liberties which it guarantees, but

for the sake of the Northern Democracy, who would be sacrificed by the Republicans if abandoned by the Propaganda. He and the Northern Democracy were ready to vote all they demanded. They were troubled with no "sickly sentimentality on the subject of slavery." As he had voted to sustain the brutal pro-slavery code of Kansas, and the outrages by which it was maintained, so he was ready to vote for the extension of slavery—to admit slave States, to vote for the enforcement of the "Fugitive slave law," to dragoon the North into obedience to its mandates—to coerce every Northern freeman to become a slave hunter at the command of the Propaganda!

The "English Bill" for the admission of Kansas exposed.

In that spirit, and with that declaration of principles, Mr. ENGLISH addressed himself to the solution of the pending Lecompton issue. Senator Green's bill for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution passed the Senate, but was defeated in the House. In the Senate Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, had offered a substitute. In the House Mr. Montgomery, of Pennsylvania, also moved the Crittenden substitute, which was adopted by that body, but the Senate refusing to concur, a committee of conference was asked. Mr. WILLIAM H. ENGLISH, as chairman of the House branch of that committee, reported what was called the "ENGLISH bill" for the admission of Kansas. It sets out with the patent falsehood that the Lecompton Constitution, the violent product of the Missouri Ruffians, was framed by the people of Kansas. It then provides for the submission of the Constitution to a vote of the people of the territory, but meanly attempts to bribe the majority to accept a Constitution, to which they had again and again expressed their repugnance, by large donations of public lands for "school purposes," "for the support of a State University," and "for the purpose of completing the public buildings"—by grants of "five per cent. of the net proceeds of the sales of all the public lands within the State for the purpose of making roads and internal improvements" and of "salt springs" for the use of the State. If the people rejected these munificent donations, Kansas was to be remanded to a territorial condition, and prohibited from coming in under any other constitution until it had the full population of 93,340. Either Slave Kansas or no Kansas.

How it was passed—Both Kansas and the nation spit upon it—Enforced retirement of the Lecompton plotters to private life.

Under the dragging and influences of the President, aided by Cornelius Wendell with the plunder from the public printing, this bill finally passed both Houses. But the people of Kansas, indignant at so disreputable a proposition, a bribe for the abandonment of great principles, and being no longer under the terrorism of the Missouri Ruffians, rejected it by an overwhelming majority. The nation

in its judgment ratified that of the people of Kansas. Mr. ENGLISH and all from the North concerned in the Leecompton plot were relegated to private life, and the attempt now by the Democracy, by his nomination as Vice President, to restore Mr. ENGLISH to public life will be defeated by an overwhelming majority of the American people.

PART II.

The "Poor Man's Friend" in Indiana—How the "Hon." Wm. H. English filled his "Barrel"—The Tale told by Court-House Records—Startling list of judgments and foreclosures of Mortgage—How he secured personal judgments also—A worse than Shylock.

In the Cincinnati *Commercial* of Aug. 9, 1880, appeared the following correspondence:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., August 6, 1880.

For the first time in the history of the Democratic party the tail of the kite is awarded as much prominence as the kite itself. The circumstances surrounding the nomination of English were so peculiar that, even now, few fully realize how it was brought about; and, indeed, the peculiar combination of wires which secured the result is one of the singular circumstances of the campaign. Enough, however, is known to the outside, but ever observant, world to justify it in the conviction that the nominee for Vice-President was selected for three reasons: Primarily, to appease Tilden, who demanded that Hendricks should be disgraced, and who proposed that the humiliation should be as deep as possible; secondly, to mollify the ultra Southern element, which might take umbrage at the choice of a man who had been instrumental in killing a number of the misguided spirits; and thirdly, because of the absolute necessity of carrying Indiana at the October election, and it had been widely circulated that English was the sole proprietor of the necessary "barl." It is more than probable, however, that the latter clause of the last reason was more potent than all else combined. Be that as it may, no intelligent observer at the convention can have failed to notice the dazed appearance of the Hendricks delegation when it finally dawned upon their benumbed senses that English was the nominee, and that the "favorite son" had been relegated to limbo. The curses were not only deep, but very loud, and when they returned home the ticket was denounced in the most unmeasured terms. A Judas had stabbed the "favorite" and under no circumstances could the ticket carry the State, and all was lost. There was a whoop and hurrah throughout the country, to be sure, but an ominous silence was observable in the backwoods and slashes of the Commonwealth of Hendricks. The local organ, whose proprietor knew English to his sorrow, was dumb, and it was found that the pressure must come from the outside. Carefully prepared biographies of the new "favorite son" appeared in Eastern papers, and were circulated broadcast. The discovery was made in far-off lands that English was a man whose shining example every young man would do well to imitate; he had started out a poor boy, and by his own unaided exertions and by strictly legitimate methods, had accumulated a large fortune; he was a philanthropist, liberal to a fault in his charities, and ever ready with his wealth to aid the worthy in accumulating a competence. The rural press gradually took up the refrain, while the organ began to pipe the tune, yet still there were discords. The Indiana Democrat is a long-suffering animal, and though hitherto his back has been well-nigh broken by many a grievous burden, he very seldom, if ever, kicks over the traces. The leaders whipped, McDonald announced his allegiance, the late favorite was billed to

stump the State, and yet there appeared still a lack of old-time enthusiasm on the part of the faithful State pride, if nothing else, ought to cause an outburst, and still the philanthropist and the poor man's friend did not seem to be appreciated. On the other hand, the Indiana Republicans were jubilant. They asserted that the selection of English would give them the State beyond peradventure; that he was personally unpopular wherever known; that while he was rich, he had made the majority of his money, not in legitimate business, as was claimed, but by literally grinding the face of the poor; that the working classes were his bitter enemies; that the trades' unions of all grades were against him, and that, if they had had the making of a ticket for the benefit of their cause in Indiana, a better could not have been selected.

These opinions were so conflicting, that, as correspondent, I organized myself into a court of inquiry and visited Indianapolis last Monday, for the joint purpose of satisfying my own curiosity and informing the world what the true condition of affairs was in the State universally regarded as pivotal. Acting upon the very natural hypothesis that a man's character can be easily learned from those with whom he has lived as a neighbor for the past twenty years, I quietly began circulating among the old business-men of the city. Here there was a diversity of opinion, colored to a great extent by political bias, but all agreed upon one point, viz.: that he was a hard man in money matters, and would exact the uttermost farthing. Many of them had formerly held personal relations with him while acting as President of the First National Bank, and while they had heard rumors of his harsh dealings with all whom he actually had in his power, but little more than general reports were discovered that day. In the evening I strolled around the circle, where is his residence, in the almost rear of which he is building an elegant opera-house. As I stood contemplatively observing the building now just under roof, and the barred windows of the ex-banker's sleeping-room, a benevolent-appearing old gentleman stopped beside me, and passed the compliments of the day.

"Mr. English is building a very fine opera-house," I remarked, "and seems to be giving employment to a large number of laboring men."

"Yes," was the answer, "he is building the opera-house for reasons," and he winked knowingly, though why I know not, "and he has given employment to a large number of men in the past four years."

"In building up and improving the city?" I asked.

"Well, yes," was the answer, "in building up and putting subdivisions to his barrel. Nearly all his employees have been deputy sheriffs, and you can find additional particulars at the court-house."

Here, accidentally, had I discovered the lead I had been looking for, and the next morning found me at the Sheriff's office. Upon making myself known to that genial official, I bluntly asked him what he knew about Wm. H. English's popularity.

"Well," replied Sheriff Pressely, slowly, "I am a Republican, but I can say this much, he is one of the best friends I ever had in an official way. Many a dollar has he sent into this office."

He did not say anything about the parties who eventually had to pay the dollars, but indicated that the records of the courts were open for inspection. The County Clerk's office was then invaded, and here, after diligent search, is the record I found. It is

A list of suits brought by Wm. H. English since the Panic,

and nearly all of them within the past three years, for judgment and foreclosure of mortgage. A "poor man" will hardly have time to examine it in detail.

Plaintiff.	Defendant.	No. Kuty Deckt.	Date of Filing Complaint.
English, Rebecca P. Sinker et al.....		17	Feb. 22, '76
English, Robert Connelly et al.....		17	Feb. 17, '76
English, John O. Hardesty et al.....		17	Feb. 25, '76
English, John H. Batty et al.....		17	Feb. 25, '76
English, Charles O. Gilchrist et al....		17	Jan. 27, '76
English, James W. King et al.....		17	Jan. 26, '76
English, Sarah Dunbar et al.....		17	Jan. 26, '76
English, Weikins Lacy et al.....		10	Oct. 3, '76
English, Otway Allen et al.....		19	Aug. 10, '76
English, Caroline E. Butterfield et al.		19	Aug. 10, '76
English, Eliza Lippincott et al.....		19	Aug. 10, '76

Plaintiff.	Defendant.	No. Entry Docket.	Date of Filing Complaint.	Plaintiff.	Defendant.	No. Entry Docket.	Date of Filing Complaint.
English, Benjamin Mason et al.....		19	May 24, '76	English, Peter Peterson et al.....		29	June 17, '78
English, John H. Vagen et al.....		21	Nov. 22, '76	English, Edgar J. Foster et al.....		29	June 17, '78
English, Nancy Nichols et al.....		21	Nov. 22, '76	English, Stephen H. Greer et al.....		26	Oct. 23, '77
English, Wilson Lockhart et al.....		21	Nov. 22, '76	English, Katherine Riley et al.....		26	Oct. 23, '77
English, John L. Hanna et al.....		21	Nov. 22, '76	English, George W. House et al.....		26	Nov. 13, '77
English, Julius C. Wagner et al.....		21	Oct. 27, '76	English, Kate W. Patterson et al.....		26	Nov. 12, '77
English, John C. Shoemaker et al.....		21	Oct. 26, '76	English, Myron Dickson et al.....		26	Nov. 21, '77
English, Wm. E. Murray et al.....		21	Oct. 25, '76	English, James M. Robbin et al.....		26	Nov. 21, '77
English, Charles W. Moody et al.....		21	Oct. 4, '76	English, Elizabeth Fiscus et al.....		4	Oct. 25, '72
English, Chas. N. Tulewiler et al.....		6	Sept. 26, '73	English, Daniel McClure et al.....		27	Feb. 22, '78
English, Aaron Brown et al.....		6	Oct. 10, '73	English, Wm. F. Bird et al.....		27	Dec. 24, '77
English, John W. Coyner et al.....		10	Oct. 23, '74	English, Samuel Johnson et al.....		30	Jan. 17, '79
English, James O. Woodruff et al.....		10	Oct. 23, '74	English, Mary A. Dickson et al.....		30	Jan. 21, '79
English, Samuel R. Lippincott et al.....		10	Oct. 23, '74	English, Barbara E. Okey et al.....		30	Jan. 22, '79
English, Mary S. Sheets et al.....		10	Oct. 23, '74	English, George Schritter et al.....		30	Jan. 23, '79
English, Wm. H. Brown et al.....		7	Dec. 13, '73	English, Charles Neighbors et al.....		30	Jan. 23, '79
English, John L. Adkinson et al.....		7	Dec. 13, '73	English, William Smith et al.....		13	May 20, '76
English, John Batty et al.....		7	Dec. 13, '73	English, W. C. Van Arden et al.....		13	June 14, '75
English, Julius A. Kelly et al.....		7	Dec. 13, '73	English, William Preignitz et al.....		14	June 24, '75
English, Clark M. Randall et al.....		7	Dec. 26, '73	English, William H. Henchen et al.....		14	June 24, '75
English, Wm. D. Seaton et al.....		7	Dec. 26, '73	English, Thomas E. Phillips et al.....		14	Aug. 23, '75
English, Wm. D. Seaton et al.....		7	Dec. 26, '73	English, Edward W. Pierson et al.....		14	Aug. 23, '75
English, Wm. D. Seaton et al.....		7	Dec. 26, '73	English, John Sears et al.....		14	Aug. 19, '75
English, N. R. Ruckle et al.....		7	Dec. 26, '73	English, William Smith et al.....		15	Oct. 22, '75
English, N. R. Ruckle et al.....		7	Dec. 26, '73	English, Katherine Schlegel et al.....		15	Oct. 22, '75
English, Andrew W. Bronson et al.....		7	Feb. 20, '74	English, Jackson L. Jessup et al.....		15	Oct. 20, '75
English, Alfred C. Morse et al.....		7	Feb. 20, '74	English, William Madison et al.....		15	Oct. 18, '75
English, Caroline P. DeWolf et al.....		9	Aug. 4, '74	English, Theresa Goebler et al.....		15	Oct. 18, '75
English, Theresa Neather et al.....		22	Dec. 22, '76	English, Conrad Kron et al.....		15	Oct. 18, '75
English, George Lowe et al.....		22	Dec. 22, '76	English, John R. Elder, trustee.....		15	Sept. 23, '75
English, John A. Kierling et al.....		22	Dec. 22, '76	English, Henry H. Sheets et al.....		15	Sept. 23, '75
English, Jacob Bieler et al.....		22	Dec. 22, '76	English, John R. Elder, trustee.....		15	Sept. 23, '75
English, Isaac Klines et al.....		22	Dec. 22, '76	English, Benjamin Crane et al.....		15	Sept. 23, '75
English, Louise Metzner et al.....		22	Dec. 22, '76	English, L. B. Manchester et al.....		16	Nov. 26, '75
English, Louise Metzner et al.....		22	Dec. 22, '76	English, N. R. Ruckle et al.....		16	Nov. 26, '75
English, Louis Miller et al.....		22	Dec. 22, '76	English, John T. Macaulay et al.....		16	Nov. 26, '75
English, Isaac W. Stratford et al.....		22	Dec. 15, '76	English, Bettie C. Huston et al.....		16	Nov. 26, '75
English, Emily D. Snyder et al.....		22	Dec. 14, '76	English, Joseph W. Hammond et al.....		16	Jan. 19, '76
English, Jas. G. Marshall et al.....		24	May 24, '77	English, Elam Fisher et al.....		11	Nov. 5, '74
English, Samuel L. Campbell et al.....		24	May 23, '77	English, Hanna N. Newlin et al.....		11	Nov. 24, '74
English, James R. Baker et al.....		24	Apr. 26, '77	English, Mary S. Sheets et al.....		11	Nov. 24, '74
English, James W. King et al.....		24	Mch. 22, '77	English, Jackson L. Jessup et al.....		11	Nov. 24, '74
English, August Stuckmeyer et al.....		25	Aug. 21, '77	English, Margarotta C. Goe et al.....		11	Dec. 9, '74
English, Henry W. Seales et al.....		25	Aug. 21, '77	English, Mary S. Sheetz et al.....		11	Dec. 23, '74
English, Jennie M. Hays et al.....		25	Aug. 18, '77	English, Robert Connolly et al.....		12	Feb. 18, '75
English, Henry Coburn et al.....		25	Aug. 18, '77	English, James W. Bugbee et al.....		12	Feb. 17, '75
English, J. Peter Franz et al.....		25	Aug. 18, '77	English, Eliza B. How et al.....		12	Feb. 16, '75
English, Wm. H. Kram et al.....		25	Aug. 18, '77	English, Henry B. Sheets et al.....		12	Feb. 13, '75
English, Mary A. Bloominstock et al.....		25	Aug. 15, '77	English, William D. Seaton et al.....		8	Jan. 6, '75
English, Lorinda M. Mahaffey et al.....		25	Aug. 15, '77	English, Arthur S. C. Vance et al.....		13	May 11, '75
English, George L. Schritter et al.....		25	July 12, '77	English, Lawrence G. Hay et al.....		13	May 12, '75
English, Charles Brakmyer et al.....		25	May 25, '77	English, Benjamin F. Jones et al.....		20	Aug. 20, '76
English, Isaac W. Stratford et al.....		25	May 25, '77	English, Joseph Poole et al.....		20	Aug. 22, '76
English, Johanna C. Pope et al.....		25	May 25, '77	English, George B. Engle, Jr. et al.....		20	Aug. 20, '76
English, James W. Sewell et al.....		25	May 25, '77	English, Olivicy Allen et al.....		9	.....
English, Fred. W. Winter et al.....		25	May 25, '77	English, Jacob C. Dick et al.....		8	Apr. 20, '74
English, James Frank et al.....		25	May 24, '77	English, Julius N. Hoefgen et al.....		23	Mch. 22, '77
English, Catharine Brill et al.....		25	May 24, '77	English, Frank Buettner et al.....		23	Mch. 23, '77
English, Wm. G. Sweeney et al.....		25	May 24, '77	English, Jennie S. Norwood et al.....		23	Mch. 23, '77
English, John C. Ballard et al.....		25	May 24, '77	English, Julius Wagner et al.....		23	Mch. 23, '77
English, Mary Hatch et al.....		18	May 18, '76	English, James Bennett et al.....		23	Mch. 23, '77
English, E. J. Foster et al.....		18	May 18, '76	English, Samuel Kennedy et al.....		23	Mch. 23, '77
English, Matthew Logan et al.....		18	Apr. 21, '76	English, Joseph Schirck et al.....		23	Feb. 23, '77
English, Sedie E. McClelland et al.....		18	Apr. 18, '76	English, Frederick W. Winter et al.....		23	Feb. 23, '77
English, Francis E. Woodling et al.....		18	Apr. 18, '76	English, William W. Blake et al.....		23	Feb. 23, '77
English, Elihu P. Hadley et al.....		18	Apr. 18, '76	English, Robert Connolly et al.....		23	Feb. 23, '77
English, Choah Rinker et al.....		18	Apr. 17, '76	English, Harry H. Sheets et al.....		23	Feb. 16, '77
English, V. K. Stanley et al.....		18	Apr. 17, '76	English, John H. Schritter et al.....		23	Jan. 25, '77
English, Wm. H. Webb et al.....		22	Jan. 23, '76	English, M. D. Losey et al.....		20	Aug. 21, '76
English, Mary Deerfield et al.....		22	Jan. 23, '77	English, Mary E. Adams et al.....		28	May 14, '78
English, Michael Hoffman et al.....		22	Jan. 23, '77	English, George H. Kirkpatrick et al.....		28	May 7, '78
English, Chris. H. Stein et al.....		22	Jan. 23, '87	English, George Heid et al.....		28	Mch. 19, '78
English, Henry Hagedorn et al.....		22	Jan. 23, '77	English, Robert Breckenridge et al.....		28	Mch. 19, '78
English, Katharine Schlegel et al.....		22	Jan. 23, '77	English, James L. Miller et al.....		28	Mch. 15, '78
English, James W. Perkinson et al.....		22	Jan. 19, '77	English, James A. Moore et al.....		28	Nov. 15, '78
English, Robert Breckenridge et al.....		22	Jan. 24, '77	English, Mary A. Fiscus et al.....		28	Mch. 6, '78
English, Lemuel McLaughlin et al.....		31	Mch. 13, '79	English, Jane Greenfield et al.....		32	Aug. 18, '79
English, Barbara E. Okey et al.....		31	Apr. 9, '79	English, Robert H. Patterson et al.....		32	Aug. 18, '79
English, Samuel B. Hoefgen et al.....		31	Apr. 12, '79	English, Nellie Winings et al.....		32	Aug. 18, '79
English, Brice M. Carter et al.....		31	Apr. 12, '79	English, Caroline Holzward et al.....		32	Aug. 18, '79
English, Kate M. Patterson et al.....		31	Apr. 12, '79	English, Mary E. Minthoral et al.....		32	Aug. 18, '79
English, Jacob C. Dick et al.....		19	Apr. 23, '78	English, Henry S. Keeley et al.....		32	Aug. 18, '79
English, James W. Morris et al.....		29	Apr. 23, '79	English, Arthur L. Wright et al.....		32	Aug. 18, '79
English, James W. King et al.....		29	Aug. 21, '78	English, John B. Renard et al.....		32	Aug. 21, '79
English, John Stuckmeyer et al.....		29	Aug. 19, '78	English, Milton M. Landis et al.....		32	Aug. 21, '79
English, Herman Reutitt et al.....		29	July 29, '78	English, Jordan S. Mott et al.....		32	Aug. 21, '79
English, Jens Peter Peterson et al.....		29	June 18, '78	English, Jacob M. Wolf et al.....		33	Dec. 6, '79

Sheriff's Deeds from Sheriff of Marion County to Wm. H. English.

Date of Deed.	Description of Property.	No. Book Record.	No. of Page.
Oct. 7, 76..	Lots 19, 20, 21, Outlot 17, Cully & Goodwin's addition	101	52
Dec. 5, 76..	Lots 223, Allen's Woodlawn add.	101	518
Dec. 5, 76..	Lots 221 and 222 Allen's Woodlawn addition	101	521
Feb. 26, 77.	Lots pt. 317, Outlots 91, 93, 95, 97, A. Stone, jr.'s subdivision.	105	199
Apr. 28, 77.	Lots pt. 317, Outlots 96, 97, 98, 91, A. Stone, jr.'s subdivision.	105	612
May 16, 77.	Lot 4, Square 35	107	81
June 14, 77.	Lot 32, Woodruff Place	107	171
July 7, 77..	Lot 4, Square 5	107	248
Aug. 10, 77.	Lot 176, Woodruff Place	107	424
Oct. 9, 77..	Lot 13, Outlot 2, Master's subdivision. Drake's second addition	111	17
Oct. 5, 77..	Lots 1 and 2, Outlot 63	111	20
Oct. 9, 77..	Lots 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, Frank's subdivision.	111	24
Dec. 10, 77.	Half of Lot 80, Outlots, 10, 31, 124, Wiley's subdivision	111	326
Dec. 18, 77.	Lot 12, Square 36	111	334
Dec. 26, 77.	Lots 1 and 2, Square 51	111	380
Jan. 11, 78.	Lot 18, Woodruff's subdivision, Morris' addition	111	489
Jan. 11, 78.	Lot 85, Woodruff's Place	111	502
Feb. 20, 78.	Lots 14 and 15, Square 1, Wright's first north side addition	113	245
Feb. 26, 78.	Lots 19, 20, 21, 2, Square 1, Wright's north side addition	113	248
Feb. 30, 78.	Lot 7, Frank's S. Meridian street addition	113	251
Feb. 25, 78.	Lot 175, Allen's north addition	113	254
Mar. 6, 78.	Lot 10, Square 87	113	302
Mar. 6, 78.	Lots 10 and 11, Outlot 103, Downie's addition	113	307
Apr. 10, 78.	Lot 44, Outlot 108, Frank & Ryan's subdivision	115	122
Apr. 10, 78.	Lots 87 and 88, Allen & Root's north addition	115	125
May 3, 78..	Lot 36, Patterson's addition	115	268
May 21, 78.	Lot 21, Kappes & Naltner's addition	115	447
May 14, 78.	Lot 29, Kappes & Naltner's addition	115	449
May 21, 78.	Lot 332, Kappes & Naltner's addition	115	452
May 22, 78.	Lots 27 and 28, Outlot 108, Frank & Ryan's subdivision	115	455
May 14, 78.	Pt. Outlot 122	115	458
May 21, 78.	Lots 1, 4, 5, 6, 12, 14, 16, Pool's subdiv'n, Johnson's addition	115	461
May 14, 78.	Lots 2 and 24, Allen, Root & English north Woodlawn addition	115	464
June 11, 78.	Lot 1, Woodruff & Morris' addition	115	601
June 11, 78.	Lot 30, Outlot 159, Ray Trustee's subdivision	115	604
June 4, 78.	Lot 6, Kappes & Naltner's addition	115	607
June 16, 78.	Lots 41 and 42, Outlot 168, Spain & Co's addition	116	192
July 23, 78.	Lot 10, Kappes' addition	116	329
July 30, 78.	Lot 14, Square 36	116	332
Aug. 13, 78.	Lots 43, 51, 55, 80, 81, 85 Outlots 166 and 167, Blake's division	116	454
Aug. 13, 78.	Lot 3, Outlot 150, Ray's subdivision	116	457
June 7, 78.	Lots 92, 93, 94, 95, Lewis' subdivision of Bryan's addition; Lot 10, Square 14, Star's addition; Lots 2, 8 and 4, in Terry's subdivision, and part of Lot 6, Square 36	116	516
Apr. 25, 70.	Lot 16, Deutich's subdivision, Morris addition; Lots 4 and 71, Brown's subdivision; Lot 6, Kappes' addition; 23 and 22, Rosey's subdivision; 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, Car Company's addition .....	...	...

Pursuing the even tenor of my way I next visited the office of Recorder of Deeds and found the subjoined description of

Deeds issued to Wm. H. English under decree of foreclosure.

This startling list is submitted without comment:

Date of Deed.	Description of Property.	No. Book Record.	No. of Page.
Sept. 10, 78.	Lot 4, Outlot 99, Hendrick's subdivision	118	7
Sept. 10, 78.	Lot 3, Outlot 13, Stern's subdivision	118	9
Oct. 23, 78.	Lot 237, Kappes' addition	118	304
Oct. 24, 78.	Lots 13, 14, 15, Lozier's Highland addition	118	307
Oct. 22, 78.	Lot 19, Vagen's addition	118	11
Oct. 22, 78.	Lots 25 and 26, Square 13, Hubbard's addition	118	314
Oct. 23, 78.	Lot 14, Outlot 106, Franks' subdivision	118	317
Oct. 24, 78.	Lot 2, Woodruff's subdivision, Morris' addition	118	341
Nov. 5, 78.	Lots 58, 59, 60, Hann's heirs' add.	118	408
Nov. 19, 78.	Lot 5 and Halflot 4, Lots 91, 92 in Blake's addition	120	46
Jan. 14, 79.	Lot 63, Outlot 160, McCheney's subdivision	120	401
Jan. 15, 79.	Lot 130, Allen & Root's north addition	120	489
Jan. 15, 79.	Lots 26 and 28, in Woodruff's subdivision	120	492
Jan. 21, 79.	Lot 81, Outlot 83	120	494
Feb. 3, 79..	Lot 2, Indianapolis and Cincinnati R. R. Co.'s addition	120	617
M'ch 3, 79.	Lots 8, 9, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 58, 59, 207, 208, 209, 250, 251, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 48, 49, 108, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, Allen's Woodlawn addition	121	442
M'ch 17, 79.	Lot 4, Square 60, Martindale's addition	121	576
Apr 12, 79.	Lots 15 and 16, Allen's subdivision	121	587
May 26, 79.	Lots 4, 5, and 6, Ch. S. St. John's addition	125	215
May 26, 79.	Lot 3, Elliot's subdivision, Henderson's addition	125	218
May 29, 79.	Lot 4, Elliot's subdivision, Henderson's addition	125	221
May 29, 79.	Lot 5, Elliot's subdivision, Henderson's addition	125	524
May 24, 79.	Lot 18, Square 22, Sangster, Harrison's addition	125	324
July 8, 79..	Lots 12 and 13, Moore's and Fletcher's addition	126	55
July 8, 79..	Lot 4, Moore's and Fletcher's addition	126	128
July 8, 79..	Lot 16, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision	126	31
July 8, 79..	Lot 36, Outlot 130, Yande's subdivision	126	34
July 22, 79.	Lot 332, Allen's north Woodlawn addition	126	137
July 22, 79.	Lots 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000	126	132
Oct. 7, 79..	Lot 23, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision	128	169
Oct. 21, 79.	Lots 23 and 25, Square 25, Seaton's subdivision	128	192
Oct. 29, 79.	Lots 17 and 18, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision	128	354
Nov. 5, 79.	Lots 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, Moore's subdivision	128	114
M'ch 2, 80.	Lot 4, Square 19	131	409
Feb. 6, 80.	Lot 4 (assignment) from 18 to 384, inclusive, 371 pieces, Davis Sugar Grove addition .....	...	...

Deeds issued but not yet recorded.

May 24, 80.	Lot 230 and north h 1/2 229, Allen's addition.
July 2, 80.	Lots 55 and 56, Outlot 1/2.
Aug. 2, 80.	Lots 1 to 12, 39 to 62, 89 to 100, King's Arsenal Heights.
Aug. 3, 80.	Lots 21, 22, and 23, C. burn's subdivision, Outlot 182.

While delving through these records I also discovered that, not satisfied with Sheriff's deeds, this "friend of the poor man" had also been investing in tax titles. The law in Indiana in regard to these titles is somewhat peculiar and is regarded as particularly "hogish" that very few persons care to appear at the sales and speculate upon the misfortunes of impecunious fellow-citizens. Officials state that Mr. English was rarely, if ever present, at these sales, but indications are that he "hired a hand," as the deeds are made to him. The law provides that the purchaser can exact 15 per cent. for the first six months, even if the redemption money is tendered the next day, 10 per cent. for the remainder of the year, and 15 per cent. for the second year. Thereafter, according to a decision of the Supreme Court, 25 per cent. per annum can be charged for a period of twenty years, if the parties are not dead or bankrupt by that time, otherwise the tax title becomes absolute. It will thus be seen that the security can be classed as reasonably good.

Tax deeds from City of Indianapolis to

William H. English.

Date.	Amount Tax Paid.	Description of Property.	No. Book of Record.	No. Page.
Mar. 22, 80.	\$27 60.	Lot 3, Outlot 150, Ray's subdivision.....	133	360
Mar. 22, 80.	49 04.	Lots 39 and 40, Ray's subdivision.....	133	363
Mar. 22, 80.	50 61.	Lots 87 and 88, Allen's addition.....	133	365
Mar. 22, 80.	25 74.	Lots 58, 59 and 60, Hanna heirs' addition.....	133	366
Mar. 22, 80.	22 00.	Lots 23 and 36, Woodruff's subdivision, Morris' addition.....	133	370
Mar. 22, 80.	13 74.	Lot 2, Woodruff's subdivision, Morris' addition.....	133	373
Mar. 22, 80.	6 70.	Lots 25 and 282, Kappe's Meridian addition.....	133	375
Mar. 22, 80.	19 56.	Lot 26, Outlot 130, Yandee's subdivision.....	133	378
Mar. 22, 80.	53 12.	Lot 233, Allen's Woodlawn addition.....	133	380
Mar. 22, 80.	51 19.	Lot 54, Outlot 108, Ryan's subdivision.....	133	383
Mar. 22, 80.	263 89.	Lots 6, 7, 9, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 58, 59, 207, 208, 209, 251, 291, 292, 293, 294 and 29, Allen's Woodlawn addition.....	133	385
Mar. 22, 80.	40 86.	Lots 253 and 254, Allen's Woodlawn.....	133	388
Mar. 22, 80.	70 02.	Lot 230 and north half of 229, Allen's Woodlawn.....	133	391
Mar. 22, 80.	23 16.	Lot 22, Square 25, Seaton's subdivision.....	133	394
Mar. 22, 80.	12 37.	Lot 56, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision.....	133	396
Mar. 22, 80.	22 00.	Lots 27 and 28, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision.....	133	399
Mar. 22, 80.	12 38.	Lots 45 and 49, Outlot 103, Frank's subdivision.....	133	401
Mar. 22, 80.	184 04.	Lots 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, Moore's subdivision of Fletcher's addition.....	133	404
Mar. 22, 80.	61 62.	Lot 59, Kappe's addition.....	133	406
Mar. 22, 80.	76 79.	Lots 92, 93, 94, 95 Lewis' subdivision.....	133	409
Mar. 22, 80.	21 78.	Lot 63, Outlot 150, McClesney's subdivision.....	133	411
Mar. 22, 80.	144 45.	Lot 1, Outlot 83, McQuatt's subdivision.....	133	414
Mar. 22, 80.	42 76.	Lot 30, Outlot 159, Ray's subdivision.....	133	416
Mar. 22, 80.	36 00.	Lots 2 and 74, Allen's Woodlawn.....	133	419
Mar. 22, 80.	4 72.	Lot 6, Kappe's addition.....	133	421
Apr. 18, 79.	70 42.	Lots 4 and 5, Outlot 9, Blake's subdivision.....	125	248
Apr. 18, 79.	123 42.	Lots 92, 91, 85, 81, 80, Outlot 157, Blake's sub.....	125	260
Apr. 18, 79.	118 55.	Lots 1, 5, 6, 14, 16, Sq. 18, Johnson's heirs' addition.....	125	263
Dec. 5, 76.	328 15.	Lot 1, Sq. 5.....	101	520

Date.	Amount Tax Paid.	Description of Property.	No. Book of Record.	No. Page.
Nov. 20, 77.	\$91 42.	Lot 2, Sq. 51.....	111	194
Nov. 20, 77.	91 42.	Lot 1, Sq. 51.....	111	197
Jan. 19, 78.	123 42.	Lot 2, Sq. 5.....	111	608
Apr. 18, 79.	62 28.	Lots 43, 51, 55, Outlot 167, Blake's subdivision.....	125	265
Apr. 18, 79.	300 69.	W. ½ and E. ½ Lot 2, Sq. 51.....	125	268
Apr. 18, 79.	160 17.	Lot 4, Sq. 35.....	125	260
Apr. 18, 79.	21 56.	Lot 48, Outlot 108, Bryan's subdivision.....	125	263
Apr. 18, 79.	35 42.	Lot 11, Outlot 99, Hendricks' subdivision.....	125	265
Apr. 18, 79.	9 36.	Lot 1, Sq. 46, Frank's subdivision of Morris' add.....	125	268
Apr. 18, 79.	87 20.	Lot 2, Outlot 99, Daugherty's subdivision.....	125	270
Apr. 18, 79.	69 75.	Lot 3, Outlot 181, Stevens' subdivision.....	125	273
Apr. 18, 79.	74 88.	Part lot in Outlot 102.....	125	275
Apr. 18, 79.	36 12.	Lot 81, Outlot 89, Bates' subdivision.....	125	278
Apr. 18, 79.	36 89.	Lot in Allen et al., subdivision.....	125	280
Apr. 18, 79.	37 17.	Lot 20, Outlot 169, Wiley's subdivision.....	125	283
Apr. 18, 79.	24 90.	Lot 175, Allen's subdivision.....	125	285
Apr. 18, 79.	80 63.	Lot 12, Sq. 36.....	125	288
Apr. 18, 79.	16 91.	Lot 44, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision.....	125	290
Apr. 18, 79.	18 63.	Lot 26, Patterson's addition.....	125	293
Apr. 18, 79.	119 78.	Lot in City Council and City Com. addition.....	125	318

Tax Deeds from County Auditor of Marion County to Wm. H. English.

Date.	Amount Tax Paid.	Description of Property.	No. Book of Record.	No. Page.
April 8, 79.	\$21 72.	Lots 253 and 254, Allen's Woodlawn addition.....	125	95
April 8, 79.	46 00.	Lots 81, 85, 89, 9, 92, Outlot 167, Blake's sub.....	125	97
April 8, 79.	35 49.	Lot 85, Woodruff Place.....	125	99
April 8, 79.	39 90.	Lots 41 and 42, Frank's subdivision.....	125	101
April 8, 79.	14 46.	Lot 2, Woodruff's subdivision, Morris' addit'n.....	125	103
April 8, 79.	11 22.	Lot 18, Woodruff's subdiv., Morris' addit'n.....	125	105
April 8, 79.	18 32.	Lot 26, Patterson's add.....	125	107
April 8, 79.	52 06.	Lots 1, 5, 6, 14, 16, Pool's sub., Johnson's add.....	125	109
April 8, 79.	21 28.	Lot 80, Outlot 159, Ray's addition.....	125	111
April 8, 79.	37 58.	Lot 130, Allen et als. add.....	125	113
Jan. 19, 78.	141 83.	Lot 1, Square 51.....	111	502
Feb. 26, 78.	82 88.	Part Lot 4, Square 38.....	113	274
Mch. 4, 78.	15 36.	Lot 48, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision.....	113	292
Mch. 4, 78.	57 36.	Lots 15 and 16, Allen's sub., Hendricks' add.....	113	296
Mch. 4, 78.	34 93.	Lot 93, Woodruff's Place.....	113	300
Feb. 22, 78.	265 85.	Lot 10, Square 87.....	113	305
Nov. 6, 78.	136 95.	Lot 2, Square 51.....	118	404
Nov. 6, 78.	110 61.	Lot 1, Square 51.....	118	408
Feb. 18, 79.	16 08.	Lot 16, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision.....	128	413
Aug. 11, 79.	32 45.	Lots 51 and 52, King's sub., Bryant's addition.....	128	417
Mch. 8, 80.	25 06.	Lots 34 and 33, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision.....	133	340
Mch. 8, 80.	12 29.	Lot 67, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision.....	133	342
Mch. 8, 80.	46 46.	Lots 23 and north half 229, Allen's subdivision.....	133	344
Mch. 8, 80.	32 11.	Lots 43, 51, 55, Outlot 167, Blake's addition.....	133	347
Mch. 8, 80.	39 50.	Lots 87 and 88, Allen's subdivision.....	133	349
Mch. 8, 80.	22 27.	Lots 4 and 12, Square 18, Pool's sub. Johnson's heirs.....	133	351
Mch. 8, 80.	20 80.	Lot 63, Outlot 160, McCarty's subdivision.....	133	353

Date.	Amount Tax Paid.	Description of Property.	No. Book of Record.	No. Page.
Mch. 8, 80.	\$13 85.	Lots 27 and 23, Outlot 108, Frank's subdivision.	133	355
Mch. 8, 80.	151 79.	Lots No. 8, 9, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 58, 59, 207, 208, 209, 251, 291, 292, 293, 294, and 295, Allen's Woodlawn addition.....	133	358

In searching still further I found another curious circumstance in that "hardly ever" did Mr. English, when buying under the hammer, bid the full amount of his mortgage, thus leaving an individual judgment against nearly every one of his unfortunate creditors, and in this particular he may be regarded as

An improvement on Shylock.

That worthy was satisfied with his pound of flesh, but his Hoosier prototype not only exacted that, but took precautions to secure another slice, should the patient survive the operation of the Sheriff's knife and give any indications of a second growth. The appended is taken at random from the list of Sheriff's sales and tells its own story:

	Property sold.	Amount bid.	Amount of Mortgage.	Personal Judgment.
Oct. 7, 79-	Lot 23, Outlot 108, Frank's addition..	\$400	\$541 89	\$141 89
Oct 29, 79-	Lots 17 and 18, Frank's addition..	800	1,263 80	463 80
Nov. 5, 79-	Lots 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 in Moore's subdivision.....	600	1,867 32	1,287 32
Mch. 2, 80-	Part of Lot 2, Square 19.....	6,500	7,180 60	680 60
Apr. 27, 80-	Lot 14, Outlot 13, Terry's sub.....	1,600	1,625 40	25 40
Febr. 20, 77-	Part of Lot 317, Outlots 98, 91, 96, 97, Stone's sub..	1,600	1,717 79,	117 79
Apr. 22, 77-	Part of lot 317, Stone's addition..	910	1,923 36	1,013 30
May 3, 79-	Lots 8, 9, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 39, 50, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 58, 59, 207, 208, 209, 250, 251, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 48, 49, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, Allen's Woodlawn..	1,000	1,708 40	708 40
July 8, 79-	Lots 12 and 13, Moore's sub.....	200	303 54	103 54
July 8, 79-	Lot 38, Outlot 130, Yande's addition..	600	768 22	168 22
July 22, 79-	Lot 32, Allen's new addition.....	400	650 00	150 00

After studying these records, compiled from the official books, and damning as they are, I could not but think even then that all was not so bad as was painted, and with that idea impressed upon my mind I started out to interview some of the parties who had been ground between the upper and nether millstones. Very many of the defendants were said to be laboring people of the more ignorant class, who had been stripped of their little homes, and knowing such would be unduly prejudiced I sought two or three of the better class of debtors who had become acquainted with the cut-throat tactics. The first one I met was Captain J Bieler, an employee in the mail bag service at the Post office, and present

Republican Nominee for county recorder.

He is a harness-maker by trade, and stands very high with all classes of citizens, the Germans, with whom he is intimately associated, particularly. In answer to inquiries with regard to his business relations with the Democratic nominee for Vice President, he gave substantially, the following statement:

"Some six years since I purchased for \$2,200 two lots from James Frank, who had laid out an addition on land bought from William H. English. I knew Frank intimately and had so much confidence in him that I was careless about looking at the abstract of

title, as he said all was right. I paid part down, and altogether paid \$1,600, and then had a chance to sell the property to good advantage, but the would-be-purchaser found that English held a first or 'blanket' mortgage over the whole addition. I then went to him and asked him to release it, offering to pay extra *pro rata* of the mortgage, when he said he would not do it, as the mortgage was not due until 1890, and he would see about it then. This was in 1876 or '77. In the meantime Frank had turned over to him my last two notes, and I told English that unless he released the mortgage I would not pay another cent, as he might come on me for any amount he saw fit in 1890. He said I could do as I liked; and subsequently foreclosed on the lots, bid them in himself and secured an additional personal judgment against me of \$1,000. When I learned this I went to his office and asked him what I owed a thousand dollars for; that I had paid him \$1,600, and that he had the lots back, and what more could he ask? He said what he asked was his money, and he proposed to have it and that right away. I then told him what I thought of his robbery, and he ordered me out of his office. I had a small harness shop on Delaware street, and was compelled to go into bankruptcy."

Mr. Charles W. Moody.

Formerly a prominent druggist on Indiana avenue, was next visited, and was very free in giving his opinion of a man who, he firmly believed, was

A wolf in human form.

Mr. Moody said: "In 1873 or '74 I was in business at the intersection of Indiana avenue and Tennessee street, and owned the building. Was doing well, but concluded to add to my building, and, as I had a little extra money, and there was a large amount of building going on, I thought I would buy some ground and start a brickyard, and that, thereby, I could make the brick for my house free of cost. I accordingly bought ten acres south of town from B. F. Heffgen for \$650 per acre, and paid on the property \$4,500, leaving two first-mortgage notes of \$1,000 each yet unpaid. These Heffgen sold to English, and on them I paid until I owed him \$698.45, according to my figuring. I also paid the taxes, and this was the only incumbrance on the ground. In the meantime there was no sale for brick, business was dull, and though I worked night and day I was unable to meet the interest. English then foreclosed, and though I met him at the Court-house, and on the steps asked him to be lenient, that I was doing all mortal man could do, and that I would pay him as soon as possible, he said, and these are his exact words:

"If you don't hurry up and pay me faster, I will drive you to hell and gone!"

"But this is not all," continued Mr. Moody, "he bought in the property and closed my drug store on a personal judgment of \$2,500. How he got that I could not discover, until I found that the notes were 'gold bearing', and that he had exacted the premium. When he closed my store, other creditors, of course, came and I was ruined. At that time I considered myself, and was, worth clear of everything, \$25,000, and Bill English ruined me."

Mr. Moody is now engaged in the manufacture of baking powder, and is doing a fine business.

An old German,

George Schritter, was next visited, as it was ascertained that he had felt the grip of the iron hand. He was formerly in the saloon business, and owned a three-story brick building on Washington street, opposite the Court-house, and is an honest, hard-working man. He is now quite feeble, and when talking of his business with English grows very excited. According to his statement, he traded his property with the octopus for four houses and six lots in English's addition, and subsequently mortgaged the property, which was valued by English in the trade at \$10,000, to him for \$1,300 to pay a security debt. The inevitable foreclosure followed, and when friends helped redeem the property on the last day there was an item of \$100 for attorney's fees for his son, who attended to the case. The "poor man's friend" also exacted the full penalty on the tax certificate which Schritter was unable to take up on account of sickness.

A brief resume.

These three gentlemen were the only ones interviewed, and they were chosen because they could be easily found; were well known, and were each of a different political faith, Bieler being a Republican, Moody a National, and Schriber a Democrat, so that politics could have nothing to do with the record now spread before the public. As your correspondent proceeded with the investigation, offers of statements came from every side, and especially from the poorer class. It would be an easy matter to fill the *Commercial* with affidavits of parties who had been glad to escape with their lives, and there is abundant room for another chapter.

Any doubting Thomas who may have had fears regarding the capacity of Mr. English's barrel need borrow no further trouble. Nearly eight hundred pieces of first-class real estate gathered in will furnish enough to fulfill his part of the obligations of the campaign.

PART III.

"The Poor Man's Friend" again—An Affidavit that shows some of his "true inwardness"—The Value placed upon the Dead Child of an Employee—How he haggled over it—"You set too high a price on your damned young one"—The corpse partly paid for in Street Car Tickets—Damn the Irish!—Court Records.

The following is the result of some investigations ordered by the Cincinnati *Commercial*:

"INDIANAPOLIS, Aug. 16, 1880.—I undertook; to write the record of Hon. Wm. H. English, and the first chapter has already been furnished to the readers of the *Commercial*. All his record, as it has been and will be published, is but that of the courts in a city where he has lived twenty years, and where he has accumulated a fortune of millions.

"I began back ten years ago, when a suit was brought by John Smith against the Citizens' Street Railway Company, of which William H. English was President and the controlling owner.

"John Smith, drayman, 76 Fayette street, deposed and said, that he came to Indianapolis nearly fifteen years ago, as an employee of the Street Railroad Company; that he was engaged as car starter at the stables of the company and was a faithful and efficient hand, and had charge of the stables at night and in the early morning. That William H. English, the President of the Company, did bring from Scott County Indiana, his former home, a large number of inexperienced men and boys, who were employed as drivers, at low wages, and that one of these drivers, while running his team along Illinois street at the corner of Georgia, ran over and killed my little girl Ellen, aged 11 years, she living but four minutes. After the funeral said William H. English came to me and wanted to know what I was going to do about the matter, saying he supposed the company would have to pay me something, and proposed that the sum should be left to Father Bessonies, the Catholic priest of this city. To this I agreed, and after investigating all the circumstances the Father gave as his decision, one thousand dollars and funeral expenses. This sum Mr. English then refused to pay, and proposed to leave the award to arbitrators. To this I agreed, when the same sum was agreed upon, and this, too, he refused to pay. Acting under advice, as I am not educated, I gave the case to the law firm of Porter, Harrison, and Fishback, telling them I had no ready money, but they might have half for their fee. The case came to trial in 1870,

but before the trial, the same day, Mr. English took a change of venue.

"The case was set for Danville, November 1, 1870, and Mr. Porter was present, and I had my witnesses, whom I had to pay their wages and expenses day by day. Mr. English was there, and made another affidavit, getting a postponement on account of the absence of some of his witnesses. My lawyers then told me that the game was to wear me out, as I was a poor man, having left the company and bought a horse and dray; and that, in order to prevent any trick, I had better get a lawyer there to watch the case, and I got Hon. L. M. Campbell. When the case came up again, I was there with my witnesses, among them being John Buser, the policeman who saw the accident, and by swearing to something Mr. English got it staved off again.

"Before it came up the third time I was sitting on my dray at the corner of Pennsylvania and Washington streets, by Fletcher and Sharpe's bank, when Mr. English came along and said: 'Here, Smith, we ought to settle this matter and not be lawing about it; you can't afford it.'

"I told him he had never done as he agreed to, and the Court would have to decide.

"He then said: 'I'll settle with you if you come down street; when I again said the lawyers would tend to the matter.

"At that he became quite excited, and said: 'Damn the Irish. This country would have been better off without them,' and added:

"'Look here once more: I will settle with you but not for a thousand dollars. You set too high a price on your damned young one, and I can bring witnesses to prove in any Court that she never made you a dollar.'

"I told him that if I was a poor man my child was as good as his, and jumped off my dray to hit him, and the crowd interfered.

"Mr. English then went to my wife, when I was away at work, and said my lawyers had advised a compromise, and that he had concluded to pay \$1,000, provided she would take two hundred and fifty dollars in street car tickets, and that he would pay the costs of the suit. She agreed to that, and signed a release, but I never signed it, because I was not satisfied with such a settlement, and of the way I had been treated.

"The whole expense to me was over a thousand dollars, caused by the postponement, and I had to sell a little house to pay my witnesses and expenses, aside from attorney's fees. I used to work on the Hudson River Railroad, and I lived in Westchester County, A. G. Wheeler was Roadmaster, and Daniel Carpenter walking boss.

"I own my property in Fayette street, have two drays, and have all the work I can do.

his
JOHN M. SMITH.
mark.

"Attest: W. D. SAPP."

The record shows that the suit was filed May 8, 1870, and on Order Book 29 of the Marion Circuit Court is the decree giving change of venue on petition of defendant and payment of costs. In Fee Book No. 21, it appears that Wm. C. Smock, County Clerk, received from defendant \$200, leaving a balance of fifty cents, and that the balance of the costs amounting to \$12.65 is yet unpaid.

In the office of Porter, who is now associated with his son, I found the old record regarding the final settlement of the case. It is in the handwriting of General Ben. Harrison, the "mark" of John Smith is witnessed by Russell B. Harrison, the well known appointee of the United States Mint, and the sequel of the fight of the poor man's friend as against the uneducated Irishman is thus tersely told:

This case is compromised as follows: \$600 cash, \$250 in car tickets, and note of the company endorsed by Wm. H. English, for \$150 for six months. We have retained \$200 in car tickets for our fee; \$50 to pay Campbell's fee, and have paid to John Smith \$550 cash; the note for \$150 and \$50 in car tickets are left by John in our safe.

his
JOHN M. SMITH.
mark

"Witness: R. B. HARRISON."

"It may be added that the note was duly collected for Smith's benefit, the full amount and \$50 in car tickets being turned over to him.

"In company with Mr. E. C. Howlett, the grain dealer, I called at Father Beesonies' residence, on Maryland avenue, and he indorsed Mr. Smith's character in high terms as a man of truth. He said he was a member of the temperance society, and what he said could be relied upon, though so far as he was individually concerned he did not wish to make any written statements that might be dragged into politics. Father Beesonies, however, remembered perfectly the death of the little girl, and the manner in which a change of venue was taken, together with attendant circumstance."

PART IV.

"The Poor Man's Friend" gives to the poor Chicago Sufferers out of his Millions the sum of One Dollar !

A reliable correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, writing from Indianapolis, June 27, says :

"Since the 'one dollar subscription' story is now current, I will give the true version : When the Chi-

cago fire occurred, public meetings were held in this, as in every other city in the land, to raise means to aid the sufferers. People, with unheard of liberality, gave of what they had. Mr. English attended none of these meetings, but committees who were appointed to solicit subscriptions presented their papers to Mr. English, who was worth over \$2,000,000, and the wealthiest man in the city. Others not worth one-hundredth part as much as Mr. English, had subscribed \$100, and yet Mr. English subscribed only \$1. The committee was amazed and departed. After some discussion on the streets among citizens to whom the facts had been communicated, the \$1 was returned to him. Of course this incident became the talk of the town, and great indignation was expressed at Mr. English's miserly conduct, and some of the directors of the First National Bank called upon and told him of the indignation of the people, and that he must make a larger contribution or it would injure him and the business of the bank. Thereupon Mr. English sent word to the committee to return and he would make another subscription. They did so, and he subscribed \$100 and explained to the committee that he did not fully understand the matter when the paper was first handed to him. In the meantime the facts had gotten into all the leading papers, and Mr. English continued for some time to receive papers from all parts of the country soundly beating him for his miserly conduct ; he also received a large number of leather medals, and similar reminders from persons who had seen the accounts of his small subscription.

CHAPTER XXV.

Statistical Tables.

* No. 1.—Popular Vote for President from 1864 to 1876.

STATES.	1864.		1868.		1872.		1876.	
	Lincoln (Republican)	McClellan (Democrat)	Grant (Republican)	Seymour (Democrat)	Grant (Republican)	Grealey (Liberal)	Hayes (Republican)	Tilden (Democrat)
Alabama.....			76366	72088	90282	79444	68230	102002
Arkansas.....			22112	19078	41373	37927	38669	78071
California.....	62134	43841	54583	54077	540.0	40718	786.4	78445
Colorado.....							By Legislature.	
Connecticut.....	44891	42285	50295	47952	50688	45880	59034	61934
Delaware.....	8155	8767	7623	10980	11116	10206	10752	13381
Florida.....			By Legislature.		17783	154.7	2384.7	22.23
Georgia.....			57184	102722	62550	76356	50446	130088
Illinois.....	189496	158730	250803	199143	241944	184948	278.232	258401
Indiana.....	150422	130233	176548	166980	186.147	163632	208011	213526
Iowa.....	89075	49596	120390	74040	131568	71196	171327	111099
Kansas.....	1644.	3691	31048	13990	67048	32970	78322	37902
Kentucky.....	27786	64301	39666	115850	88766	99995	97156	158690
Louisiana.....			33263	80225	71663	57029	75135	70386
Maine.....	61803	44211	70493	42460	61422	29087	66300	49823
Maryland.....	40153	32739	80438	62357	66760	67687	71981	91780
Massachusetts.....	126742	48745	135477	59408	133472	59260	150063	108777
Michigan.....	91521	74604	128550	97069	138455	78355	165534	141095
Minnesota.....	25060	17375	43545	28075	55117	344.23	72962	48799
Mississippi.....					82175	47.88	52605	112173
Missouri.....	72750	31678	86860	65628	119196	151434	145029	203077
Nebraska.....			9729	5439	18329	7812	31916	17554
Nevada.....	9826	6594	6480	5218	8413	6236	10383	9308
New Hampshire.....	36400	32871	38191	31224	37168	31424	4.639	38509
New Jersey.....	607.3	68024	80131	83001	91656	76456	103517	115862
New York.....	368735	361986	419883	429883	440736	387281	489207	521949
North Carolina.....			96769	84601	94769	70094	103417	125427
Ohio.....	265154	205568	280223	238660	281852	244321	330698	323182
Oregon.....	9888	8457	10961	11125	11819	7730	15206	14149
Pennsylvania.....	296391	276316	342280	313382	349589	212041	38412	366157
Rhode Island.....	13692	8470	12998	6548	13665	5.229	15787	10712
South Carolina.....			62801	45237	72290	22703	91870	90906
Tennessee.....			56526	26129	85655	94391	89536	133166
Texas.....					47406	66500	44800	104755
Vermont.....	42419	13321	44167	12045	41481	10927	44092	20264
Virginia.....					93463	91654	95558	139670
West Virginia.....	23152	10438	29175	20806	32315	29451	42648	56455
Wisconsin.....	83458	65884	108857	84707	104997	86477	130668	123927
Total.....	2216067	1808727	3015071	2709613	3597070	2834079	4033295	4284265
Majority.....	407342		305458		76.991		Over all.	167394

In 1872 the Straight Democratic ticket (O'Connor) received 29,489 votes, and the Prohibition Ticket (Black) 5608.

In 1876, Cooper (Greenback) received 81737 votes, and Smith (Prohibition) 9522 votes. The "Anti-Secret Society ticket" received 23 votes in Kansas, 286 in Illinois, 71 in Michigan, 70 in Ohio, 83 in Pennsylvania—539 in all. There were 1778 votes returned as "scattering" in various States. In Michigan there were 12,937 returned as "imperfect and scattering."

Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.
1824.	352062	1836.	1498205	1848.	2872806	1860.	4676853	1872.	6431149
1828.	1156328	1840.	2410772	1852.	3 52877	1864.	4034791	1876.	8411136
1832.	1217691	1844.	2098608	1856.	4053967	1868.	5724624		

* NOTE.—This and the two following Tables are from McPherson's Handbook of Politics for 1880.

No. 2.—Electoral Vote for President and Vice President 1864 to 1876.

STATES.	1864.		1868.		1872.		1876.	
	V. P.		V. P.		V. P.		V. P.	
	Pres.	V. P.	Pres.	V. P.	Pres.	V. P.	Pres.	V. P.
Alabama.....	*	*	Grant.....	10	Hayes.....	10	Hendricks.....	10
Arkansas.....	*	*	Blair.....	8	Brown.....	10	Wheeler.....	6
California.....	6	6	Colfax.....	6	Wilson.....	6	Tilden.....	6
Colorado.....	6	6	Seymour....	6	Davis.....	6	Hayes.....	6
Connecticut.....	3	3	Grant.....	6	Jenkins.....	3	Hayes.....	3
Delaware.....	*	*	Grant.....	3	Brown.....	3	Hayes.....	3
Florida.....	*	*	Grant.....	3	Hendricks.....	3	Hayes.....	3
Georgia.....	16	16	Grant.....	21	Hendricks.....	11	Hayes.....	11
Illinois.....	13	13	Grant.....	15	Hendricks.....	15	Hayes.....	15
Indiana.....	8	8	Grant.....	11	Hendricks.....	11	Hayes.....	11
Iowa.....	3	3	Grant.....	6	Hendricks.....	6	Hayes.....	6
Kansas.....	3	3	Grant.....	6	Hendricks.....	6	Hayes.....	6
Kentucky.....	11	11	Grant.....	11	Hendricks.....	11	Hayes.....	11
Louisiana.....	*	*	Grant.....	7	Hendricks.....	7	Hayes.....	7
Maine.....	7	7	Grant.....	7	Hendricks.....	7	Hayes.....	7
Maryland.....	12	12	Grant.....	13	Hendricks.....	13	Hayes.....	13
Massachusetts.....	8	8	Grant.....	11	Hendricks.....	11	Hayes.....	11
Michigan.....	4	4	Grant.....	6	Hendricks.....	6	Hayes.....	6
Minnesota.....	*	*	Grant.....	6	Hendricks.....	6	Hayes.....	6
Mississippi.....	11	11	Grant.....	6	Hendricks.....	6	Hayes.....	6
Missouri.....	11	11	Grant.....	6	Hendricks.....	6	Hayes.....	6
Nebraska.....	2	2	Grant.....	3	Hendricks.....	3	Hayes.....	3
Nevada.....	5	5	Grant.....	3	Hendricks.....	3	Hayes.....	3
New Hampshire.....	3	3	Grant.....	3	Hendricks.....	3	Hayes.....	3
New Jersey.....	7	7	Grant.....	5	Hendricks.....	5	Hayes.....	5
New York.....	33	33	Grant.....	7	Hendricks.....	7	Hayes.....	7
North Carolina.....	*	*	Grant.....	33	Hendricks.....	33	Hayes.....	33
Ohio.....	21	21	Grant.....	9	Hendricks.....	9	Hayes.....	9
Oregon.....	3	3	Grant.....	21	Hendricks.....	21	Hayes.....	21
Pennsylvania.....	26	26	Grant.....	26	Hendricks.....	26	Hayes.....	26
Rhode Island.....	4	4	Grant.....	4	Hendricks.....	4	Hayes.....	4
South Carolina.....	*	*	Grant.....	6	Hendricks.....	6	Hayes.....	6
Tennessee.....	10	10	Grant.....	10	Hendricks.....	10	Hayes.....	10
Texas.....	10	10	Grant.....	10	Hendricks.....	10	Hayes.....	10
Vermont.....	5	5	Grant.....	5	Hendricks.....	5	Hayes.....	5
Virginia.....	5	5	Grant.....	5	Hendricks.....	5	Hayes.....	5
West Virginia.....	5	5	Grant.....	5	Hendricks.....	5	Hayes.....	5
Wisconsin.....	8	8	Grant.....	8	Hendricks.....	8	Hayes.....	8
Total.....	212	212	212	212	212	212	212	212

* No vote.

† Rejected.

No. 3.—Popular Vote in State Elections in 1878-79.

STATES.	1878. Rep.	1878. Dem.	1878. Nat.	1878. Pro.	1879. Rep.	1879. Dem.	1879. Nat.	1879. Pro.
Alabama.....	8671				6796	47647	44492	
Arkansas.....	8671							
California.....	14396	11673	2784	1079				
Colorado.....	45967	45366	8314					
Connecticut.....	10730	2835						
Delaware.....								
Florida.....	21523	16946	66673	2192				
Georgia.....	180765	194491	39448					
Illinois.....	194514	126087						
Indiana.....	74020	37208	27087					
Iowa.....	66519	20873	41404					
Kansas.....	134729	10162	709435	1913	167671	89066	45549	3288
Kentucky.....	126280	78603	73313		126761	81862	18654	
Louisiana.....	58755	89721	3469		126761	81862	18654	
Maine.....	96004	186171	61167		57401	42444	4050	2351
Maryland.....	28956	23191			46113	20827	4725	
Massachusetts.....	9678	9151	6507					
Michigan.....	38175	31139						
Minnesota.....	39112	356451	75133	4294	418667	375690	20286	4427
Mississippi.....	274120	270966	38332	5682	336261	319132	9072	4145
Missouri.....	16333	16043	1447		260153	221715	27207	3219
Nebraska.....	319490	297137	81768	3759	9717	5508	318	
Nevada.....	11454	7639	590					
New Hampshire.....	119550							
New Jersey.....	42928	89018	15196					
New York.....	23402	159633	55002					
North Carolina.....	37312	17247	2635					
Ohio.....								
Oregon.....								
Pennsylvania.....								
Rhode Island.....								
South Carolina.....								
Tennessee.....								
Texas.....								
Vermont.....								
Virginia.....								
West Virginia.....								
Wisconsin.....								

* NOTE.—In Iowa, in 1878, the Democrats and Nationals united on Secretary of State; but Walker, Democrat, received 1,302 votes, in Massachusetts, in 1878, Butler received the National and part of the Democratic vote; Judge Abbott received a portion of the latter. In California, in 1879, the Democrats and New Constitution party fused, and the "Workingtons" were the third party. In Massachusetts, in 1879, the division of 1878 was repeated. In Michigan, in 1879, the vote was for Supreme Judges, on which offices the Democrats and Nationals fused. In New York, in 1879, John Kelly, Democrat, had 77,566 votes for Governor. On Lieutenant Governor the vote stood: Republican, 435,301; Democrat, 435,014; National, 23,067; Prohibition, 3,902.

No. 4.—Democratic Sham Economy.

Three years of Republican compared with three years of Democratic appropriations—A fearful exposure.

To demonstrate the hollowness of the Democratic cry of "economy," it is only necessary to compare the last three years during which they have made appropriations, with the last three years during which a Republican Congress made appropriations. From an official statement published August, 1880, by the Treasury Department, it appears that during the last three years of a Republican Congress, the appropriations were, for the fiscal years:

1874..	\$172,290,700	{ Coin Value }	\$153,855,595
1875..	155,017,758		137,655,769
1876..	147,714,940		129,693,718

While during the last three years of Democratic Congressional rule the appropriations have been, for the fiscal years:

1879..	\$172,016,809	{ Coin Value }	\$171,672,775
1880..	162,404,647		162,404,647
1881..	154,118,212		154,118,212

On a currency basis, the comparison be-

tween the appropriations of the two parties would stand thus:

REPUBLICAN.			DEMOCRATIC.		
1874.....	\$172,290,700	1879.....	\$172,016,809		
1875.....	155,017,758	1880.....	162,404,647		
1876.....	147,714,940	1881.....	154,118,212		

On a comparison of the coin value of the amounts appropriated—which is the truest test—the comparative economy of the two parties stands thus:

REPUBLICAN.			DEMOCRATIC.		
1874.....	\$153,855,594	1879.....	\$171,672,775		
1875.....	137,655,769	1880.....	162,404,647		
1876.....	129,693,718	1881.....	154,118,212		

From the latest official "statement of the annual appropriations made by Congress for each fiscal year from June, 1873 to 1881, inclusive, together with the coin value of such appropriations, computed upon the average price of gold for each year in question, published by the Treasury Department, August, 1880," is taken the following detailed statement (omitting cents, which, however, are added together in making the totals), covering the three-year comparison above instituted:

APPROPRIATED FOR.	LAST REPUBLICAN THREE YEARS.			LAST DEMOCRATIC THREE YEARS.		
	3d session 42d Congress. Fiscal year 1874.	1st session 43d Congress. Fiscal year 1875.	2d session 43d Congress. Fiscal year 1876.	1st and 2d sessions 45th Congress. Fiscal year 1879.	3d session 45th Congress, and 1st session 46th Congress. Fiscal year 1880.	2d session 46th Congress. Fiscal year 1881.
Deficiencies.....	\$11,143,239	\$4,053,812	\$2,387,372	\$15,213,259	\$4,633,824	\$6,118,085
Legislative, exec. and judicial...	18,170,441	20,758,255	16,038,699	15,868,694	16,136,230	16,785,308
Sundry civil.....	32,173,257	26,924,746	29,459,853	24,968,589	17,634,868	24,216,136
Army.....	31,796,008	27,788,500	27,933,830	51,279,679	26,797,300	26,425,800
Naval.....	22,275,707	20,813,946	17,001,306	14,153,431	14,028,468	14,405,797
Indian Service.....	5,505,218	5,538,274	5,425,627	4,734,875	4,713,478	4,657,262
Rivers and Harbors.....	7,352,900	5,228,000	6,648,517	8,322,700	9,577,494	8,976,500
Fortifications.....	1,899,000	904,000	850,000	275,000	275,000	550,000
Military Academy.....	344,317	339,835	364,740	292,805	319,547	316,234
Post Office Department.....	6,480,602	7,175,542	8,376,205	4,222,274	5,872,376	3,863,420
Invalid and other Pensions.....	30,480,000	19,980,000	30,000,000	29,371,574	56,233,200	41,644,000
Consular and Diplomatic.....	1,311,359	3,404,804	1,374,985	1,087,535	1,097,735	1,180,385
Miscellaneous.....	3,342,647	2,108,040	1,863,804	2,226,390	5,085,123	4,959,332
Totals.....	172,290,700	155,017,758	147,714,940	172,016,809	162,404,647	154,118,212
Coin value of \$1 currency.....	89.3	88.8	87.8	99.8	100	100
Coin val. of amt. appropriated...	153,855,595	137,655,769	129,693,718	171,672,775	162,404,647	154,118,212

By adding together the coin values of the amounts appropriated for the period 1874, 1875, 1876, the total is found to be \$421,205,082. Similarly that for the period of 1879, 1880, 1881, is found to be \$488,195,634. The difference between the two is no less than \$66,990,552 coin value, or a mean difference against Democratic Congresses for each compared year of Democratic sham economy of \$22,330,184!

No. 5.—Government Receipts and Expenditures from 1856 to 1880.

[OFFICIAL.]

(Cents omitted except in adding totals.)

NET REVENUE BY FISCAL YEARS.

Year.	Customs.	Internal Revenue.	Direct Tax.	Sales of public lands.	MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES.		Net revenue.
					Premiums on loans and sales of gold coin.	Other miscellaneous items.	
1856.....	\$64,022,863	.....	.....	\$8,917,644	.....	\$1,116,190	\$74,056,699
1857.....	63,875,905	.....	.....	3,829,486	.....	1,259,920	68,965,312
1858.....	41,789,620	.....	.....	3,513,715	.....	1,352,029	46,655,365
1859.....	49,668,824	.....	.....	1,756,687	\$709,357	1,454,596	53,486,465
1860.....	53,187,511	.....	.....	1,778,557	10,008	1,088,530	56,064,607
1861.....	39,582,125	.....	.....	870,558	33,630	1,023,515	41,509,380
1862.....	49,056,397	.....	\$1,795,331	152,203	68,400	915,122	51,967,455
1863.....	69,069,642	\$37,640,787	1,485,103	167,617	602,345	3,741,794	112,697,290
1864.....	102,316,152	109,741,134	475,648	588,333	21,174,101	30,331,401	264,626,771
1865.....	84,928,260	209,464,215	1,200,573	996,553	11,683,446	25,441,556	333,714,605
1866.....	179,046,651	309,226,813	1,974,764	665,031	38,083,055	29,036,314	568,082,620
1867.....	176,417,810	266,027,537	4,200,233	1,163,575	27,087,350	15,087,522	490,634,010
1868.....	164,464,599	191,087,589	1,788,145	1,348,715	29,203,629	17,745,403	405,638,083
1869.....	180,048,426	158,356,460	765,685	4,020,344	13,765,491	13,997,338	370,943,747
1870.....	194,538,374	184,899,756	229,102	3,350,481	15,295,643	12,942,118	411,255,477
1871.....	206,270,408	143,098,153	580,355	2,388,640	8,892,839	22,093,541	383,323,944
1872.....	216,370,286	130,642,177	.....	2,575,714	9,412,337	15,106,051	374,106,867
1873.....	188,089,522	113,729,314	315,254	2,882,312	11,560,530	17,161,270	333,738,204
1874.....	163,103,833	102,409,784	.....	1,852,428	5,037,665	17,075,042	289,478,755
1875.....	157,167,722	110,007,493	.....	1,413,640	3,979,279	15,431,915	268,000,051
1876.....	148,071,984	116,700,732	96,798	1,129,466	4,029,280	17,456,776	287,482,039
1877.....	130,956,493	118,630,407	.....	976,252	405,776	18,031,655	269,000,586
1878.....	130,170,680	110,581,624	.....	1,079,743	317,102	15,614,728	287,763,878
1879.....	137,250,047	113,561,610	.....	924,781	1,505,047	20,586,697	273,827,184
1880.....	186,522,064	124,009,373	30	1,016,506	110	21,978,525	333,526,610

NET ORDINARY EXPENDITURES BY FISCAL YEARS.

Year.	CIVIL AND MISCELLANEOUS.		War Department.	Navy Department.	Indians.	Pensions.	Interest on public debt.	Net ordinary expenditures.
	Premium on loans and purchase of bonds, etc.	Other civil and miscellaneous items.						
1856.....	\$385,372	\$32,124,214	\$16,948,196	\$14,091,781	\$2,769,429	\$1,298,208	\$1,953,822	\$69,571,025
1857.....	363,572	28,164,532	19,261,774	12,747,976	4,267,543	1,312,043	1,678,265	67,795,707
1858.....	574,443	26,429,609	25,485,383	13,984,551	4,926,738	1,217,488	1,567,055	74,185,270
1859.....	.....	29,700,295	23,243,822	14,642,989	3,625,027	1,220,378	2,638,463	69,070,976
1860.....	.....	27,976,434	16,409,767	11,514,964	2,949,101	1,102,926	3,177,314	63,130,598
1861.....	.....	23,267,010	22,981,150	12,420,887	2,841,358	1,036,064	4,000,173	66,540,644
1862.....	.....	21,408,491	394,368,407	42,668,277	2,273,223	853,095	13,190,394	174,761,818
1863.....	.....	23,556,965	599,288,600	63,221,963	3,154,367	1,078,991	24,729,846	714,740,725
1864.....	.....	27,505,589	890,791,842	85,725,994	2,629,858	4,983,924	53,685,421	865,322,641
1865.....	1,717,900	43,047,658	1,031,323,360	122,612,945	5,116,837	16,338,811	77,897,713	1,297,556,294
1866.....	58,476	41,056,961	284,449,701	43,324,118	3,247,064	15,605,352	133,067,741	520,809,416
1867.....	10,813,349	51,110,223	55,224,415	31,034,011	4,642,531	20,936,551	104,781,691	367,543,674
1868.....	7,001,151	63,009,867	129,240,648	25,752,602	4,100,682	23,782,386	140,424,054	377,340,284
1869.....	1,674,680	66,474,061	78,501,990	20,000,757	7,042,923	28,476,621	130,694,242	322,865,277
1870.....	15,996,555	63,237,461	57,655,675	21,780,229	3,407,938	28,340,302	129,235,598	305,653,560
1871.....	9,016,794	60,481,916	35,799,991	19,431,027	7,426,997	34,443,894	125,576,565	292,177,188
1872.....	6,958,266	60,984,757	35,372,157	21,249,809	7,061,728	28,533,402	117,357,839	277,517,992
1873.....	5,105,919	73,328,110	48,323,138	23,536,256	7,951,704	29,359,426	104,750,688	290,345,245
1874.....	1,395,073	69,641,593	42,313,927	30,932,587	6,692,482	29,038,414	107,119,815	267,133,873
1875.....	.....	71,070,702	41,129,645	21,497,626	6,384,656	29,456,216	103,093,544	274,623,392
1876.....	.....	66,958,373	38,070,889	18,963,309	5,968,558	28,257,395	100,243,271	258,459,797
1877.....	.....	56,252,066	37,082,735	14,959,935	5,277,007	27,963,752	97,124,511	238,660,006
1878.....	.....	53,177,703	32,154,147	17,365,301	4,629,280	27,137,019	102,500,874	236,964,326
1879.....	.....	65,741,555	40,428,660	15,125,126	5,206,109	35,121,482	105,327,949	266,947,883
1880.....	2,795,320	54,713,529	38,116,916	13,536,984	5,945,457	56,777,174	95,757,575	267,642,957

NOTE.—The expenditures for interest on the public debt include amounts paid for interest on bonds issued to the Pacific Railroads, as follows: In 1866, \$49,227 04; in 1867, \$54,786 47; in 1868, \$485,028 35; in 1869, \$1,794,857 65; in 1870, \$4,484,369 25; in 1871, \$3,874,145 58; in 1872, \$3,877,387 02; in 1873, \$3,874,710 72; in 1874, \$3,862,350 72; in 1875, \$3,888,950 72; in 1876, \$3,881,250 72; in 1877, \$3,890,258 53; in 1878, \$3,878,970 72; in 1879, \$3,874,830 72; in 1880, \$3,878,250 72.

No. 6.—Internal Revenue Receipts for 1879-80. [OFFICIAL.]

Statement of receipts from the several general sources of Internal Revenue, for fiscal year ended June 30, 1880.

States and Territories.	Distilled Spirits.	Tobacco.	Fermented Liquors.	Banks and Bankers.	Back taxes under repealed laws.	Penalties.	Aggregate Receipts.
Alabama....	\$67,518 53	\$35,710 90	\$666 68	\$14,853 03	\$2,387 27	\$14,753 77	\$135,890 38
Arizona.....	18,534 64	6,749 14	2,754 90	944 90		1 33	26,984 10
Arkansas.....	75,702 96	41,734 41	635 72	2,855 85		5,160 18	126,089 12
California.....	1,309,507 76	751,140 72	373,429 06	437,050 68	4,487 64	8,108 79	2,783,034 64
Colorado.....	64,286 24	29,712 89	58,317 70	15,042 29		1,900 42	168,259 54
Connecticut.....	166,838 03	172,348 65	73,099 51	31,594 81	6,493 10	10,811 03	461,180 13
Dakota.....	19,112 26	10,827 49	7,641 75	2,747 93		1,232 86	41,553 29
Delaware.....	37,198 61	249,023 84	10,069 23	6,963 18		162 28	304,398 21
*Dis. of Col.							
Florida.....	11,678 52	191,227 91	593 74	719 13		373 23	204,590 53
Georgia.....	191,550 18	74,147 04	12,729 92	38,080 58	02	5,586 44	322,074 18
Idaho.....	17,063 72	2,006 28	3,005 51	238 82	5 00	346 20	22,665 54
Illinois.....	19,689,253 97	2,493,226 67	767,013 67	165,078 64	527 38	20,514 16	23,085,614 49
Indiana.....	5,635,877 90	331,317 06	262,144 13	93,726 93	2,992 08	7,879 39	6,213,636 49
Iowa.....	249,608 16	298,337 86	237,418 22	76,515 34	1,959 56	11,020 66	864,859 78
Kansas.....	87,721 82	100,090 16	36,401 81	28,913 42		607 10	262,734 01
Kentucky.....	6,890,732 04	1,687,631 32	173,215 11	107,563 86	26,418 87	10,063 70	8,855,644 90
Louisiana.....	143,620 01	421,290 22	54,806 12	64,440 21	16,124 77	21,768 34	712,049 65
Maine.....	18,109 42	51,991 48	1,813 37	2,584 37	173 27	2,096 00	76,767 87
Maryland.....	525,106 37	1,222,991 75	267,035 25	54,292 31	1,742 20	32,154 57	2,399,957 01
Massachusetts.....	1,296,736 23	609,656 63	649,456 57	68,245 10	1,014 67	10,554 96	2,635,653 10
Michigan.....	116,437 03	1,119,278 3	286,495 08	72,791 24	9,422 37	7,333 90	1,611,757 99
Minnesota.....	53,680 27	108,816 01	153,251 64	17,397 98	353 31	1,688 49	364,689 64
Mississippi.....	42,394 60	27,941 11	1,703 34	15,691 02	881 38	2,232 05	91,233 60
Missouri.....	2,152,249 94	2,392,454 94	711,654 53	182,729 22	1,360 27	9,206 15	5,449,534 08
Montana.....	18,154 41	3,739 57	9,274 38	2,545 27			35,714 17
Nebraska.....	798,898 61	58,942 11	44,116 57	9,081 21	10 00	1,686 34	912,734 85
Nevada.....	26,891 98	6,179 44	16,735 67	10,398 04		250 06	60,455 19
N. Hampshire.....	62,865 40	31,670 01	177,425 37	4,239 27	1,765 98	173 16	278,139 08
New Jersey.....	237,520 19	3,260,934 67	614,338 67	19,505 47	19,980 13	5,658 77	4,307,807 81
New Mexico.....	24,541 37	5,168 47	978 57	1,151 77		10 80	31,880 93
New York.....	3,011,002 79	7,764,767 11	4,358,299 14	925,484 9	106,486 54	84,836 75	16,249,877 84
N. Carolina.....	489,988 68	1,839,547 07	819 67	7,730 67	3,589 8	12,329 66	2,364,006 71
Ohio.....	13,394,247 96	3,231,361 67	1,181,303 47	180,609 57	4,810 67	26,665 80	18,018,998 92
Oregon.....	27,071 12	14,715 68	28,872 12	10,887 07		435 79	76,951 70
Pennsylvania.....	1,856,111 91	3,822,707 77	1,299,968 27	370,821 1	5,199 41	15,152 22	6,869,880 65
Rhode Island.....	39,132 17	61,300 51	53,666 47	55,788 57	75 95	920 33	210,883 98
S. Carolina.....	65,467 03	54,947 17	3,297 87	5,564 77		2,693 95	111,960 78
Tennessee.....	821,204 96	129,467 11	10,098 97	22,013 37	7,718 57	15,232 87	1,008,733 66
Texas.....	85,400 64	83,766 17	14,933 97	42,962 97	162 0	5,600 78	233,106 56
Utah.....	11,197 31	6,055 42	14,192 07	31,379 57	5 00	11,523 18	74,352 74
Vermont.....	13,636 67	25,038 27	2,115 57	10,237 07	91 27	1,625 07	50,545 74
Virginia.....	344,742 37	5,866,273 87	18,069 77	47,577 47	1,817 47	2,939 79	5,781,409 55
Washington.....	7,508 17	4,028 57	10,689 27	4,792 37		100 00	27,018 34
W. Virginia.....	58,598 93	250,102 37	33,156 47	24,371 37		4,652 67	370,672 15
Wisconsin.....	885,659 52	941,764 51	812,626 77	80,396 77	10 87	7,858 58	2,698,516 79
Wyoming.....	6,607 86	1,764 87	5,690 97	1,881 77		2 52	15,947 95
Total.....	\$61,185,608 70	\$38,870,140 07	\$12,829,802 87	\$3,350,985 27	\$228,027 77	\$383,755 08	\$116,848,219 80
Cash receipts from sale of stamps, which cannot be apportioned among the States and Territories.....							7,133,696 30
Aggregate receipts from all sources.....							\$123,981,916 10

* Part of the Third District of Maryland since October 2, 1876.

Statistics relating to receipts from Internal Revenue for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1879

DISTILLED SPIRITS.

Number of distilleries operated, 5,346 (grain 836, molasses 8, fruit 4,502).

Quantity of distilled spirits other than fruit brandy produced, 71,892,621 gallons. Quantity exported, 4,837,581 gallons. Quantity distilled from whatever materials, on which tax was paid, 63,025,175 gallons. Amount of tax paid, \$7,709,464.24. Number of rectifiers, 1,053; retail liquor dealers, 155,850; wholesale do., 4,252. Total receipts from all sources relating to distilled spirits, \$52,570,244.69. Percentage of same to aggregate receipts, 46 1-10 per ct.

FERMENTED LIQUORS.

Quantity of fermented liquors on which tax was paid, 11,103,084 barrels of 31 gallons each. Amount of tax paid, \$10,270,352.83. Number of brewers, 2,719. Number of dealers in malt liquors, 10,636. Total receipts from all sources relating to fermented liquors, \$10,729,390.08. Percentage of same to aggregate receipts, 9 2-5 per cent.

TOBACCO.

Quantity of chewing and smoking tobacco on which tax was paid, 116,975,223 pounds. Amount of tax paid thereon, \$24,703,744.90. Quantity of snuff on which tax was paid, 3,423,235 pounds. Amount of tax paid thereon, \$902,185.35. Number of cigars and cigarettes on which tax was paid, 2,267,523,581. Amount of tax paid thereon, \$12,532,452.72. Number of dealers in manufactured tobacco, 339,477. Do. of peddlers of tobacco, 1,747. Total receipts from all sources relating to tobacco, \$40,135,002.65. Percentage of same to aggregate receipts, 35 1-5 per cent.

BANKS AND BANKERS, OTHER THAN NATIONAL BANKS.

Capital of Savings-banks, \$3,597,392. Capital of Banks and Bankers, \$193,781,219. Deposits of Savings-banks, \$29,912,179. Deposits of Banks and Bankers, \$407,661,079. Tax collected on deposits of Savings-banks, \$303.33. Tax collected on deposits of Banks and Bankers, \$2,051,378. Tax collected on capital of Savings-banks, \$17,614. Tax collected on capital of Banks and Bankers, \$812,454. Total receipts from all sources relating to Banks and Bankers, \$3,198,883.59. Percentage of same to aggregate receipts, 2 4-5 per cent.

STAMPS.

Number of all descriptions issued, 809,814,429. Value of same, \$129,555,634.79. Value of match stamps sold, \$3,357,251. Number of 2-cent bank check stamps sold, \$96,230,208. Value of same, \$1,924,604.16. Total receipts from adhesive stamps, \$6,706,374 06. Percentage of same to aggregate receipts, 5 9-10 per cent.

Aggregate receipts from all sources, \$113,918,466.87.

No. 7.—Cost of the Democratic Rebellion.

In 1870, Representative Niblack (Dem.) of Indiana, declared in the House that the expenditures and burdens of the rebellion were properly chargeable to the Republican party. To this James A. Garfield at once replied :

"I desire to ask that gentleman and his party one question. Suppose that in the year 1861 every Democrat north of the Potomac and the Ohio had followed the lead of Grant, and Douglas, and Dickinson, and Tod, and all the other great lights of the Democratic party; had thrown away the Democratic name; said that they would be Democrats no longer, as we said we would be Republicans no longer, but all would be Union men, and stand together around the flag until the rebellion had been put under our feet. I desire to ask the gentleman, if these things had happened, how long the war would have lasted, and how much the war would have cost? I do not hesitate to say that it could not

have lasted a month, and the expenditures of the war would never have exceeded \$10,000,000. I say as a matter of current history, that it was the great hope of the rebels of the South that the assistance of the Democratic party of the North would divide our forces and overcome all our efforts; that at the ballot-box the Democrats at home would help the cause which they were maintaining in the field. It was that, and that alone, which protracted the war and created our immense debt. I come, therefore, to the door of your party, gentlemen on the other side, and I lay down at your threshold every dollar of the debt, every item of the stupendous total which expresses the great cost of the war; and I say if you had followed Douglas there would have been no debt, no blood, no burden.

The following statement, prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury in response to Senate resolution of March 8, 1880, shows what and how much those expenditures have thus far been :

Statement showing the Expenditures, as far as ascertained, necessarily growing out of the War of the Rebellion, from July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1870, inclusive.

APPROPRIATION.	Gross Expenditure.	Expenditure other than for the war.	Expenditure growing out of the war.
Expenses of national loans and currency.....	\$51,522,730 77		\$51,522,730 77
Premiums.....	59,738,167 73		59,738,167 73
Interest on public debt.....	1,809,301,485 19	\$45,045,286 74	1,764,256,198 45
Expenses of collecting revenue from customs.....	99,690,808 31	57,151,550 44	42,539,257 87
Judgments of Court of Claims.....	5,616,260 75	551,626 07	4,964,634 68
Payments of judgments Court of Alabama Claims.....	9,315,753 19		9,315,753 19
Salaries and expenses of Southern Claims Commission.....	371,321 82		371,321 82
Salaries and expenses of American and British Claims Commission.....	295,878 54		295,878 54
Award to British claimants.....	1,929,819 00		1,929,819 00
Tribunal of arbitration at Geneva.....	244,815 40		244,815 40
Salaries and expenses of Alabama Claims Commission.....	253,231 12		253,231 12
Salaries and contingent expenses of Pension Office.....	7,095,968 05	1,370,180 00	5,725,788 05
Salaries and contingent expenses of War Department.....	15,331,966 58	2,712,693 79	12,619,262 79
Salaries and contingent expenses of Executive Department (exclusive of Pension Office and War Department).....	33,944,017 67	10,110,745 70	23,833,271 97
Expenses of assessing and collecting internal revenue.....	112,803,841 31		112,803,841 31
Miscellaneous accounts.....	2,664,199 82	456,714 21	2,207,485 61
Subsistence of the Army.....	420,041,037 75	38,623,489 17	381,417,548 58
Quartermaster's Department.....	357,518,966 61	58,037,048 95	299,481,917 66
Incidental expenses of Quartermaster's Department.....	101,528,573 37	16,185,839 74	85,342,733 63
Transportation of the Army.....	407,468,324 81	70,669,439 25	336,798,885 56
Transportation of officers and their baggage.....	4,626,219 66	1,601,000 00	3,025,219 66
Clothing of the Army.....	356,651,466 31	11,107,886 11	345,543,580 20
Purchase of horses for cavalry and artillery.....	130,990,762 95	4,316,339 51	126,674,423 44
Barracks, quarters, &c.....	49,872,669 40	18,801,822 89	31,070,846 51
Heating and cooking stoves.....	487,881 45	39,110 00	448,771 45
Pay, mileage, general expenses, &c., of the Army.....	184,473,721 26	106,368,991 79	78,084,729 47
Pay of two and three years' volunteers.....	1,041,102,702 58		1,041,102,702 58
Pay of three months' volunteers.....	866,305 41		866,305 41
Pay, &c., of one hundred days' volunteers.....	14,386,778 29		14,386,778 29
Pay of militia and volunteers.....	6,126,952 65		6,126,952 65
Pay, &c., to officers and men in the Department of the Missouri.....	844,150 55		844,150 55
Pay and supplies of one hundred days' volunteers.....	4,824,877 68		4,824,877 68
Bounty to volunteers and regulars on enlistment.....	38,522,046 20		38,522,046 20
Bounty to volunteers and their widows and legal heirs.....	31,760,345 95		31,760,345 95
Additional bounty act of July 28, 1866.....	69,998,736 71		69,998,736 71
Collection and payment of bounty, &c., to colored soldiers, &c.....	268,158 11		268,158 11
Reimbursing States for moneys expended for payment of military service of the United States.....	9,635,512 85		9,635,512 85
Defraying expenses of minute-men and volunteers in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky.....	597,178 30		597,178 30
Refunding to States expenses incurred on account of volunteers.....	31,297,242 60		31,297,242 60
Reimbursements to Baltimore for aid in construction of defensive works in 1863.....	96,152 00		96,152 00
Payment to members of certain military organizations in Kansas.....	296,097 28		296,097 28
Expenses of recruiting.....	2,563,639 91	1,270,673 56	1,292,966 35
Draft and substitute fund.....	9,713,873 13		9,713,873 13
Medical and Hospital Department.....	46,954,146 83	1,845,376 47	45,108,770 36
Medical and Surgical History and Statistics.....	196,048 32		196,048 32
Medical Museum and Library.....	55,000 00		55,000 00
Providing for comfort of sick, wounded, and discharged soldiers.....	2,232,785 12		2,232,785 12
Freedmen's Hospital and Asylum.....	123,487 49		123,487 49
Artificial limbs and appliances.....	509,283 21		509,283 21
Ordnance service.....	6,114,533 38	1,561,001 67	4,553,531 71
Ordnance, ordnance stores and supplies.....	59,798,079 70	3,864,146 87	55,933,932 83
Armament of fortifications.....	12,336,710 88	2,118,238 79	10,218,472 09

Expenditures necessarily growing out of the War of the Rebellion, &c.—Continued.

APPROPRIATION.	Gross expenditure.	Expenditure other than for the war.	Expenditure growing out of the war.
National armories, arsenals, &c.....	\$29,730,717 68	\$6,127,228 21	\$23,603,489 32
Purchase of arms for volunteers and regulars.....	76,378,936 18		76,378,936 18
Traveling expenses First Michigan Cavalry and California and Nevada Volunteers.....	84,131 50		84,131 50
Payment of expenses under reconstruction acts.....	3,128,905 94		3,128,905 94
Secret service.....	681,587 42		681,587 42
Books of tactics.....	172,568 15		172,568 15
Medals of honor.....	29,890 00		29,890 00
Support of National Home for disabled volunteer soldiers.....	8,546,184 76		8,546,184 76
Publication of official records of war of the rebellion.....	170,998 98		170,998 98
Contingencies of the Army and Adjutant General's Department.....	3,291,835 14	565,136 39	2,726,698 75
Payments under special acts of relief.....	1,088,406 83		1,088,406 83
Copying official reports.....	5,000 00		5,000 00
Expenses of court of inquiry in 1858 and 1860.....	5,000 00		5,000 00
United States police for Baltimore.....	100,000 00		100,000 00
Preparing register of volunteers.....	1,015 45		1,015 45
Army pensions.....	437,744,192 80	30,315,000 00	407,429,192 80
Telegraph for military purposes.....	2,500,085 80		2,500,085 80
Maintenance of gunboat fleet proper.....	5,244,684 32		5,244,684 32
Keeping, transporting, and supplying prisoners of war.....	7,669,411 60		7,669,411 60
Permanent forts and fortifications; surveys for military defenses; contingencies of fortifications; platform for cannon of large calibre, &c., from 1862 to 1868.....	20,887,756 96	7,488,765 87	13,408,991 09
Construction and maintenance of steam rams.....	1,370,730 42		1,370,730 42
Signal service.....	222,269 79	78,472 23	143,797 56
Gunboats on the Western rivers.....	3,239,314 18		3,239,314 18
Supplying, transporting, and delivering arms and munitions of war to loyal citizens in States in rebellion against the Government of the United States.....	1,649,596 57		1,649,596 57
Collecting, organizing, and drilling volunteer soldiers.....	29,091,666 57		29,091,666 57
Bridge-trains and equipage.....	1,413,701 75		1,413,701 75
Tool and siege trains.....	702,250 00		702,250 00
Completing the defenses of Washington.....	912,283 01		912,283 01
Commutation of rations to prisoners of war in rebel States.....	320,636 62		320,636 62
National cemeteries.....	4,162,848 39		4,162,848 39
Purchase of Ford's theatre.....	88,000 00		88,000 00
Temporary relief to destitute people in District of Columbia.....	57,000 00		57,000 00
Headstones, erection of headstones, pay of superintendents, and removing the remains of officers to national cemeteries.....	1,080,185 54		1,080,185 54
State of Tennessee for keeping and maintaining United States military prisoners.....	22,749 49		22,749 49
Capture of Jeff. Davis.....	97,031 62		97,031 62
Removing wreck of gunboat Oregon in Chefunct River, Louisiana.....	5,500 00		5,500 00
Support of Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen.....	11,454,237 30		11,454,237 30
Claims for quartermaster's stores and commissary supplies.....	860,220 91		860,220 91
Miscellaneous claims audited by Third Auditor.....	94,223 11	47,112 11	47,111 00
Claims of loyal citizens for supplies furnished during the rebellion.....	4,170,304 54		4,170,304 54
Payment for use of Corcoran Art Gallery.....	125,000 00		125,000 00
Expenses of sales of stores and material.....	5,842 43		5,842 43
Transportation of insane volunteer soldiers.....	1,000 00		1,000 00
Horses and other property lost in military service.....	4,281,724 91		4,281,724 91
Purchase of cemetery grounds near Columbus, Ohio.....	500 00		500 00
Fortifications on the Northern frontier.....	683,748 12		683,748 12
Pay of the Navy.....	144,549,073 96	70,086,769 82	74,462,304 84
Provisions of the Navy.....	32,771,931 16	16,403,307 34	16,368,623 82
Clothing of the Navy.....	2,709,491 98	1,114,701 00	1,594,790 98
Construction and repair.....	170,007,781 25	35,829,684 80	134,178,096 45
Equipment of vessels.....	25,174,614 53		25,174,614 53
Ordnance.....	38,063,367 67	6,641,263 30	31,422,094 37
Surgeons' necessities.....	2,178,769 74	241,025 68	1,937,744 05
Yards and docks.....	33,638,156 59	3,337,854 52	30,300,302 07
Fuel for the Navy.....	19,952,754 36	8,612,621 68	11,340,232 68
Hemp for the Navy.....	2,636,916 69	1,938,664 42	898,252 27
Steam machinery.....	49,297,318 57		49,297,318 57
Navigation.....	2,526,247 00		2,526,247 00
Naval hospitals.....	875,452 34	375,789 40	499,662 94
Magazines.....	753,822 13	349,290 48	404,531 65
Marine corps, pay, clothing, &c.....	16,726,906 00	8,969,290 82	7,757,615 18
Naval Academy.....	2,640,440 87	778,308 86	1,862,132 01
Naval Asylum, Philadelphia.....	652,049 89	65,394 00	586,655 89
Temporary increase of the Navy.....	8,123,766 21		8,123,766 21
Miscellaneous appropriations.....	2,614,044 77		2,614,044 77
Naval pensions.....	7,540,043 00	950,000 00	6,590,043 00
Bounties to seamen.....	2,821,530 10		2,821,530 10
Bounty for destruction of enemy's vessels.....	271,309 28		271,309 28
Indemnity for lost clothing.....	389,026 33		389,026 33
Total expenditures.....	\$6,844,571,431 03	\$654,641,622 45	\$6,189,929,808 58

NOTE.—Only the appropriations from which war expenditures were made are included in the above. A statement of the total receipts and expenditures of the United States, from 1856 to 1890 inclusive, classified under appropriate heads will be found on page 208.

No. 8.—*Ratios of Democratic defalcations compared with Republican honesty.*

Administration.	Period of service.	TOTAL.			TOTAL.			RECAPITULATION.*		
		Receipts.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000	Disbursements.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000	Amount involved.	Total Losses.	Loss on \$1,000
Washington..	8	\$56,448,721	\$210,551	\$3 72	\$55,426,822	\$38,497	\$0 69	\$112,550,503	\$250,970	\$2 22
Adams	4	46,088,418	42,249	91	45,811,926	190,980	4 35	90,733,611	235,41	2 59
Jefferson	8	108,238,977	287,260	2 65	107,686,311	303,834	2 82	219,072,736	603,467	2 75
Madison	8	266,246,514	294,975	1 10	265,105,106	1,855,446	7 27	526,764,049	2,191,65	4 16
Monroe	4	178,649,964	629,946	3 52	188,437,779	2,492,535	13 22	376,328,274	3,229,75	8 63
Adams	4	97,818,054	332,563	3 40	97,264,000	613,829	6 28	201,488,077	885,374	4 39
Jackson	8	255,182,775	1,412,387	5 53	223,546,049	2,906,236	10 31	500,081,747	3,761,11	7 52
Van Buren	4	129,948,548	392,328	3 01	137,094,438	2,599,663	21 16	265,337,949	3,343,79	11 71
Harrison	4	116,736,004	429,981	3 68	109,187,401	1,183,242	10 37	244,590,156	1,565,903	6 40
Tyler	4	201,857,508	18,109	08	205,194,700	1,712,169	8 34	423,913,887	1,732,851	4 08
Taylor	4	211,908,612	276,270	1 30	194,370,403	1,485,192	7 64	432,861,676	1,814,409	4 19
Fillmore	4	282,179,829	213,001	75	285,638,875	1,674,852	5 86	608,257,816	2,167,982	3 56
Buchanan	4	312,359,679	194,003	62	328,183,268	2,292,825	6 98	697,500,870	2,659,107	3 81
Lincoln	4	4,670,460,137	503,493	10	4,667,467,921	6,589,022	1 41	9,388,687,144	7,200,984	76
Johnson	4	4,042,316,438	2,562,721	13	3,891,576,259	1,889,641	4	8,014,908,984	4,619,59	57
Grant	8	5,318,698,324	1,189,139	22	5,287,604,645	1,198,541	21	8,842,922,589	2,622,478	24
Hayes	2	1,728,379,907	None.	None.	1,567,034,964	1,383	00	3,353,629,855	2,676	10 mill
		18,024,115,418	8,994,375		49,17,634,620,963	28,527,857	1 61	36,317,639,725	38,887,598	1 07
Prior to Jun. 30, '61		2,263,660,610	4,134,020	2 09	2,230,947,173	18,899,268	8 47	4,719,481,757	24,441,839	5 17
July 1, '61, to Jun. 30, '79		15,760,454,807	4,260,355	27	15,403,673,790	9,628,589	62	11,598,158,567	14,445,739	- 46

* Including all other amounts collected or disbursed, and the losses thereon.

1. In cases where the accounts of officers embraced more than one period, the losses, unless known to have occurred in other periods, have been charged to the periods in which the accounts were opened in this Department. In cases of defaulting banks, however, for want of other information, the losses have been charged to the periods in which they are reported on the books, though, doubtless, in several instances, they actually occurred in previous periods.

2. No deductions have been made for amounts which may be collected hereafter, though a large percentage of the recent losses will doubtless be yet recovered.

3. In preparing this statement, the receipts and disbursements since June 30 1843, have been classified by fiscal years, as in the published official reports; the losses have in all cases been classified by calendar years if not being practicable to separate the losses occurring in the fractional years of each period; but the periods compared being of the same length, the result is substantially correct.

4. In making this revision no credits have been allowed for moneys collected on balances due previous to 1869, being small in amount, and the period of credit ascertainable only with much labor.

No. 9.—Government Financial Operations.

Treasury Memorandum of Government financial operations, showing changes in the principal of the Public Debt, &c., from August 31, 1865, to September 1, 1880.

Reduction of Interest-bearing Debt.

Total interest-bearing debt, highest point August 31, 1865.....	\$2,881,530,294 96
Total interest-bearing debt, September 1, 1880.....	1,713,198,400 00

Reduction in interest-bearing debt from highest point.... \$668,331,894 96

Annual interest-charge, highest point August 31, 1865.....	\$150,977,697 87
Annual interest-charge, September 1, 1880.....	79,080,943 50
Reduction in annual interest charge.....	\$71,946,884 37

Reduction of Total Debt.

Debt, less cash in the Treasury, highest point August 31, 1865 (principal). \$2,756,431,571 43	
Debt, less cash in Treasury, September 1, 1880 (principal).....	1,908,717,934 40
Total reduction.....	\$847,713,637 03

Refunding and Reduction of Interest therefrom, under acts of July 14, 1870, and Jan. 20, 1871.

Title of loan.	Rate per ct.	Total refunded from Jan. 1, 1870, to July 1, 1880.	Annual interest-charge.
Loan of 1858.....	5	\$14,217,000	
10-40's of 1864.....	5	193,890,250	\$10,405,362 50

Title of loan.	Rate p. ct.	Total, Refund. from Jan. 1, 1870, to July 1, '80.	Annual interest charge.
5-20's of 1862.....	6	\$401,145,600	
50-20's of March, 1864.....	6	1,927,100	
50-20's of June, 1864.....	6	59,185,450	
5-20's of 1865.....	6	160,144,500	\$71,234,433 00
Consols of 1865.....	6	211,337,050	
Consols of 1867.....	6	316,423,800	
Consols of 1868.....	6	37,677,050	

Total.....\$1,395,347,800 \$81,639,795 50
In place of above bonds there have been issued bonds bearing interest as follows:

Title of loan.	Rate p. ct.	Iss'd Jan. 1, 70, to July 1, '80	An. in. ch'ge
Funded loan of '81.	5	\$500,000,000	\$25,000,000
Funded loan of '91.	4½	185,000,000	8,325,000
Funded loan of 1907, including refunding certificates.....	4	710,347,800	28,418,912

Total.....\$1,395,347,800 \$61,738,912
Making an annual saving hereafter in the interest-charge on account of refunding operations, of \$19,900,883.50.

Bonds sold for Resumption Purposes.

Bonds have been sold for resumption purposes since March 1, 1877, the interest on which represents the annual cost of the coin reserve, as follows:

Title of Loan.	Rate per cent.	Amount.	An. Interest ch'ge
Funded loan of 1891.	4½	\$65,000,000	\$2,925,000
Funded loan of 1907.	4	25,000,000	1,000,000

Total.....\$90,000,000 \$3,925,000
Making a net annual saving in interest through the refunding and resumption operations since March 1, 1877, of \$10,365,453.50.

In addition to the above bonds there were issued in 1878, to replace coin issued in payment of the Halifax award, four per cent. bonds of 1907, amounting to \$5,500,000.

No. 10.—Public Debt Analysis, from July 1, 1856, to July 1, 1880.

[OFFICIAL TREASURY STATEMENT.]

YEAR.	3 per Cents.	4 per Cents.	4½ per Cents.	5 per Cents.	6 per Cents.	7-10 per Cents.	Total interest-bearing debt.
1856—July 1..				\$3,632,000	\$28,130,761		\$31,762,761
1857.....				3,489,000	24,971,958		28,460,958
1858.....				23,538,000	21,162,838		44,700,838
1859.....				37,127,800	21,162,938		58,290,738
1860.....				43,476,300	21,164,538		64,640,838
1861.....				33,022,200	57,358,673		90,380,873
1862.....		\$57,926,116		30,483,000	164,313,225	\$122,582,685	365,304,826
1863.....		105,629,385		30,483,000	431,444,813	139,974,435	707,531,634
1864.....		77,547,696		300,213,480	842,862,652	139,286,935	1,359,930,763
1865.....		90,496,930		245,709,420	1,213,495,169	671,610,397	2,221,311,918
1865—Aug. 31.		618,127		269,175,727	1,281,736,439	830,000,000	2,381,530,294
1866—July 1..		121,341,879		201,982,665	1,195,546,041	813,460,621	2,332,331,207
1867.....		17,737,025		198,538,435	1,543,452,080	488,344,846	2,248,067,387
1868.....	\$64,000,000	801,361		221,586,185	1,878,303,984	37,397,196	2,202,088,727
1869.....	66,125,000			221,588,300	1,874,347,222		2,162,060,622
1870.....	59,560,000			221,588,300	1,765,317,422		2,046,455,722
1871.....	45,885,000	678,000		274,236,450	1,613,897,300		1,934,696,750
1872.....	24,665,000	678,000		414,567,300	1,374,883,800		1,814,704,100
1873.....	14,000,000	678,000		414,567,300	1,281,238,650		1,710,483,950
1874.....	14,000,000	678,000		510,628,050	1,213,624,700		1,738,990,750
1875.....	14,000,000	678,000		607,139,750	1,100,865,550		1,722,676,300
1876.....	14,000,000			711,685,800	954,999,660		1,710,685,450
1877.....	14,000,000		\$140,000,000	703,266,650	884,621,850		1,711,888,500
1878.....	14,000,000	98,850,000	240,000,000	703,266,650	738,619,000		1,794,735,650
1879.....	14,000,000	741,522,000	250,000,000	508,440,350	283,681,350		1,797,643,700
1880.....	14,000,000	739,347,800	250,000,000	484,864,900	235,750,400		1,723,933,100

PUBLIC DEBT ANALYSIS.—continued.

Year.	Annual interest charge.	Debt on which interest has ceased.	Debt bearing no interest.	Outstanding principal.	Cash in the Treasury July 1.	Total debt, less cash in Treasury.	Population of the United States.	Debt per capita.	Interest per capita.
1856—July 1..	\$1,869,445	\$209,776		\$31,972,537	\$21,006,584	\$10,965,953	28,083,000	\$0 36	\$0 07
1857.....	1,672,767	238,872		28,699,831	18,701,210	9,998,621	28,916,000	35	06
1858.....	2,446,670	211,042		44,911,882	7,011,689	37,900,191	29,753,000	1 28	08
1859.....	3,126,166	206,099		58,496,837	5,091,603	53,405,234	30,596,000	1 75	10
1860.....	3,443,687	201,449		64,842,287	4,877,585	59,964,702	31,443,321	1 91	11
1861.....	5,092,630	199,999		90,580,873	2,862,212	87,718,660	32,064,000	2 74	16
1862.....	22,048,609	280,195	\$158,591,390	524,176,412	18,863,659	505,312,752	32,704,000	15 45	67
1863.....	41,854,148	473,048	411,767,456	1,119,772,138	8,421,401	1,111,350,737	33,365,000	33 31	1 25
1864.....	78,853,487	416,335	435,437,271	1,815,784,370	106,332,093	1,709,452,277	34,046,000	50 21	2 32
1865.....	137,742,617	1,345,771	458,090,189	2,680,647,669	5,832,012	2,674,815,656	34,748,000	76 98	3 97
1865—Aug. 31.	150,977,697	1,503,020	461,616,311	2,844,649,626	88,218,053	2,756,431,571	35,228,000	78 25	4 29
1866—July 1..	146,068,196	935,092	439,969,874	2,773,236,173	137,200,009	2,636,036,163	35,469,000	74 32	4 12
1867.....	138,892,451	1,840,615	428,218,101	2,678,126,103	169,974,822	2,508,151,281	36,211,000	69 26	3 84
1868.....	128,459,598	1,197,340	408,401,782	2,611,687,851	130,834,437	2,480,853,413	36,973,000	67 10	3 48
1869.....	125,523,998	5,260,181	421,131,510	2,588,452,213	155,680,340	2,432,771,873	37,756,000	64 43	3 32
1870.....	118,784,960	3,708,641	430,503,064	2,480,672,427	149,502,471	2,331,169,956	38,558,871	60 46	3 08
1871.....	111,949,330	1,948,902	416,565,680	2,353,211,332	106,217,263	2,246,994,068	39,555,000	56 81	2 83
1872.....	103,988,463	7,926,797	430,530,431	2,253,251,328	103,470,798	2,149,780,530	40,604,000	52 95	2 56
1873.....	98,049,804	51,299,710	472,069,352	2,234,482,993	129,020,932	2,105,462,060	41,704,000	50 49	2 35
1874.....	98,796,004	3,216,590	509,543,128	2,251,690,468	147,541,314	2,104,149,153	42,856,000	49 10	2 31
1875.....	96,855,690	11,425,890	498,182,411	2,232,284,531	142,243,361	2,090,041,170	44,060,000	47 44	2 19
1876.....	95,104,269	3,902,420	465,807,196	2,180,395,067	119,469,726	2,060,925,340	45,316,000	45 48	2 10
1877.....	93,160,643	16,648,860	476,764,021	2,205,301,532	186,025,960	2,019,275,571	46,624,000	43 31	2 00
1878.....	94,554,472	5,594,560	455,575,652	2,256,205,892	256,823,612	1,999,382,280	47,983,000	41 67	1 97
1879.....	83,773,778	37,015,630	410,835,741	2,245,495,072	249,080,167	1,996,414,905	49,395,000	40 42	1 62
1880.....	79,633,981	7,621,455	388,800,815	2,130,415,370	201,088,622	1,929,326,747	50,858,000	37 74	1 56

NOTE 1.—The annual interest charge is computed upon the amount of outstanding principal at the close of the fiscal year, and is exclusive of interest charge on Pacific Railway bonds.

NOTE 2.—The statement of population for 1860 and 1870 is by enumeration, and for other years from estimates prepared by Professor E. B. Elliott, of this Department.

NOTE 3.—The figures for July 1, 1875, were made up, assuming pending funding operations to have been completed.

NOTE 4.—The Temporary Loan, per act of July 11, 1862, is included in the 4 per cents. from 1862 to 1863, inclusive, with the exception of the amount outstanding for August 31, 1863, this being the date at which the public debt reached its highest point. This loan bore interest from 4 per cent. to 6 per cent., and was redeemable on ten days' notice after thirty days; but being constantly changing, it has been considered more equitable to include the whole amount outstanding as bearing 4 per cent. interest on an average for the year.

No. 11.—Statement of the Public Debt of the United States.

(For the month of August, 1880.)

INTEREST-BEARING DEBT.

TITLE OF LOAN.	Rate.	When Redeemable.	Total amount outstanding.	Interest due and unpaid.	Accrued interest.
Loan of February, 1861.....	6 per cent.....	.....	\$14,887,000	\$65,111	\$148,870
Oregon War Debt.....	6 per cent.....	.....	724,950	6,968	7,249
Loan of July and August, 1831.....	6 per cent.....	June 30, 1881.	153,393,100	51,985	1,533,931
Loan of 1863, ('81's).....	6 per cent.....	June 30, 1881.	60,465,100	45,040	604,651
Funded Loan of 1861.....	5 per cent.....	May 1, 1881.	480,140,450	1,948,360	2,001,710
Funded Loan of 1891.....	4½ per cent.....	Sept. 1, 1891.	250,000,000	133,712	2,812,500
Funded Loan of 1907.....	4 per cent.....	July 1, 1907.	788,241,350	635,251	4,221,609
Refunding Certificates.....	4 per cent.....	.....	1,106,450	78,873	7,876
Navy-pension fund.....	3 per cent.....	.....	14,000,000	.....	70,900
Aggregate of interest-bearing debt.....			\$1,713,198,400	\$2,964,803	\$12,107,597
Aggregate of debt on which interest has ceased since maturity.....			\$6,128,035	\$771,412	
Aggregate of debt bearing no interest.....			\$366,059,831	\$7,327	

RECAPITULATION.

	Principal.	Interest.	Totals.
Interest-bearing debt—Bonds at 6 per cent.....	\$229,440,150 00		
Bonds at 5 per cent.....	480,410,450 00		
Bonds at 4½ per cent.....	250,000,000 00		
Bonds at 4 per cent.....	788,241,350 00		
Refunding Certificates.....	1,106,450 00		
Navy-Pension Fund.....	14,000,000 00		
	\$1,713,198,400 00	\$15,072,400 80	
Debt on which interest has ceased since maturity.....	\$6,128,035 26	771,412 11	
Debt bearing no interest—Old Demand and Legal-tender Notes.....	\$346,741,896 00		
Certificates of Deposit.....	11,300,000 00		
Gold and Silver Certificates.....	20,835,940 00		
Fractional Currency.....	7,181,995 37		
	\$386,059,831 37		
Unclaimed Pacific R.R. Interest.....		7,327 03	
Total Debt.....	\$2,105,386,266 63	\$15,851,139 94	\$2,121,237,406 57
Total Cash in the Treasury.....			\$196,668,332 33
Debt, less Cash in the Treasury, September 1, 1880.....			\$1,924,569,074 24
Debt, less Cash in the Treasury, August 7, 1880.....			1,936,596,241 33
Decrease of Debt during the month.....			\$12,027,167 59
Decrease of Debt since June 30, 1880.....			\$17,603,221 00

Bonds issued to the Pacific Railway Companies, Interest payable by the United States.
(All 6 per cent. 30-year Bonds.)

Name of Railway.	Principal outstanding.	Interest accrued and not yet paid.	Interest paid by the United States.	Int't repaid by Companies. By transportation service.	By cash payments, 5 per ct. net earnings.	Balance of interest paid by the United States.
Central Pacific.....	\$25,985,120	\$268,861 20	\$18,793,233 67	\$3,200,773 77	\$648,271 96	\$14,944,187 94
Kansas Pacific.....	6,303,000	63,030 00	4,994,739 09	2,443,151 36		2,546,641 73
Union Pacific.....	27,236,512	272,365 12	20,055,278 25	7,819,485 44		12,235,792 81
Central Br., U. P.....	1,600,000	16,000 00	1,261,808 26	59,522 80	6,926 91	1,196,368 45
Western P.....	1,970,560	19,705 69	1,513,848 14	9,367 00		1,304,181 14
Sioux City & Pacific..	1,628,320	16,283 20	1,171,199 99	106,032 87		1,066,167 52
Totals.....	\$64,623,512	\$646,235 12	\$47,689,831 30	\$13,643,333 04	\$656,198 67	\$33,291,329 39

The foregoing is a correct statement of the Public Debt, as appears from the books and Treasurer's Returns in the Treasury department at the close of business, August 31, 1880.

H. F. FRENCH, Acting Secretary of the Treasury.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ADDENDA.

The U. S. Supreme Court Threatened—Senator Edmunds' Letter on Rebel Claims.

PART I.

Attempt of the Brigadiers to Capture the U. S. Supreme Court by augmenting and re-organizing it.

In the House of Representatives, on January 26, 1880, Mr. Manning, by unanimous consent, introduced the following bill (H. R. 3,848), to reorganize the Supreme Court of the United States:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the number of justices of the Supreme Court of the United States shall be, and it is hereby increased to twenty-one, and that twelve associate justices additional to those now constituting that court, be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

PART II.

Rebel Claims—Senator Edmunds' Letter—They are not barred by the Constitution.

The Mason (Mich.) *News* of September 9, 1880, says:

In the *Grand Rapids Weekly Democrat*, of August 15, appeared a review of a recent speech of Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, in which the Senator spoke strongly of the danger of the allowance of Rebel claims, amounting to millions of dollars, in case of

Hancock's election. The *Democrat* article cited the fourth section of XIVth Amendment to the Constitution as interposing an insuperable barrier to the payment of Rebel claims, and claimed that Senator Edmunds delivered the speech in question, well knowing the fact. We cut out the article, and inclosed it with a short letter to Mr. Edmunds, and promptly received the following in reply:

"BURLINGTON, Vt., Aug. 30, 1880.

"DEAR SIR: Yours of the 18th came just as I was going out of town. I fear the Editor of the *Grand Rapids Democrat* is not very hungry to find out exactly what the 4th section of XIVth Amendment covers in point of law.

"The Rebel claims referred to are not claims of rebels for aiding the rebellion, but for property, amounting altogether to hundreds and probably thousands of millions, taken or destroyed by armies of the United States, and therefore the moment the test of loyalty of any claimant is repealed the claim of the Rebel stands exactly like the claim of any other citizen against the Government on account of its action, and not on account of the action of the rebel authorities.

"The Democrats in Congress have tried time after time to repeal the distinction in respect of claims of loyal and disloyal persons, and they have bills now pending in the Senate to effect that object, and they will effect it by a solid or nearly solid Democratic vote the moment they get possession of all the departments of the Government.

"As to rebel pensions, the Editor of the *Democrat*, if he will reflect a little, will, I am sure, agree that a pension does not in any case fall within the description of 'any debt or obligation,' and if so, it is not within the prohibition of XIVth Amendment. A pension is and always has been granted upon the ground or bounty of gratitude and not of legal obligation. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that the Constitution does not stand in the way of Congress pensioning every rebel soldier or soldier's widow and children, or, indeed every other rebel, if it pleases.

"I will not reciprocate the epithets of this worthy Editor. Very truly yours, GEO. F. EDMUNDS.

"V. J. TEFFT, Esq., Mason, Ingham County, Mich."





U. S. GRANT TO SENATOR LOGAN,

AUGUST 12, 1880.

"We should never be beaten until every man who counts, or represents those who count, in the enumeration to give representation in the Electoral College, can cast his vote just as he pleases, and can have it counted just as he cast it."

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